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THE AMERICAN JOURNAL
OF SOCIOLOGY



THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY

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THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY

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NUMBER I

THE MEANING OF SOCIOLOGY

ALBION W. SMALL
The University of Chicago

Every science has come up out of an embryonic stage in which the most evident activity was not discovery of something new, but rather attempts to establish the claims of something to scientific standing in case it were discovered. The sociologists in their turn have exhausted a disproportionate amount of strength upon the question, Is sociology a science?

Whether or not there is, or ever will be, a science of sociology, there is and will hardly cease to be something which, for lack of a better name, we may call *the sociological movement*. This movement clearly vindicates the sociologists. The phrase "sociological movement" is by no means an adequate description. It is pertinent chiefly because it calls attention to the strategic point around which a new alignment of thinkers is forming. The movement is not an attempt to isolate the facts of human association from the facts of the physical world in which association occurs. It is still less an attempt to set apart social phenomena from the processes in consciousness to which, as well as to the processes of subhuman nature, the facts of society must be related. It is rather a movement for the transfer of the center of attention in the social sciences from things and processes, as such, to the persons in whom all the things and processes that we know find their last intelligible interpretation. It is a movement to gain

for our conceptions of life a reality which they lack when scattered among uncorrelated abstract and impersonal sciences. It urges that scientific study of persons in actual association, and with their actual processes of association as the center of observation, is at present the most timely variant of our programme for extending and organizing knowledge of the meaning of human experience in general.

An eminent professor of political economy in a leading American university lately said that sociology is a science of "left-overs." He did not go far enough. Assuming for the nonce that we may speak of sociology as a science at all, its distinctive interest is not with a plurality of "left-overs," but with a single "left-over." The paradox of the situation is, however, that this single "left-over" is the object of final importance in human knowledge. After the evolution of sciences had culled out from the field of knowledge every action, accident, and appurtenance of men, and had taken countless assortings of these incidentals as the subject-matter of as many sciences, it began dimly to dawn on a few minds that attention to details was taking the place of due regard for the essential. Man himself was crowded out of the calculation. Sociology came into being mainly as an inarticulate protest against scientific attention to every other big or little object of knowledge conceivable, at the expense of virtual exclusion of the most central and meaning object of all from direct investigation; a protest against relegation of that paramount object to the rank of a "left-over"—viz., *man himself*.

Stating the situation in another way: A certain type of people who are studying human experience are converging toward a common center in pursuit of their object. Some of them see this. More are not yet aware of it. Whether they perceive it or not, many men and women who started from the standpoint of philosophy, or psychology, or ethics, or history, or political science, or anthropology, or religion, or philanthropy, or from unlabeled and uncritical points of departure, are assembling on the common ground of interest in the values that are lodged in human beings themselves. They are coming to see that their

appraisals of what has gone on in the world, and is now occurring, and may conceivably take place in the future, tend to correspond with their estimate of its importance for the human beings who are affected. But these people represent more than themselves. They really express the common note of desire throughout the whole course of human thinking. Back of all the obscurities and abstractions and mystifications into which thought has wandered, is the persistent question, *What does it all mean for men?* The interest behind this question is bound sooner or later to adjust the perspective of all science and to work as the last available measure of value for all supposed knowledge.

Whatever else may or may not be true about it, sociology, as pursued in the United States during the past quarter-century, is an incident in this clearing of vision about what is worth while in science, and why it is worth while. The people who named themselves sociologists are by no means the only persons who have veered toward this center of attention. If they had been, there would be much less meaning in their work. Among thinkers of every name there has been observed or unobserved, conscious or unconscious shifting of perspective. There has been progressive perception that, since we are human beings, the utmost interpretation which we can get of everything that can come into our experience must remain at best merely the meaning which we can discover from our limited outlook as human beings. At the same time we have progressed toward reality in another dimension by the corresponding perception that the worth of all things in our final estimate must get its rating from the standards of measurement which reflect the scale of values in the course of evolution in the consciousness of human beings. To express it more generally, *the final scientific problem is to ascertain the ratio of value for human experience of every factor which may enter into that experience.*

This conclusion may be taken as a summary of all that would be found in an exact inventory of that uncertain quantity which we call "modern thought." It is the substance of that apparition to which the recent papal rescripts refer as "modernism." In brief, *those things are significant for men which have a meaning*

for the evolving experience of men, and in the precise ratio of their ascertained influence upon the process of that experience.

From this point of view two primary judgments sooner or later assert themselves; first, the unit of our knowledge of experience must be the experiencing person, the human individual; second, as the experiencing person is not a phenomenon existing in a vacuum, as the human individual lives and moves and has his being by virtue of reactions with surroundings, it is of co-ordinate importance that our knowledge of the experiencing person shall be built up by organizing it with progressive knowledge of all the conditions which are the objective side of his experience.

This outlook fixes two areas as the chief planes of vision for modern science. It foreshadows progressive rearrangement of our knowledge and pursuit of knowledge with reference to these areas. To schedule one of them as primary and the other as secondary would be to relapse into an archaic logic. We have to think of two complex systems of factors at work in every passage of experience. These are on the one hand the acting person, on the other hand the conditions of his activity. That is, as a matter of working necessity we are forced to treat every problem of experience as an affair of the interworkings of two main groups of factors, persons, on the one hand, and the conditions under which personal activity operates, on the other.

This division gives us the finding marks of the modern phase of scientific investigation. On the one hand it is essentially psychological. Expressed in everyday words, it goes out to learn the makeup of persons. What is a person? How does he get into action? What decides how he shall act? What finally appraises the value of his acts? On the other hand, it is essentially physical. It brings into focus the universe which surrounds persons, of which on the one side persons are involuntary parts, which furnishes on the other side the bounds and also the fulcrums of all personal activity. The situation so considered must be treated as a realm of relations which appear to be of a different order from the relations that we classify as personal.

There are hypercritics who set themselves up as sentinels at

this point and challenge the right of peaceful scientific noncombatants to advance unless they give an account of themselves in unequivocally monistic language. People who are more interested in progress of objective analysis than in verbal purism must waste no ceremony in brushing these pedants aside. Whatever the strength of our belief in an ultimate oneness, our daily contacts are with situations composed of factors which we have to treat as dissimilar. In our present state of knowledge we have to move forward toward more knowledge by calculating as well as our means permit the interrelations between the two types of factors which we may call for convenience, *the factors of choice and the factors of force*.

Admitting the lack of precision in this summary way of outlining the main problem of knowledge, the practical fact is that the trunk line of advance toward better understanding of the things of most concern to men is clearing the way in this fashion; and academic science must eventually conform. Men want to understand first and last men's being, men's doings, and men's destinies. With apologies to Pope, the inevitable study of mankind is *manness*. Accordingly our audit of accounts with supposed knowledge is bound to pry more and more into the finality of our discoveries in two directions, and into the credibility of our interpretations of the relations between supposed discoveries under these two aspects: viz., what are the realities and the meanings of those activities which we have to think of as originating in men themselves, and what are the realities and the meanings of those activities which we have to think of as converging in and upon men, and making up their external conditions?

In the rough, if this formal requisition had been set up when men began to search for knowledge, it would have given us, as the first grouping of knowledge, our traditional classification into the *human* and the *physical* sciences. How long we shall continue to find this classification convenient, it would be profitless to ask. The cardinal point now is that, wherever thought is relatively free, there is an evidently growing disposition to assert independence of all scholastic tradition, beyond this primary and

obvious division for working purposes, whenever and to the extent that tradition virtually sets up sciences delimited by *a priori* conditions and classified as having an intrinsic and independent value. The protestantism which we call *the sociological movement* is fundamentally, and in part consciously and overtly, a declaration of faith that the closest approach to ultimate organization of knowledge which finite intelligence can ever reach must be a formulation of the relations of all alleged knowledge to the central process of human experience.

The general meaning of the sociological movement then is that it is the outward and visible sign of this invisible grace. It is giving new voice and force to this deepest of human strivings, the quest of self-knowledge. Poetry, mysticism, religion, science, political agitation, philanthropy, each in a thousand variations of its own peculiar *oratio obliqua*, has participated in this quest. Most of the sociologists were drawn as blindly and half-discerningly into the pursuit as the majority of like-minded thinkers past and present who have had their center in other groups. They are slowly arriving at qualifying self-consciousness. They are gradually adjusting their vision to the perception that in the last analysis there is but one conceivable human measure of value: viz., the meaning which the thing valued has for the prevailing conception of the whole system of human purposes. The intellectual side of this perception is that there is at last but one conceivable human test of alleged knowledge: viz., the kind and degree of its congruence with the rest that is supposed to be known about human experience.

In brief, then, the sociological movement is made up of the more or less conscious attempts to concentrate all our means of knowledge upon the task of interpreting human experience, its past, its present, its future, so far as past and present can project vision into the future.

It is not easy to convince anyone who has not long looked at things in this way that these propositions express anything beyond the commonplace. Is it not impudent to imply that interpretation of human experience has anything to gain from an upstart in social science? The whole series of historians, for example,

from Herodotus to the latest producer of a doctor's dissertation, has devoted itself to nothing else but human experience.

In a sense this is true. It may also be true that, for every sociologist who could be named, many historians might be mentioned who in their way have contributed more to knowledge of human experience. It would doubtless continue to be true that the sort of work done by historians would remain indispensable, even if it should turn out that the sort of work proposed by the sociologists is more vital. All these things, however, are aside from the point. The case for the sociologists may be compared with the relation of modern pathologists to the entire series of medical practitioners, from Galen to the era of Pasteur and Virchow. For thousands of years the medicine men had been dealing with diseases. Not until the pathologists developed their methods was there reliable study of disease. The case of the historians is strictly analogous, to the extent that they are satisfied with the application of a technique, and do not push its results into interpretation of the whole human process. Narrating the fortunes of nations and other institutions is logically at precisely the same remove from interpretation of the human beings who make and are made by the institutions, as description of their clothing or the cut of their hair. Either of these incidentals may be used for what it is worth in analysis of the persons who were expressing themselves by means of the incidentals. It is not at all certain, however, that a given study of a phase of human activities will go so far as to correlate itself with its essential center. It may stop and assert itself as virtually apart from the paramount human process. It may fail to find its place in the evolution of that *manness* which is the continuous principle in the whole process of experience. It may fail to translate its items of knowledge in terms of man's progressive self-expression, in which events and institutions are thrown off as by-products. *It is certain that no study of phases of human experience will yield its utmost for final knowledge of the experiencing persons, unless the people who pursue it adjust themselves to two conceptions, viz., first that the types of persons evolving into being through*

the succession of experiences are as near to the substance of the whole process as our intelligence seems likely to penetrate; and second that we shall approach the substitute for finality with which our knowledge has to be satisfied, in the degree in which we get the incidents of human life set in their tributary place in the essential process of human experience, the evolution of persons.

The clue to the sociological movement must be found then in this way of visualizing the social process. What we mean by the phrase "the evolution of persons" is quite different from mere preservation of the race. So far as we know at present the human species got its organic growth before the dawn of history. If there have been variations of anatomical type since that era they have not been demonstrated. This is true of the brain as well as the rest of the body. In their ways of using their endowment of body and brain and external opportunity men had a long infancy, but this infancy is passing into youthful variety. We have allowed our attention to rest so largely on the products of human action that we have hardly begun to distinguish the successions of types of actors. Social psychology, the most searching activity thus far in the sociological movement, is just fairly initiating the methods which must presently result in detailed exhibits of the evolution of personal types. For this ultimate value in the whole human process Herbert Spencer, for instance, had certain preliminary forms of language, but no specific discovery. In occupation, in thought, in adjustment to his fellow men the "modern man" in every active race is a more highly evolved type than the predecessors of the same man, "and it doth not yet appear what we shall be." The soul of the sociological movement is some sort of divination that this enlargement of persons, and achievement of a manness thus far only embryonic in the race as a whole, is the main motive in the human drama, so far as it will ever be made out by human intelligence. The cumulative power of the movement springs from faith that this process of human becoming is worth while. It is therefore worth understanding in order that it may be pro-

moted intelligently. The movement is thus not merely academic. In its animus it is essentially dynamic.

It would be absurd to claim that the sociological movement is confined to men who call themselves sociologists. It would fortunately be equally absurd to admit that all the men who call themselves sociologists really contribute to the movement. Many of the latter simply compromise and confuse and clog the movement. With these qualifications, however, it is true that the sociologists as a species of thinkers have undertaken, more deliberately and definitely than any other distinguishable group, to focalize scientific attention upon the actual living, aspiring, striving human being, as the center from which all human valuations must be computed.

The sociological movement is thus a concurrence of all the thought and practice which is impressed by this idea of the central significance of the human factor in experience. The sociologists are trying to represent the conviction that this idea is too important to be canceled from scientific consideration. They are not to be put off with the sneer that the idea is to be taken for granted, and so too elementary for serious notice. If it is obvious enough to be taken for granted, it is important enough to be kept in view, as a means of testing whether it actually is taken for granted, or set aside in favor of some deceptive substitute for the actual human criterion. In fact, every science is under constant temptation to transfer its attention from the reality which it should help to investigate, to manipulation of an esoteric technique in which notions abstracted from reality make up fictitious situations. The "science" which yields to the temptation thereupon degenerates into a methodology of dealing with problems of those devitalized situations. Each of the social sciences at present in some degree illustrates this tendency. A certain type of thinkers make it their business to call for a checking up of these technical abstractions, by finding whether they fit into the total process of experience. That type can never be permanently without occupation.

Popular interest and sympathy are relatively much more favorable to the sociological movement than the attitude of scien-

tific thinkers in general. The reason for this is less that the apparent opposition is real than that some of the most virile thinkers about selected phases of human conditions assume that their eye is trained as directly as it can be upon human interests, and they resent the implication that there can be a correction of their angle of vision. Taking as types men no longer living, such philosophers as Hobbes and Locke, for example, would probably have been unable to entertain the idea that anyone could be more directly interested in the whole problem of human life than they were. Yet they were incapable of thoroughly objective inquiry into the meaning of human experience. They could not begin with the questions, What is a man? What is the meaning of his wants? What relation do men's wants have to their institutions? What is the relative value of the wants of a living generation and the political system which has been inherited? They looked at men through a philosophy of political society. Their way of looking at men has its uses in human experience, but at best it is an indirect way of looking at men themselves through the medium of something which is only a part of their *impedimenta*. This sort of looking at men inevitably involves an error of refraction which requires correction. Again, Adam Smith would have been honestly astonished if he had been told that in *The Wealth of Nations* the human element concerned was out of true. He did not intend it to be so. He supposed he had provided for the proper perspective of human affairs in his moral philosophy. Nevertheless, when he selected wealth as his particular object of attention, real persons thereupon became and remained a relatively insignificant item in the calculation. The human essential in the whole experience in which wealth occurs fell into the rank of a circumstance which must not be permitted to interfere with the main consideration.

More important than all other instances together is the case of those men who approach problems of knowledge, and particularly knowledge of men, from the religious point of view. It goes without saying that in general they are incomparably the most earnest and disinterested thinkers about human problems. At the same time, religion as we have it in Christendom is not

primarily a search for knowledge at all. It is rather an attempt to use a superhuman standpoint and standard as a means of *valuing* all that may be known. When this fact is stated in the course of objective analysis, and not as an attack upon religion, few competent religious thinkers will challenge the proposition. On the contrary, they take the lead in showing that all the correct lines of knowledge which are drawn within the religious perspective have to be directed as it were by interpretation of human experience from the inside. We need not raise the question of the relative importance of the religious and the positive attitude toward human experience. Enough that both are indispensable. The point is that alone, or in defective proportion with interpretation of the incidents of life by the whole life process itself, the religious attitude toward life is bound to be rated by analytical thinkers as a sort of hypnotic condition, in which neither the observer nor the experience observed is real.

Every type of thinker upon any problem of knowledge whatsoever is needed by the sociological movement. Religious thinkers are certainly not least necessary to the sanity and success of the movement. But each of these types of thinkers, in the degree in which they are in search of the most objective interpretation of human experience which it is possible to gain, should in turn recognize their dependence upon a correlating process in knowledge along the lines which the sociological movement occupies. No judicious sociologist imagines that sociology can ever be a substitute for the sections of scientific labor into which the work of research will always have to be divided. Sociology is first and foremost a call to all species of social investigators to bring their methods and their results together in their bearings upon the meaning of life, instead of allowing their specialization to become sterile by running into isolation from its evaluating center in the whole process of experience.

It is evident to everyone capable of reading the signs of the times that we are living in one of the periods of the reconstruction of fundamental views of life. In the whole range of moral philosophy our outlook is changing as certainly as the outlook of the organic sciences has changed with the arrival of the

Darwinian Era. It would prejudice this argument to attempt a forecast of the specific contents of the *Weltanschauung* which is next to prevail. It seems entirely safe to predict, however, that it will in some way or other reflect the judgments which are the ultimate motives of the sociological movement. In the last analysis and synthesis that we seem likely to achieve, all the experience that we can comprehend will probably image itself as the process of the self-realization of human beings. This does not mean that we shall suppose we may account for the universe in terms of human experience. It simply means that we shall recognize the futility of human attempts to account for more of the universe than can be included in the last discoverable meaning of human experience. The sociologists do not flatter themselves that they are to be the producers of the next prevailing view of the meaning of life. They apparently see more distinctly than anyone else, or at least find it more worth while than anyone else to keep saying, that our interpretation of life must be the composite picture which will be formed out of all possible analyses of phases or outputs of life. Their most important contribution to the coming life-philosophy may turn out to be their insistence that science tends more and more to become an idolatry of the meaningless, unless a reconstructive process goes on step by step with analysis. This necessary process of correlation brings out the values of the details discovered by analysis. These details are worthless for the life-process as a whole until we learn their relative meaning for all human experience.

There is a social movement, or the human process at large, which is as much greater than the sociological movement as life is greater than thought. The social movement is the procession of men through the ages in an uncomprehended relay race toward a goal which can neither be located nor defined. So far as we can make out the process of this experience thus far, and can forecast its future, it is an evolution of activities which take the form of wants which men try to satisfy. In the attempts to satisfy the wants men evolve individuality. They adjust themselves in relations with other men, and through the adjustment

there is first a certain approximate satisfaction of the wants, but incidentally the stimulating wants are remodeled, the manner of man feeling the wants is reconstructed, and the terms of his relations with his fellows are reconsidered. Human experience, so far as we have made it out, is an endless chain of cycles of these modifications. Within them all the persons who successively carry on the process appear on the one hand to be in an inscrutable sense always essentially the same. In another sense, by virtue of the process, they are in the course of incessant change to which our knowledge can prescribe no limit. In this unity in variety of experience persons are the most central, the most significant, the most worthwhile objects which our intelligence can discover.

The sociological movement is a frank endeavor to secure for the human factor in experience the central place which belongs to it in our whole scheme of knowledge and action. This movement has already stimulated types of inquiry which are likely to develop many new divisions of research. It would be foolish to make predictions about the future of the mere name sociology, or about the forms in which the social sciences will arrange themselves, or to argue whether the sociologists are likely to be permanently the peculiar spokesmen for man as man, in distinction from the scholars who select conditions, and aspects, and accidents, and by-products of man's action as their immediate objects of attention. It is not impossible that some of the lines of research which the sociological movement is stimulating may presently fall into the long obituary list of scholastic abstractions which were once virile sciences. It may be that everything which now claims the name sociology will some day pass into the stage of formalism and aloofness from human interests in which it will have only the value of a relic. In that event the organization of knowledge about the things which most intimately concern human beings will doubtless proceed with more timely methods, and with choice of an unsullied name. Meanwhile, those who believe that the destinies of men are the most important object of human interest ought to be able to see that sociology, as we have described it, is the only rallying-point around which the many men

of that mind can at present unreservedly join purposes. *The common creed of the sociological movement may be reduced to two clauses; first, the final judgment which men can pass upon anything of interest to men is discovery of its meaning in the light of all that can be ascertained about the whole process of human experience; second, all men should co-operate in finding out everything, and the relative value of everything, which is available for promoting the permanent interests of men.*

This is not a divisive but a unifying creed. Oriental and occidental, agnostic and Catholic and Protestant, anarchist, socialist, traditionalist, specialist in whatever business or profession or science, may and should profess and illustrate this creed. The more matter-of-course it seems to any of them, the more cordially should they co-operate with the men who believe it is worthy of special emphasis. It is inconceivable that there can be any other unity of faith in the world, or even in Christendom, until all men have adopted this minimum confession. It deprives no one of liberty to defend his belief that his own intellectual and moral standpoint is the most favorable to discovery of permanent human values. It requires no one to profess himself convinced in advance that appraisal of human values by the ultimate sociological criterion has been more justly made at some other point of observation than his own.

The lowest terms of the sociological movement are simply: first, candid promotion of absolute publicity of everything that throws light upon the universal and permanent interests of men; second, loyal support of everything which tends to accelerate the general process of the achievement of human values. By these signs, as the world grows wiser, it will learn to distinguish the men of good will.

A STUDY OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF CHILD LABOR IN AMERICA ¹

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In 1870, the federal census published, for the first time, statistics of the employment of children in the United States, and each succeeding census has furnished further information on the subject. During this time, there has been a growing national consciousness of the wide extent of child labor in our great industrial states and we have had much discussion of its resulting evils, and of plans for reform. It is not the purpose of this study to contribute to that discussion, but rather to give an account of the origin of the system in this country and of its growth in the period before the census had begun to collect data on the subject.

The introduction of children into our early factories was a natural consequence of the colonial attitude toward child labor, of the provisions of the early poor laws and of philanthropic efforts to prevent children from becoming a public charge, and, above all, of the Puritan belief in the virtue of industry and the sin of idleness. Industry by compulsion, if not by faith, was the gospel preached to the young as well as to the old, and quite frequently to the children of the rich as well as the poor.

Thus we find Higginson rejoicing over the "New England Plantation" because "little children here by setting of corn may earne much more than their owne maintenance;" ² and less than a decade later Johnson was commending the industrious people of Rowley who "built a fulling mill and caused their little ones to be very diligent in spinning cotton wool." ³

¹ The writer wishes to express her obligations in the preparation of this article, to the Department of Economics and Sociology of the Carnegie Institution of Washington.

² *Collections Massachusetts Historical Society*, 1st ser., I, 118 (1629).

³ "Wonder-Working Providence," *ibid.*, 2d ser., VII, 13 (1638).

This rigorous insistence on industry was, with the New England colonists, not only a matter of conscience but of necessity. For they had seen "the grime and grisly face of povertie coming upon them," and Bradford points out with Puritan simplicity that "as necessitie was a stern task-master over them [the Puritans], so they were forced to be such, not only to their servants but in a sorte to their dearest children: the which as it did not a little wound ye tender hearts of many a loving father and mother, so it produced likewise sundrie sad and sorrowful effects. For many of their children . . . haveing lernde to bear ye yoake in their youth, and willing to bear parte of their parents' burden, were, oftentimes, so oppressed with their hevie labours that though their minds were free and willing, yet their bodies bowed under ye weight of ye same and became decreped in their early youth." ⁴

Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Court Records and Province Laws give evidence of the serious attempt made to prevent idleness among children. In 1640, an order of the Great and General Court of Massachusetts required the magistrates of the several towns to see "what couse may be taken for teaching the boys and girles in all towns the spinning of the yarne." ⁵ And in 1641, "it is desired and will be expected that all masters of families should see that their children and servants should be industriously implied so as the mornings and evenings and other seasons may not bee lost as formerly they have bene." ⁶

In the following year more definite orders are given. For a child to "keep cattle" alone is not to be industrious in the Puritan sense, and it is decreed that such children as have this for their occupation shall also "bee set to some other impliment withall as spinning upon the rock, knitting, weveing tape, etc." ⁷ In 1656 a consideration of the advisability of promoting the manufacture of cloth leads to the order that "all hands not necessarily employed on other occasions, as woemen, girles, and boys, shall and hereby are enjoyned to spin according to their skill and

⁴ *Bradford's History*, *ibid.*, p. 23.

⁶ *Ibid.*, I, p. 322.

⁵ *Massachusetts Bay Records*, I, 294.

⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 8, 9.

abilittee and that the selectmen in every towne doe consider the condition and capacitie of every family and accordingly assess them as one or more spinners." ⁸ In the same year Hull records in his dairy that "twenty persons, or about such a number, did agree to raise a stock to procure a house and materials to improve the children and youth of the town of Boston (which want employment) in the several manufactures." ⁹ In short there is no lack of evidence to show that it was regarded as a public duty in the colony of Massachusetts to provide for the training of children not only in learning but in "labor and other employments which may bee profitable to the Commonwealth." ¹⁰

The belief in the necessity and propriety of keeping little children at work may also be read in the early poor law provisions. In dealing with dependent children, as in so many other methods of providing for the poor, the colonies were much influenced by the practice of the mother country. In England, the Elizabethan poor law had provided for the apprenticing of the pauper child, and in the eighteenth, and even in the latter part of the seventeenth century, the "philanthropic device of employing cheap child labor" was much approved. Spinning schools were established and houses of industry founded in order to provide for the employment of children. ¹¹

Much the same policy was followed in the colonies with regard to the children of the poor. In Plymouth, in 1641, it was ordered "that those that have reliefe from the townes and have children and doe not ymploy them that then it shal be lawfull for the Towneship to take order that those children shal be put to worke in fitting ymployment according to their strength and

⁸ *Ibid.*, III, 396, 397.

⁹ *Hull's Diary of Public Occurrences*, *Archaeologia Americana*, III, 178.

¹⁰ *Massachusetts Bay Records*, II, 8, 9.

¹¹ B. Kirkman Gray, *History of English Philanthropy*, pp. 101-3. Mr. Gray notes the shifting of attention from the parent to the child during the period subsequent to the Restoration, and points out that "whereas in the early years of the seventeenth century the philanthropic policy was to find employment for adults, at the close this had given place to the working of little children." This point is also discussed in Hutchins and Harrison, *Factory Legislation*, pp. 2, 3, and in Cunningham, *English Industry and Commerce*, II, p. 52.

abilities or placed out by the Townes.”¹² The Town of Boston in 1672 notifies a list of persons to “dispose of their severall children abroad for servants, to serve by Indentures accordinge to their ages and capacities,” and if they neglect this “the selectmen will take their said children from them and place them with such masters as they shall provide accordinge as the law directs.” The children are both girls and boys, for eight years old up.¹³ In 1682 the rebuilding of an almshouse and workhouse in Boston was recommended in order that children who “shamefully spend their time in the streets” and other idlers might be put to work “at ye charge of ye Town.”¹⁴ The Province Laws also provide for the binding out of the children of the poor,¹⁵ and the records of many towns give evidence that the practice was widespread. In some places where the custom of bidding off the poor prevailed, children were put to live “with some suitable person” until they were fourteen; at that age they were to be bound until they became free by law, with the special provision “if boys, put to some useful trade.”¹⁶

In Connecticut the system of dealing with the children of the poor was similar to that of Massachusetts. If their parents allowed them “to live idly or misspend their time in loitering,” they were to be bound out, “a man child until he shall come to the age of 21 years; and a woman child to the age of 18 years or time of marriage.”¹⁷

Information as to the exact character of these early apprenticeships is meager. That the work was in some cases very heavy, and the treatment severe and unkind, there is little reason

¹² *Plymouth Colony Laws*, XI, 38.

¹³ *Boston Town Records*, p. 67.

¹⁴ *Boston Town Records*, p. 15.

¹⁵ *Province Laws*, I, p. 67. See also p. 538.

¹⁶ Marvin, *History of Winchenden*, p. 268.

¹⁷ E. W. Capen, *Historical Development of the Poor Law of Connecticut*, p. 55. See also pp. 94, 95, for later laws continuing the same policy in 1750 and 1784. The law of 1750 expressly provided that not only should the “children of paupers or poor people who could not or did not ‘provide competently’ for them” be bound out, but also “any poor children in any town, belonging to such town, that live idly or are exposed to want and distress, provided there are none to care for them” (p. 95).

to doubt,¹⁸ although conditions varied greatly according to the character of the master and his home. It should be noted further, that the binding out of poor children as apprentices did not necessarily mean teaching them a trade, and it is often expressly stated that the person who takes a child off the town shall have him "to be his servant" until he comes of age."¹⁹

It is not to be assumed that the work of these apprenticed children was as great an evil as child labor in a modern factory. In many cases they were employed in the open air and their tasks were only properly disciplinary.²⁰ The point which is to be emphasized is that child labor was believed in as a righteous institution, and when the transition to the factory system was made it was almost inevitable that this attitude toward children's work should be carried over without any question as to whether circumstances might not have changed.

There are also records of the employment of children in some colonies outside of New England. Like the Puritan, the Quaker believed that children should be taught to work at

¹⁸ See, for example, the Connecticut case of the charges brought against one Phineas Cook for his ill-treatment of "one Robert Cromwell, a poor, helpless, decrepid boy, an apprentice to the said Phineas for a term not yet expired," *New Haven Colonial Records*, XI, p. 138 (referred to in Capen, *op. cit.*). And this law of the Great and General Court of Massachusetts in 1634 tells its own story: "It is ordered that if any boy (that hath bene whipt for running from his maister) be taken in any other plantacon, not having a note from his maister to testifie his business there, it sh(al be) lawfull for the constable of the said plantacon to whip him and send him home" (*Massachusetts Bay Records*, I, 115). In 1653 a law is needed to provide that "no apprentice or servant is in any way lyable to answer his master's debts, or become servant to any other than his master, but by assignment according to lawe, and that the said apprentice, being deserted by his master is thereby released from his apprenticeship" (*ibid.*, IV, Part I, 150).

¹⁹ See, for example, in *Dorchester Town Records*, p. 150, the binding of Francis Tree.

²⁰ It is probably true that in this country as in England children were very much overworked before the days of the factory system. In domestic industries on isolated farms, much less would be known about their condition than when they were gathered together in large factories. The judgment of some very fair investigators as to England is probably true of America. "Whether children were really worked harder in the early factories than under the domestic system, it is not easy to say" (Hutchins and Harrison, *History of Factory Legislation*, p. 5).

an early age, and the Great Law of the Province of Pennsylvania provides that all children "of the age of twelve years shall be taught some useful trade or skill, to the end none may be idle, but the poor may work to live and the rich if they become poor may not want."²¹ In Virginia the employment of children was as distinctly for purposes of gain as it has been in the past century. The London Company was not engaged in teaching moral precepts and its records indicate that child labor was accepted without any question as one way of developing the colony. There is the record of the acknowledgment of the General Court in 1819 of the arrival of the one hundred children sent over, "save such as dyed in the waie," and it is prayed that one hundred more, twelve years old or over, may be sent the following spring.²² In 1621, the adventurers of Martin's Hundred sent over "twelve lustie youths;"²³ a letter from England in 1627 relates that "there are many ships going to Virginia and with them fourteen or fifteen hundred children;"²⁴ a few years later the City of London is requested to send over "one hundred friendless boys and girls;" and it is held out as an inducement to the prospective immigrant laborer that "if he have a family, his wife and children will be able to beare part in that labor," ²⁵

Virginia also looked after the employment of the children of the poor. In 1646 two houses were erected in Jamestown for manufacturing linen. The different counties were respectively requested to send two poor boys or girls at least seven or eight years old "to be instructed in the art of carding, knitting and spinning." ²⁶

²¹ *Duke of York's Book of Laws* (Harrisburg, 1879), pp. 102, 142.

²² "Our desire is that we may have them 12 yeares old and upward. . . . They shall be apprentizes; the boyes till they come to 21 yeares of age; the girles till like age or till they be marryed" (Neill, *Extracts from Manuscript Transactions of the Virginia Company of London*).

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

²⁴ These children were "gathered up in divers places," the victims of the once dreaded "Spirits" (Neill, *Virginia Carolorum*, p. 46. For the works of the "Spirits" see p. 277).

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

²⁶ Bruce, *Economic History of Virginia*, II, p. 455.

The Virginia emphasis on the commercial side of child labor became pretty general in the other colonies in the eighteenth century, particularly in the latter half of it when attention began to be directed to the importance of developing domestic manufactures; and we find that the policy of keeping children at work becomes less and less a question of moral principle, even in New England. It is not so much the virtue of industry about which men are concerned but the fact that child labor is a national asset which may be used to further the material greatness of America.

The experiment in Boston, of which John Hull made record in 1656, was the prototype of many attempts in the following century to make children useful in developing the cloth manufacture. In 1720, the same town appointed a committee to consider the establishment of spinning schools "for the instruction of the children of this Town in spinning," and one of the Committee's recommendations is a suggestion that twenty spinning wheels be provided "for such children as should be sent from the almshouse;" while a generous philanthropist of the time erected at his own expense the "Spinning School House" which ten years later he bequeathed to the town "for the education of the children of the poor."²⁷

In the latter half of the eighteenth century, more persistent efforts began to be made to further the cloth-making industry, and there is much interest in the possibility of making children useful to this end. Two Boston newspapers in 1750 announce that it is proposed "to open several spinning schools in this Town where children may be taught *gratis*."²⁸ In the following year the "Society for Encouraging Industry and Employing the Poor" was organized with the double purpose of promoting the manufacture of woollen and other cloth, and of employing "our own women and children who are now in a great measure idle."²⁹

²⁷ Bagnall, *Textile Industries of America*, I, 18, 19.

²⁸ *Boston Evening Post and Post Boy* quoted in Bagnall *op. cit.*, p. 30. The latter half of the advertisement adds, "and it is hoped that all Well-wishers to their Country will send their children that are suitable for such schools, to learn the useful and necessary Art of Spinning."

²⁹ Bagnall, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

The Province Laws of the session of 1753-54 provide for a tax on carriages for the support of a linen manufactory which it is hoped will provide employment for the poor—"especially women and children" and lessen the burden of caring for them.³⁰ Although this scheme did not realize all the hopes of its promoters, the policy was not abandoned. In 1770, Mr. William Molineux of Boston petitions the legislature to assist him in his plan for "manufacturing the children's labour into wearing apparel" and "employing young females from eight years old and upward in earning their own support;"³¹ and public opinion commends him because, owing to his efforts, "the female children of this Town . . . are not only useful to the community but the poorer sort are able in some measure to assist their parents in getting a livelihood."³²

Domestic industries became increasingly important during this period, and children were not only employed in the various processes of manufacture carried on in the household but it was considered a subject for public congratulation that they could be so employed. The report of the governor of New York declares that in his province "every home swarms with children, who are set to spin and card."³³ In 1789 the New York Linen "Manufactory" advertises that "the Directors are disposed to take young boys as apprentices to the linen and cotton branches" and notifies parents to make application for their children.³⁴ In the same year President Washington finds a sail duck "manufactory" in Boston where there are fourteen girls "spinning with both hands, the flax being fastened to the waist," and with children (girls) to turn the wheels for them; that children should be

³⁰ The preamble recites that the "number of poor is greatly increased . . . and many persons, especially women and children, are destitute of employment and in danger of becoming a public charge" (*Acts and Resolves*, III, pp. 680, 681).

³¹ See Bagnall, *op. cit.*, p. 43, and Bishop, *Hist. of Manufactures*, I, 375.

³² *Boston News Letter*, March 1, 1770, quoted in Bagnall, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

³³ Governor Moore to Lords of Trade, January 12, 1767, in *Documentary History of New York*, I.

³⁴ Bagnall, *op. cit.*, p. 123. A cotton factory in Worcester, Mass., similarly advertised for "three or four healthy boys as apprentices," *ibid.*, p. 129.

employed at work of this kind seems to have been regarded without any misgivings, both in Boston and at Haverhill, where he thinks the system more "ingenious."³⁵ Instances might be multiplied of the employment of children in these early "manufactories." An establishment in Bethlehem, Conn., advertises for boys and girls from the age of ten to fourteen;³⁶ and another in the same state "having made and making additions to the factory" wanted "a number of lively boys from eight to eighteen."³⁷ In the Globe "Mills" of Philadelphia at this time, the labor was chiefly performed by boys.³⁸ The card "manufactory" in Boston was a subject for congratulation because it employed "not less than twelve hundred persons, chiefly women and children."³⁹ The account of a Philadelphia factory calls attention to the fact that "satisfactory testimonials have been adduced of the good behavior of the women and children."⁴⁰

With the introduction of machinery and the opening up of new and great possibilities for manufacturing industries, the employment of children became more and more profitable and we find that their labor is always counted on as a valuable resource with which to meet the deficiency and high cost of male labor in this country. In the first mills in which machinery was used, children's labor was depended on. In 1789 a petition in behalf of the "first cotton factory," that of Beverly, Massachusetts, states that "it will afford employment to a great number of women and children, many of whom will be otherwise useless, if not burdensome to society."⁴¹ In Rhode Island, Samuel Slater, the "father of American Manufactures," employed only

³⁵ Bagnall, *op. cit.*, p. 115. He records on the same trip his interest in a Haverhill factory. There, he explains, "one small person turns a wheel which employs eight spinners . . . whereas at the Boston manufactory of this article each spinner has a small girl to turn the wheel" (Bagnall, *op. cit.*, p. 118).

³⁶ Bagnall, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 197.

³⁸ Bishop, *op. cit.*, II, 172 (or 72?).

³⁹ *Collections Massachusetts Historical Society*, III, 279. It is said, "This is a very valuable manufacture not only as it employs women and children, but also a great number of others." Many of these were, obviously, employed at home, not in the factory.

⁴⁰ Bagnall, *op. cit.*, p. 355.

⁴¹ Bagnall, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

children in his first small establishment. Smith Wilkinson's account of this mill, which was published many years later, describes all of the operatives as being between seven and twelve years of age. "I was then," he says, "in my tenth year and went to work for him tending the breaker."⁴²

When the new government began to consider seriously the possible means of developing our "infant industries," we find Hamilton calling attention in his "Report on Manufactures" to the fact that "children are rendered more useful by manufacturing establishments than they otherwise would be,"⁴³ and Trench Coxe argues that women and children with the newly discovered power machinery will do the work and meet the demand for factory labor.⁴⁴ It was indeed one of the arguments with which the early protectionists most frequently met their opponents in the first quarter of the last century. The objection that American labor was most profitably employed in agriculture and that to "abstract" this labor from the soil would be unwise and unprofitable, was answered by pointing to the children. In the pages of *Niles' Register* this is done again and again. The work of manufactures does not demand able-bodied men, it is claimed, but "is now better done by little girls from six to twelve years old."⁴⁵

One hoary old protectionist in the pages of the same journal carefully works out the exact gain that comes to a typical village from the employing of its children in textile factories. He

⁴² See Bagnall, *Samuel Slater and The Early Development of the Cotton Manufacture*, pp. 44, 45; and see the time list in G. S. White, *Memoir of Samuel Slater*, p. 99.

⁴³ *A. S. P. Finance*, I, 84.

⁴⁴ Coxe, *View of the United States of America* (Philadelphia, 1794), pp. 55, 301.

⁴⁵ *Niles' Register*, XII, 226, 227. In this case the writer says further, "We here allude to the manufacture of articles of clothing with a reference to facts that cannot be questioned. Messrs. Rob't and Alexander M'Kim have a cotton mill in Baltimore . . . in the which establishment they employ but two or three men; all the rest, in number about one hundred, are girls from six to twelve or thirteen years of age, and a few women, who without this employ would earn nothing at all. Mr. A. M'Kim . . . informs me that many of his little work people read and write handsomely!"

comes to the conclusion that "if we suppose that before the establishment of these manufactories, there were two hundred children between seven and sixteen years of age, that contributed nothing towards their maintenance and that they are now employed, it makes an immediate difference of \$13,500 a year to the value produced in the town!"⁴⁶

Philanthropists like Matthew Carey follow in the wake of colonial traditions which made industry a fetich, and are warm with their praise of manufactures because of the larger field of employment furnished for children. They point to the additional value that can be got from girls between the ages of ten and sixteen, (604,912 being their estimated number) "most of whom are too young or too delicate for agriculture,"⁴⁷ and in contrast call attention to the "vice and immorality to which children are exposed by a career of idleness." Indeed the approval of child labor is met with on all sides. Commendation was solicited for Baxter's machines on the ground that they could be turned, one sort by children from five to ten years and the other by girls from ten to twenty years.⁴⁸ Governor Davis of Massachusetts calls attention in one of his messages to the fact that not only the machines in the textile manufacture but "thousands of others equally important, are managed and worked easily by females and children."⁴⁹

It is true that the absolute number of children employed in our early mills was not appalling, but the absolute number of all employees in our manufacturing industries was small. It seems clear, however, that children formed a very large proportion of the total number of employees and that the utilization of children's labor was commended almost with unanimity. Such

⁴⁶ *Niles' Register*, XI, 86. Children under seven are carefully excluded from the computation on the ground that, at this age, they are "incapable of any employment other than the little services they can render in domestic affairs!"

⁴⁷ Matthew Carey, *Essays in Pol. Econ.*, p. 460.

⁴⁸ *Niles' Register*, VI, p. 16. It is claimed as a great advantage that the carding, roving, and spinning machines are separate and distinct machines; "the first [carding] worked by a girl or woman and fed by a child; the second [roving] worked by a child, the third worked by a child or girl."

⁴⁹ *Massachusetts House Document*, 1835, (No. 3).

protests as one meets come for the most part from foreigners. A French traveler before the close of the eighteenth century writes that he finds "manufactures are much boasted of because children are employed therein from their most tender age."⁵⁰ An English woman in 1829 addressed an American audience in terms of reproach: "In your manufacturing districts you have children worked for twelve hours a day and . . . you will soon have them as in England, *worked to death*. . . ." ⁵¹ Now and then a free-trader comes in with a word of opposition. Condé Raguet, finding it hard to deny that manufactures make it possible to get large profits out of children's labor, fell back upon the argument that farm work was better for both boys and girls than factory work, and that girls were more likely to become good wives if they worked in kitchens instead of factories.⁵²

An American manufacturer called as a witness before the English Factory Commission, was asked, "Have any complaints been made in the United States as to the propriety of such extent of labour for children?"⁵³ His reply was, "There have been newspaper complaints originating probably from the workmen who came from this country to the United States, but among our workmen there is no desire to have the hours of labor shortened, since they see that it will necessarily be accompanied by a reduction of wages."⁵⁴

⁵⁰ Brissot de Warville, *New Travels in U. S. A.*, II, p. 126. He adds "that is to say, that men congratulate themselves upon making early martyrs of these innocent creatures, for is it not a torment to these poor little beings . . . to be a whole day and almost every day of their lives employed at the same work, in an obscure and infected prison?"

⁵¹ Frances Wright, *Lecture on Existing Evils* (pamphlet, N. Y., 1829), p. 13.

⁵² *Free Trade Advocate* (Philadelphia, 1829), Vol. I, p. 4.

⁵³ He had pointed out that no difference was made on account of age, ("We have a great many between nine and twelve") and that children as well as adults worked from ten to fourteen hours according to the season. Testimony of James Kempson, *First Report of Factories Inquiry Commission* (1833), E, p. 21.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

Unfortunately there are no available statistics showing the extent of child labor in the first half of the nineteenth century. From time to time, however, estimates are recorded which, in the absence of accurate data, are of considerable interest. Galatin estimated in his *Report on Manufactures* that our cotton mills in 1811 would employ 500 men and 3,500 women,⁵⁵ but the proportion of women to children and the ages of the children are not given. The Committee on Manufactures in 1816 reports vaguely 24,000 "boys under seventeen" and 66,000 "women and girls" out of an estimated 100,000 cotton mill employees.⁵⁶ John Quincy Adams in his *Digest of Manufactures* gives statistics⁵⁷ which show that in the various manufactures of cotton more than 50 per cent. of the total number of persons employed are children, but again the age limit for "children" is not given and the *Digest* itself was considered unreliable for many reasons. There are other estimates for the first quarter of the century for individual towns and mills, but all alike give only the classification "women and children" or "girls and boys," and although they uniformly show an extremely small percentage of men employed, they do not answer the question, How many children were at work and of what age were they?⁵⁸ Now and then an interesting document is found which seems to throw more light on prevailing conditions than such statistics as we have. The following extract from a memorandum book⁵⁹ of an early manufacturer under date of January 27, 1815, is of interest from this point of view:

Dennis Rier of Newbury Port has this day engaged to come with his family to work in our factory on the following conditions. He is to be here about the 20th of next month and is to have the following wages per week:

⁵⁵ *American State Papers. Finance*, II, 427. Similarly Trench Coxe in 1814 estimated that in seven-eighths of the labor necessary to produce fifty million pounds of yarn might be that of women and children (*ibid.*, p. 669).

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, III, p. 82.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 28 ff.

⁵⁸ In an article dealing with the employment of women, in the *Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. XIV, p. 482, I have collected some of these estimates.

⁵⁹ From the *Poignaud and Plant Papers* a manuscript collection preserved in the Lancaster (Mass.) Town Library.

Himself	\$5.00
His son Robert Rier, 10 years of age	0.83
Daughter Mary, 12 years of age	1.25
Son William, 13 years of age	1.50
Son Michael, 16 years of age	2.00
	<hr/>
	10.58
His sister, Abigail Smith	2.33
Her daughter Sally, 8 years of age	0.75
Son Samuel, 13 years of age	1.50
	<hr/>
	4.58

Moreover the employment of children varied not only from state to state but from district to district. Child labor was much less extensive in Massachusetts than in Rhode Island. Samuel Slater had established in Providence and its vicinity the plan of employing families in his mills—a transplanting of the system with which he had been familiar in England. The factory village of the Rhode Island type, therefore, was composed of families entirely dependent upon their labor in the mills, and the mill children lived at home with their parents. On the other hand, in towns like Lowell and Waltham in Massachusetts,⁶⁰ the operatives were almost entirely farmers' daughters, who, being away from their own homes, were cared for in corporation boarding-houses. The result was, that since the cost of their board was more than a child could earn, the employment of children was not profitable.⁶¹ Kirk Boott's estimate for Lowell in 1827 was that, in six mills employing 1,200 persons, nine-tenths of the operatives were females and only twenty were from twelve to fourteen years of age. But that children were often employed very young, even in so-called model places like Waltham and Lowell, cannot be questioned. Mrs. Robinson, who gives us a delightful if somewhat optimistic

⁶⁰ Hon. H. R. Oliver, *Mass. Senate Doc. 21* (1868), points out that the "English or family system" of hiring whole families was not so desirable as the Lowell system of hiring individual operatives (pp. 24, 25).

⁶¹ Batchelder, *Introduction and Early Progress of The Cotton Manufacture in the U. S.* (Boston, 1863), pp. 74, 75.

account of the early mill girls, was only ten years old when she went to work in the Tremont Mills,⁶² and Lucy Larcom was only eleven when she became a little doffer on the Lawrence Corporation.⁶³

The New Hampshire factories were more like those of Eastern Massachusetts,⁶⁴ but Connecticut⁶⁵ and the southern and western parts of Massachusetts⁶⁶ were more like Rhode Island, where the tendency was all along toward the "family system."

⁶² Robinson, *Loom and Spindle*, chap. ii, "Child Life in the Lowell Mills," pp. 25-39.

⁶³ Larcom, *A New England Girlhood*, pp. 153, 154.

⁶⁴ See the account in White's *Slater*, p. 134, of a New Hampshire factory which employed 250 girls, five boys, and twenty overseers; nine of the girls were under fifteen, six of the girls and three of the boys under fourteen; the comment is, "the relative number of children employed in this establishment, it is believed, will correspond without much variation with the proportion to be found in most of the factories east of Providence and its vicinity; in the latter district, the manufactories were established at an earlier period, and still give employment to a large proportion of children."

⁶⁵ Smith Wilkinson's letter from Pomfret, Conn., (*Documents Relative to the Manufactures of the United States*, 1832, I, p. 1046) contains an interesting statement regarding Connecticut: "We usually hire poor families from the farming business of from four to six children, and from a knowledge of their former income, being only the labor of the man, say \$180-\$200, the wages of the family is usually increased by the addition of the children to from \$450-\$600."

⁶⁶ The extract from the *Poignaud and Plant Papers*, quoted *supra* is an illustration of this. And the situation in Fall River was described by the superintendent of public schools as follows: "The operatives are for the most part families, and do the work in the mills by the piece, taking in their children to assist. . . . The families are large . . . and the mill owners are not willing to fill up their houses with families averaging perhaps ten members and get no more than two of all the number in the mill. The families are also, in most instances, so poor that the town would have to aid them, if the children were taken from their work. . . . I do not think the English system of family help is found in other places to any great extent. It gives a great number of children, compared with the whole number of operatives, and their labor could not be dispensed with in the mills nor could we accommodate them in our schools." *Mass. Senate Doc. 21* (1868), p. 46. By 1875 (*Mass. Senate Doc. 50*, p. 27) it was clearly stated that "men with growing families" is the standard demand in many of our manufacturing centers.

Smith Wilkinson writes from Pomfret, Connecticut,

"In collecting our help, we are obliged to employ poor families, and generally those having the greatest number of children;" and the company's real estate investments are explained as an attempt "to give the men employment on the lands while the children are employed in factory."⁶⁷

But Connecticut's point of view with regard to Rhode Island was distinctly Pharisaical, and a Connecticut official in 1842 gave the following account of the situation:

The English factory system was introduced into Rhode Island by Slater, and along with it, many of the evils of that system as it was before a more enlightened public opinion and beneficial legislation had improved it. There is a much larger proportion of children among the factory laborers in Rhode Island than in Connecticut or Massachusetts.⁶⁸

The contrast between Rhode Island and the other cotton manufacturing states in respect to child labor is made clear by the table accompanying the "Report on Cotton" at the Convention of the Friends of Industry in 1831. The total number of children under twelve employed in cotton factories in 1831 was 4,691 (excluding printeries which employed 430 more). Of this number 3,472 were from Rhode Island, 484 from New York, 439 from Connecticut, 217 from New Jersey, 60 from New Hampshire, 19 from Vermont and none from Massachusetts.⁶⁹

The Committee on Education of the Massachusetts Senate reported in 1825 that there was no necessity for legislative interference on the subject, and concluded that "this is a subject always deserving the parental care of a vigilant government. It appears, however, that the time of employment is generally

⁶⁷ White's *Memoir of Slater* (Philadelphia, 1836), p. 127.

⁶⁸ Pamphlet on *Legal Provision Respecting the Education and Employment of Children in Factories*, etc. (Hartford, 1842).

⁶⁹ "Report of the Committee on Cotton," *Proceedings of the Friends of Domestic Industry at New York* (Baltimore, 1831), p. 112. These figures are clearly the result of an underestimate taken from special reports by employers, who, then as now, were not over anxious to report the employment of young children. It is shown, e.g., in "Documents Relating to Manufactures" (1831) *op. cit.*, II, 59, that 323 boys twelve to sixteen, and 406 under twelve were employed in New York; i.e., nearly as many boys under twelve according to this report as children under twelve according to the above report.

twelve or thirteen hours each day, excepting the Sabbath.”⁷⁰ But a report from the House Committee on Education from the same state in 1836 is of considerable length and of a somewhat different tenor, as the following extracts sufficiently indicate:

According to an estimate made by an intelligent friend of manufactories . . . there were employed in 1830, in the various manufacturing establishments in the United States, no less than 200,000 females. If the number has increased in other parts of the country since the estimate was made, as it has in this state, it must at the present time amount to more than half a million! . . . These are females alone, and most of them of young and tender years. . . . Labor being dearer in this country than it is in any other with which we are brought in competition in manufacturing, operates as a constant inducement to manufacturers to employ female labor, and the labor of children, to the exclusion of men’s labor, because they can be had cheaper. . . . [With the increase of numerous and indigent families in manufacturing districts] there is a strong interest and an urgent motive to seek constant employment for their children at a very early age, if the wages obtained can aid them even but little in bearing the burden of their support. . . . [Causes] are operating, silently perhaps but steadily and powerfully, to deprive young females particularly, and young children of both sexes in a large and increasing class in the community, of those means and opportunities of mental and moral improvement . . . essential to their becoming . . . good citizens. . .

In four large manufacturing towns, not however including the largest, containing by the last census a population of little less than 20,000, there appear to be 1,895 children between the ages of four and sixteen who do not attend the common schools any portion of the year. . . . If full and accurate answers were given by all the towns in this Commonwealth, . . . it is believed there would be developed a state of facts which would at once arrest the attention of the legislature and not only justify but loudly demand legislative action upon the subject.”⁷¹

⁷⁰ *Archives*, 8,074. Some documents appear with the report, one containing statements from a considerable number of firms as to the number of children under sixteen employed, their hours of labor and their annual school attendance. As the statements are so incomplete the report seems valueless. A total of 978 children under sixteen is given, the number of hours varying from ten to fourteen per day, the school privileges from none at all to four months. As important towns like Lowell are entirely unrepresented, the report is obviously of little if any value. I am indebted to Mr. C. E. Persons of Harvard University for the use of notes on this report.

⁷¹ Report of the Committee on Education on “Whether any or what provision ought to be made for the better education of children employed in manufacturing industries in Massachusetts” (1836). *House Document No. 49*. The first paragraph quoted is from p. 8, the second from p. 10, the third, p. 11, and the last, pp. 13-14.

Turning from the extent of child labor to the conditions under which children worked, there is also much variation from state to state; but this variation is due rather to standards set by different manufacturing centers than to the interference of state laws. For child labor was practically unregulated in this country until after the Civil War. A few laws had been passed, but they remained on the statute books as so many dead letters. In Massachusetts a ten-hour law for children under twelve years was ineffectual,⁷² and not only in Massachusetts but in Connecticut and Rhode Island, laws which provided a low minimum of "schooling" went unenforced.⁷³ The inevitable result of this lack of regulation was not only that very young children were worked, but that they were worked long hours, over time, and

⁷² Act of 1842, chap. 60. The act was ineffective owing to a clause which penalized only those who "knowingly" violated it (Whittelsey, *Massachusetts Labor Legislation*, pp. 113 and 9, 10).

⁷³ Regarding the situation in Rhode Island, the superintendent of public schools in Providence wrote, "But this law (requiring some school attendance) is, so far as I can learn, a dead letter. There has never been a complaint although it has been violated constantly. The employment of minors now depends upon the necessities and cupidity of parents and the interests of manufacturers. The manufacturing interests are now a controlling power in the state, and it will be extremely difficult to enforce a law against their wishes:" Quoted in *Mass. Sen. Doc.* (1869) No. 44, p. 37. In Connecticut, the school report of 1839 stated that "in the manufacturing villages . . . the precise number of children of very tender age, who should have been in school but are thus consigned to excessive and premature bodily labor to the utter neglect of their moral and intellectual training, I cannot give. But the returns from the districts in these villages show that nearly two-thirds of those enumerated have not been in school. The law which was passed many years since, to secure a certain amount of instruction to this class of children is a dead letter in nearly if not every town in the state" (*Second Annual Report of Board of Commissioners of Common Schools in Connecticut* [Hartford, 1839], p. 24; see also *Third Annual Report*, p. 21). As to the ineffectiveness of the Massachusetts laws see Whittelsey, *op. cit.*, pp. 9, 10. A somewhat inflammatory writer in the last state charged that the law which prohibited a child under fifteen working more than nine months in a factory without passing the other three in school "is evaded by the cruel and mercenary owners of the children who keep them nine months in one factory and then take them directly to another with a lie in their mouths." Denied in Bartlett, *Vindication of the Females in The Lowell Mills* (Lowell, 1841), p. 16.

at night. Even in Lowell, where conditions were particularly favorable, little mites of ten were on duty nearly fourteen hours a day, and then did household tasks and went to evening school.⁷⁴ The testimony quoted in the special report of the committee of the Massachusetts legislature in 1866⁷⁵ throws much light on all of these points. It was claimed that at that time overseers in need of "small help" went about and systematically canvassed for children.⁷⁶ There is an increasing amount of testimony that many were employed very young. Witnesses from New Bedford and Fall River testified that in both places children of seven were employed. In answer to the question: "Is there any limit on the part of the employers as to the age when they take children?" the reply was, "They'll take them at any age they can get them, if they are old enough to stand. . . . I guess the youngest is about seven. There are some that's younger, but

⁷⁴ Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 36-40. Mrs. Robinson says, "Except for the terribly long hours there was no great hardship." Lucy Larcom's story is much the same, early rising and long hours being the great grievances (*New England Girlhood*, pp. 153, 154). The testimony of "an agent" in the *Report of the Mass. Bureau of Labor* in 1871 contains interesting information on this point (p. 500): "We run our mills sixty-six hours per week. When I began as a boy in a mill, I worked fifteen hours a day. I used to go in at a quarter past four in the morning and work till quarter to eight at night, having thirty minutes for breakfast and the same for dinner, drinking tea after ringing out at night. But I took breakfast and dinner in the mill as the time was too short to go home, so that I was sixteen hours in the mill. This I did for eleven years, 1837-1848. The help was all American. . . . In 1848 we dropped to fourteen hours. In 1850 or '51 we went down to twelve hours."

⁷⁵ *House Document No. 98* (February, 1866) "Report of the Special Committee on the Hours of Labor and the Condition and Prospects of the Industrial Classes."

⁷⁶ "Small help is scarce; a great deal of the machinery has been stopped for want of small help, so the overseers have been going round to draw the small children from the schools into the mills; the same as a draft in the army."

Q. "Do I understand that agents go about to take children out of the schools and put them into the mills?"

A. "They go round to the parents and canvass them. This produces nothing but misery and crime. . . . The boys and girls are mixed up together from seven years up to thirteen and are entirely demoralized" (Testimony T. J. Kidd of Fall River, *ibid.*, p. 6).

very little (*sic*).⁷⁷ From Lawrence it was reported that "a great number of children from twelve to fifteen" were working at night. "The majority of those who do night work are under eighteen years of age."⁷⁸ There were no laws requiring the fencing of machinery nor prohibitions regarding the care of dangerous machinery by children, and accidents were common enough.⁷⁹ While there seems to have been no such gross and widespread brutality as the earlier English investigations revealed, cases of corporal chastisement were not unknown.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 7. Testimony of John Wild (Fall River). Other parts of this testimony are also interesting:

Q. How old are the children?

A. Seven and eight.

Q. Have you a child of seven working in the mills?

A. Yes, I have. . . .

Q. Does he get any schooling now?

A. When he gets done the mill he is ready to go to bed. He has to be in the mill ten minutes before we start up, to wind spindles. Then he starts about his own work and keeps on till dinner time. Then he goes home, starts again at one and works till seven. When he's done he's tired enough to go to bed. Some days he has to clean and help scour during dinner hour. . . . Some days he has to clean spindles. Saturdays he's in all day."

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 6. See also testimony of an overlooker of seventeen years' experience in *Report Mass. Bureau of Labor*, 1870, p. 126: "Six years ago I ran night work from 6:45 P. M. to 6:00 A. M. with forty-five minutes for meals, eating in the room. The children were drowsy and sleepy; have known them to fall asleep standing up at their work. I have had to sprinkle water in their faces to arouse them after having spoken to them till hoarse; this was done gently without any intention of hurting them." It is recorded (pp. 155-58) that children worked all night after working all day, but this seems to have been most exceptional. See also *Senate Document No. 21* (1868), p. 14. In this report Mr. Oliver says that wherever children had been kept at work during entire nights they were not the same set that had been employed during the day, the day set resting at night. . . . "This night work, so far as I can learn, has been of limited extent."

⁷⁹ See *Report Mass. Bureau of Labor* (1871), p. 483; also p. 58.

⁸⁰ "A witness described to us an instrument for whipping children at a factory in Rhode Island, consisting of a leather strap, eighteen inches long, with tacks driven through the striking end," *Report Mass. Bureau of Labor* (1870), note, p. 107. See also *ibid.*, Report for 1871, p. 489. Seth Luther, an agitator of the early thirties, gave an inflammatory account of cotton-mill children being driven "with the cow-hide or the well-seasoned strap of 'American Manufacture.'" He said he had seen "many females who have had corporal

It may seem that much of this is the testimony of *ex-parte* witnesses and to be discounted as such, but in the absence of disinterested official investigations, no unimpeachable evidence exists. Such information as is furnished by the state reports has been utilized but few of them are thorough or satisfactory. The old method of sending out "questionnaires" to employers who found it along the line of least resistance to disregard them, made such inquiries so incomplete as to be fruitless. General Oliver of Massachusetts in one of his reports explains that he is obliged to qualify his statements by saying "'so far as I can learn,' because in some cases answers to this query were not given, and such declining can have only one cause; and that not unreasonably may be assumed to be that children had been so employed but it was thought preferable not to refer to it."⁸¹ A further difficulty in attempting to ascertain the extent of child labor was that parents were allowed to take young children into the mills as their assistants, and by this means they were able to tend a larger number of looms. The names of such children did not, of course, appear upon the company's books and their work was paid for only as an increase of their parents' earnings.⁸²

In conclusion it may be said that although data do not exist for accurately estimating the extent of child labor before 1870, it has seemed worth while to bring together whatever available material on the subject there may be, with the hope that, even if fragmentary, it may throw some light on the origin and

punishment inflicted upon them; one girl of eleven years of age who had a leg broken with a billet of wood; another who had a board split over her head by a heartless monster in the shape of an overseer." But he pointed out in a footnote that of course all overseers are not so cruel. He added, however, that foreign overseers were frequently placed over American women and children. See *An Address to the Working Men of New England*, by Seth Luther (2d ed., New York, 1833), p. 20. See also Appendix F, p. 35, for further illustrations of ill treatment of factory children in America.

⁸¹ *Mass. Senate Doc. No. 21* (1868), "Report of Henry K. Oliver on the Enforcement of the Laws Regulating the Employment of Children in Manufacturing and Mechanical Establishments," pp. 14, 20, from which it appears that only 19 per cent. of the establishments applied to sent replies; i. e., only 100 out of 519 circulars were returned.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 26.

growth of one of our modern problems of poverty. It has been assumed by reformers both within and without the labor movement that child labor is a social sin of the present day. Mrs. Kelley dates its growth from 1870,⁸³ and among labor agitators it has been considered a result of a deterioration in working-class conditions which has necessitated an increase in the family earnings by the employment of children.⁸⁴

These statements may be true in part. Child labor has undoubtedly increased greatly since 1870 and the workingman may be right in thinking that this has been in some measure due to a social injustice which has not preserved a proper balance between his wages and the cost of his standard of living. The late veteran labor leader, George E. McNeill, in an argument before a committee of the Massachusetts legislature, declared that the poor man had been unable to subsist on the "pauper wages" of the cotton industry, and as a result the wife, mother, and child had been dragged "from the sanctity of the home, and had become the prey of this devouring monster [the cotton mill]."⁸⁵ Mr. McNeill was probably right as to the insufficiency of the man's wages, but the presence of women and children in the mills was certainly as much cause as effect. Ample evidence certainly exists to show that both women and children were employed in the earliest factories, and in the early part of the nineteenth century, they were the most numerous class of operatives.⁸⁶

The history of the employment of children in industry is an interesting chapter in the story of our economic development.

⁸³ *Ethical Gains in Legislation*, p. 33. Mrs. Kelley may be right in saying that although child labor existed before, it "reached no large dimensions in the United States before 1870." Absolutely the number may not have been large, but surely evidence is not lacking to show that in the textile industries, a relatively larger number of children were employed than are employed today.

⁸⁴ See *Report of Mass. Bureau of Labor* (1870), p. 108, where it is intimated that women and children have come into factories because conditions have changed and "low pay compels all to help."

⁸⁵ *Argument of George E. McNeill* (pamphlet, n.d., but probably 1871-75, Boston Public Library).

⁸⁶ For evidence regarding the employment of women, see the *Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. XIV, pp. 561 ff.

Looked at through an historical perspective our modern child-labor problem seems to have been inherited from the industrial and social life of the colonies, as well as from the industrial revolution and the establishment of the factory system. The having "all hands employed" was a part of the Puritan idea of virtue, and although the employment of children tended to become more and more for commercial purposes rather than for moral righteousness, the old moral arguments were used and are still used to support the commercialized system. It is clear and unmistakable that the colonial policy of promoting thrift and industry was skillfully used in the early part of the nineteenth century by the "friends of industry" who saw in child labor a useful instrument for the developing of our national resources. Such documents as Samuel Slater's time list for his first group of operatives, all children, the memorandum of the hiring out of Dennis Rier and his family of little children from Newburyport, or Lucy Larcom's "Strange Story of a Little Child Earning Its Living"⁸⁷ all point to a general acceptance of the propriety of children's labor in the early days of the factory system. That so little interest was taken in the subject until the last two decades is due, perhaps, to the fact that our social reform movement belongs to recent, if not contemporary, history. A consciousness of our social sins today does not mean that they are of sudden growth, but rather that public opinion has slowly become enlightened enough to take cognizance of them.

⁸⁷ Lucy Larcom, *An Idyl of Work* (Boston, 1875), p. 50. This poem of Miss Larcom's which she describes in her preface as a "truthful sketch of factory life drawn from the memory of it during the time about thirty years since, when the work of the mills was done almost entirely by young girls from various parts of New England," is very interesting. The words of one of the two little doffers (aged eleven and thirteen years) are worth quoting as an illustration of Lucy Larcom's own attitude toward the work:

"We must learn,
While we are children, how to do hard things,
And that will toughen us, so Mother says;
And she has worked hard always. When I first
Learned to doff bobbins, I just thought it play.
But when you do the same thing twenty times,—
A hundred times a day, it is so dull." (P. 49.)

THE CIVIC CONTROL OF ARCHITECTURE ¹

PROFESSOR FREDERICK M. PADEL FORD
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In the robust days of the mediaeval schoolmen, when the newly awakened passion for learning swept students to the University centers by tens of thousands, a sturdy custom maintained which was known as the defense of the thesis. In accordance with this tradition—such was the democracy of those republics of letters—any student, whether native or foreign, to a university, whether known or uncouth, might challenge any of its doctors to debate. In coming before you to advocate a somewhat drastic reform in the present status of architecture I feel something of the embarrassment that those scholastic novitiates of long ago must have felt when they found themselves, with timid theses, face to face with specialists of authority and repute.

As you well know, it is the practice of the English gentry in laying out the grounds of a country estate so to arrange the approaches to the manor that the visitor will receive his first impression from the most favorable point of view. For like reasons I choose to approach my thesis somewhat circuitously, even though the path advance through the shady groves of philosophy.

Despite the later teachings of Ruskin, and the expressive testimony of the whole arts-and-crafts movement, the academic distinction between the fine and the useful arts, inherited by the Renaissance from the Greek philosophy, is still accepted as orthodox by the majority of students. According to this venerable dictum, the fine arts are those which are of solely intrinsic value—giving that pure pleasure which comes from the perception of beauty—which serve no ulterior end, which are not blemished by any taint of subserviency to practical life; whereas

¹ An address read before the Washington State Chapter of the American Institute of Architects, in connection with the first annual exhibition.

the useful arts are those which are extrinsic in value, utilitarian, providing life with the necessary means for existence, or supplying it with its full equipment of moral and intellectual resources. The fine arts are said to find their justification in themselves, and the cry of "art for art's sake" is the slogan of those zealots who would preserve the arts from any possible exposure to the contagion of utilitarianism. It is even a cause of regret to some among the Levites that a fine art may incidentally produce useful results, as if the Creator had for once been caught napping, and suffered pollution of the holy thing.

Far be it from me to speak slightingly of the fine arts, or to encourage those who think to take the citadel by seven times encircling it with lorgnette or with prayer-book, yet it is a simple matter of history to demonstrate that the classical distinction between the so-called fine and useful arts is fanciful and theoretic. For example, it must be evident "to half a soul and to a notion crazed" that Giotto painted the frescoes of St. Francis at Assisi with a didactic purpose in view. For centuries, indeed, painting was the recognized and voluntary handmaid of religion, an office, in fact, which she did not resign even after she was conning coquetry from the warm pages of Ovid. In the sister art of poetry, your theorist, to be absolutely consistent, would be compelled to eliminate from the category of fine art all poems written for special occasions, such as Tennyson's noble "Ode to the Duke of Wellington," or Browning's "Why I am a Liberal." Indeed, have we not the testimony of our great epic poet, that in composing *Paradise Lost* he was actuated by a didactic purpose?

How then are the fine arts to be differentiated? Or are there no fine arts at all? I take it that logic admits of only one possible answer: irrespective of the question of utility, wherever an object possesses intrinsic value, and to the extent to which it possesses this value, it is fine art. The question of extrinsic value is quite beside the point. An object may serve some humble domestic office, it may be nothing more than a kitchen utensil, yet if it possess beauty it is a product of fine art. Beauty, which, as a source of pleasure, is the criterion of intrinsic value, is the

offspring of emotion, and wherever an agreeable emotion has effectively assisted in the production of an object, there beauty will inevitably be present. Manufactured articles are products of the hands, with a minimum of brain power; art in the broad sense is the product of the head directing the hands, conformable to Aristotle's well-known definition, "a habit of production in conscious accord with a correct method;" but fine art is a product of head, hands, and heart, and engages and expresses the whole man. When a work of fine art is being produced, the glow of emotion translates the mind into the realm of imagination, the realm where beauty is conceived, a realm whose gates no royal decree can unlock, and which only swing open in mute obedience to that "open sesame" which has been whispered to one in the deep recesses of his heart. Those gates once open, to each artist is disclosed the allotted vision; to one the deathless gods and the circling nectar, to one the sound of pipes and the rhythmic feet of youth and maidens turning in the dance, to one the goodly form of the god-like Achilles, to another the fair abodes of mortal men.

Wherever, then, pleasant emotion is properly communicated to an object of man's creation, there is beauty present, and the presence of beauty is the sole test of fine art.

As beauty expresses the emotion of the artist, so in turn it is recognized by the spiritual sense, and a work of fine art is thus a medium through which we enter into sympathy with the feelings of another. Art is thus fundamentally social. In proportion to the sociality of the artist will be his power, and in proportion to ours will be our enjoyment.

Accordingly, to the broad category of fine art one is compelled to admit all objects possessing beauty, in other words, all objects of intrinsic value. This will admit large classes of objects that are also of extrinsic value, serving some useful office. A Sheraton chair is thus a product of fine art possessing both intrinsic and extrinsic value, for it is a useful article of furniture and it gives pleasure by its graceful lines. A Turkish rug is a product of fine art, for, while the most satisfactory of floor coverings, it is also a source of perpetual joy, expressing

as it does the feelings of a people of imaginative life, notably sensitive and intense. The thousand and one domestic implements of the mediaeval days that the museum at Bruges preserves beneath "the belfry old and brown" are works of fine art, for they were produced by a people who demanded that beauty lighten every task. And our own arts-and-crafts movement, which has gone back to the middle centuries for its inspiration, marks the quickening of art, and not its confusion or corruption.

The assumption that the pursuit of utility is opposed to the production of beauty, which is the basis of the old distinction between the fine and the useful arts, is absolutely valid so far as it goes, but it fails to take account of the actual psychological conditions under which an object both useful and beautiful is produced. The craftsman cannot *at one and the same time* be thinking of the usefulness of the chair which he is making and be joyfully impressing his feeling for line and mass upon the material, for the one is an intellectual experience and the other an emotional. However, it is possible for one state quickly to succeed the other. What the craftsman actually does is first to reckon with the requirements of utility, and then, the restrictions being accepted, to give himself up to the joy of self-revelation, to the imparting of beauty, in the same way, though not in the same degree, as the musician, painter, or poet. From time to time he departs from this happy state of execution to assume the rôle of judge, and to satisfy himself that the demands of utility are not being sacrificed, but the assurance received, once more he is the happy child revealing dreams. Parallel to this experience of the craftsman is that of the spectator; he likewise being compelled to experience separately his recognition of the utility of the object and his pleasure in its beauty.

Reference to utility is simply one more limitation placed upon the artist, for it must not be supposed that any artist is absolutely unrestricted. Every artist must reckon with the limitations peculiar to his own art; thus the painter is restrained by the limitation of his pigments, and cannot possibly secure the higher lights and the deeper shadows of nature; the poet is restricted by meter and by the inadequacy of words. Subjection

to the requirements of utility merely adds one more limitation to those natively inherent. Moreover, just as the severest strictures of the sonnet form serve to stimulate such a poet as Wordsworth to his finest work, so it is not unreasonable to suppose that many an artist in another field has been nerved to his best endeavor by the very exaction of utility.

If all objects that possess beauty are thereby to be ranked as works of fine art, conversely all objects that lack beauty must be excluded. And this must apply to the products of poetry, painting, and music as well as to those of so-called craftsmanship. Exclude all vain and soulless paintings, all musical compositions that are mere exercises in dexterity, as relentlessly as you exclude ugly chairs and vulgar wall papers. All art is activity, but only that art which draws upon the emotions is fine art.

The term *fine art* then is not an aristocratic sur-name, to be applied to all the offspring, degenerate or not, of certain honorable families of art; rather it is a mark of warranty placed upon all products turned out from the workshop of the imagination. This does not mean that all of the arts are of equal rank, that bookbinding and weaving are on a par with painting and poetry, for it is a far cry from such a poem as "Abt Vogler," that portrays the supreme ethical experience of a life, or a canvas displaying such insight as Watts's portrait of Matthew Arnold, to a Navajo blanket, but it does mean that the poem, the portrait, and the blanket have one quality in common—beauty—which differentiates them from all meaner works of man.

And now to turn to architecture, for all that I have been saying is of ultimate reference to that, it is capable of producing fine art under exactly the same conditions as any other art. Genetically designed to serve man's protection and comfort, it may be, and often is, turned to rich account in gratifying his esthetic sense and stimulating and sustaining his moral life. It is usually considered to be inferior to painting, poetry, and music, because less flexible, less versatile, less immediate, less characteristic, less passionate and intense. Poetry and painting touch life at an infinite number of points; their commission allows them to exhaust, if they can, the content of human

experience; their range is unrestricted; they may appeal to the emotions of sex, to the social feelings, the parental, patriotic; and this broad human interest reacts in favor of the work of art, apparently heightening its beauty and rendering the pleasure peculiarly tangible and acute.

How much more vivid and insistent is the appeal in poetry than in architecture is felt on comparing the retiring simplicity of a cottage with, say, the simplicity in such a poem as Wordsworth's "Solitary Reaper," romantic, and emotionally acute as it is:

Behold her, single in the field,
Yon solitary Highland Lass!
Reaping and singing by herself;
Stop here or gently pass!
Alone she cuts and binds the grain,
And sings a melancholy strain;
O listen! for the Vale profound
Is overflowing with the sound.

Just north of Ravenna Park, beside a little tributary stream, is a charming wide-eaved cottage, set back among the daffodils. One cannot see it without a feeling of pleasure, and yet it is only in an indirect way that one recognizes *its* simplicity as what it actually is, the simplicity of a human life, a beautiful trait of character impressed upon a foreign material.

Nevertheless, despite the intensity and the poignancy of the emotional appeal in poetry, music, and painting, there is no other art that compares with architecture in influence upon the life of a community, that has such a strong claim upon the solicitude of public-spirited men, that demands such civic concern.

But before entering upon the defense of such a statement, it is expedient to consider the aesthetic and moral content of architecture. The sense appeal of architecture resides in the happy dispositions of lines, in the management of mass, and to some extent in color. Just why certain colors and certain dispositions of line and mass stimulate the optic nerves pleasantly, and thereby make us happy, it is a matter for physiological psychology to answer; for our purpose it is only necessary to recognize that such is the effect.

But much of the happiness that architecture gives us is derived, not from mere sense pleasure, but from associative moral ideas, supplied by emotion, which exalt the beauty of line, mass and color.

Contrary to the accepted notion, I believe that there is no other art which reveals moral and emotional life with such clarity and fidelity. This is due to the exactions of the material through which the architect expresses himself. Music, painting and poetry can bring out much modulation and shading in emotions, can express moral subtlety, and complexity of feelings. For example, through the flexibility and plasticity of language the poet can exhibit the intricate emotional life of such a character as Hamlet; the architect is forbidden to do this by the very clumsiness of his medium. Stone, brick, and wood are not adapted to such interpretation. On the other hand, however, architecture allows the expression of elemental and uncomplicated emotions or moral states with utmost frankness, and admits of bold, broad, open epic effects. Alone among the arts, it perpetuates the traditions of all early art, for music and poetry were once emotionally uninvolved and broad in workmanship.

Simplicity, sincerity, sympathy, humility, self-control, obedience, faith, joy, gratitude, and their opposites, confusion, deceitfulness, coldness, pride, self-indulgence, wantonness, infidelity, despair, ingratitude, to name only those that first come to mind, are moral or immoral qualities that architecture expresses with great definiteness. It is the merest commonplace to speak of the noble blending of strength and tenderness in Gothic architecture of the spiritual aspiration that resides in its pointed arches and exalted interpretation of light, or to observe that the Renaissance disposition of light and shade in broad masses is expressive of power, or that the Greek temple exhibits poise and serenity. But one does not need to turn to the supreme periods of architecture. One has but to walk along the streets of this or of any other city to find illustrations of the qualities that I have enumerated. To look at the darker side, people are worshiping in churches that, however costly, defy the humility and aspiration that are the very essence of their profession; pupils are daily entering the

portals of school houses that silently, eloquently, preach hardness of heart, hopelessness, the futility of the imagination or of sensibility; and children are being reared in houses that exalt pride, conceit, and falsehood.

Now it may be objected that what I have been saying about the emotional and moral qualities in architecture is correct enough in theory, but that it misses fire in practice because the great majority of people do not pay any attention to architecture. To this I would reply that practically all of the people are some of the time thinking about the character of the buildings that they see, and that some of the people are conscious of the architecture about them practically all of the time. We are very much inclined to underestimate the attention that the less educated classes pay to architecture. For example, of a Sunday afternoon scores of people walk along the streets in the residential suburbs, and they look at the houses and comment upon them, and I have often been interested in talking with working-men to find that they have their own ideas, untrained and crude as they may be, of what is good and bad in buildings. Even were the appeal to most people merely subconscious, the influence would yet be beyond computation; an unobserved yet living force, silently shutting or opening the avenues of the life.

The greater range and vividness of certain other of the arts has already been acknowledged, but what architecture loses in this regard it more than gains in pervasiveness. I read the "Solitary Reaper" once or twice a year, but I walk along certain streets and see certain buildings a thousand times a year. Indeed, the majority of people will not read poetry or listen to good music, and cannot see good paintings, but look at buildings they must. So far as getting a public is concerned, architecture is in a class by itself. We seek out and wait upon poetry, painting, and music, but architecture intercepts our very steps. It must necessarily do more to determine the aesthetic sense of a community than all other influences combined; it is the school in which ninety-nine out of every hundred people get their training in aesthetics. The architecture of a city is therefore a matter of supreme moment to its welfare. If the architecture is

ugly, it is impossible to keep the populace sensitive to beauty. It degrades and vitiates the aesthetic sense, and tends to deaden the nobler spiritual emotions that attend it. It adds to the misery, the stupidity, and the viciousness of people. If, on the other hand, the architecture is uniformly good, it tones the whole community life. Such is the uniform testimony from the "model village" communities.

Indeed, I think that we are not at all aware of the immense social asset that uniformly good architecture would be. Fancy a city in which all of the buildings are beautiful, and trace the influence on the lives of the inhabitants. In the first place, it would add greatly to the happiness of people, for, as has been observed, it is the normal function of beauty to make us happy. Unless we have allowed ourselves to become diseased, happiness will attend beauty as naturally as flowers turn to the sun.

Not only would there be this happiness derived from the beautiful houses, but there would be the happiness derived from the many beautiful things that the beautiful houses would demand. Beauty begets beauty, and it is the variest commonplace to observe that when people have one beautiful thing they want other beautiful things to go with it. If one has a beautiful house he wants beautiful grounds, and tasteful furnishings, and good books, good music, and good clothes. A few months ago I had the pleasure of announcing to my little son of five years that there was a new sister who would like to see him. He looked up from the sand house that he was building to inquire if she were pretty. I assured him that she was. "Then," he replied, "I've got to get busy," and nothing would do but that he must take a bath and put on his Sunday clothes preparatory to the ceremony of being presented. If all the houses in Seattle were beautiful, we would drive ugliness from every nook and cranny of the city.

The fact is that it is very hard for a generation whose ideal is *acceleration* to appreciate the value of happiness. So bent are we, I say, on going fast, so absorbed are we in the mere experience of *the going*, that we do not stop to ask where we are going, or to recognize that it is possible actually to "get there;"

or if we do, it is to shudder at the possibility of arrested motion. American men work with an intensity, a greediness that is appalling, and the tragedy of it all is that they do not see that work, at the most, can be nothing but a means to an end. If we ever do *arrive* in this world, or any other, it can only be at one place, the City of Happiness. All other stopping-places are mere way stations, or else on the wrong road altogether. In other words, the attainment of happiness is the only thing that makes effort rational. It is the one spiritual state which has intrinsic value; all work, all religion, all art, can have no significance apart from the securing of it. As men of great vision have always seen, heaven is a state of perduring joy. How vain, then, our living, if we despise or neglect happiness! Happiness is all gain, and every moment of real happiness that people experience is a blow at false ideals, and is a realization of life.

The experience of happiness is always attended by an expanding of the life, an enlargement of the sympathies, a fruitful quickening of the social impulse, and those familiar with the "model villages" insist that this indirect moral effect of beauty is very great. We have all experienced something of this in listening to music or to a drama. The inhabitants of our beautiful city will have ready and discerning sympathy for one another.

Again, these inhabitants will see in their buildings, both public and private, eloquent illustrations of noble moral qualities, and such virtues as sincerity, sympathy, and simplicity, themselves incorporated into the soul of beauty, will in turn inculcate in men and women a like condition.

If this is not the mere Utopia of an idle dream, if it be really desirable to have good architecture, and nothing but good architecture, in our cities, there ought to be some way of bringing the change about. American architecture is, on the whole, improving, and the last twenty years mark an appreciable advance, and yet, under present conditions, two hundred years would scarcely suffice to realize the ideal that I have pictured. Such an organization as the American Institute of Architects is doing what it can to train the public taste and to establish a high standard of production, but opposed to it are not only untrained and unpro-

fessional architects, but a public who, for the most part, have not taste at all commensurate with their freedom and wealth. If now the desired change cannot be effected with the legal status of architecture what it is, is it not possible actually to change this status? I believe that it is so, and I am ready to propose that the municipality assume the task. Is it immoderate to suggest that the municipality, which in so many ways now cares for life physically, intellectually, and morally, should also be to some extent the guardian of the aesthetic life? The power of beauty is the one power of life that government now ignores. It is quite natural that the other powers should be the first to enlist civic interest, for their needs appear to be more pressing, but the time is ripe, I believe, to ask the state to assume something of a supervision of beauty.

But what changes that would not improperly restrict personal freedom, and that would be a proper incentive, and not an improper curb, to the architects themselves, can be made? This question is one that has interested me very much, and, puzzling as it is, by way of suggestion I would like to make certain proposals.

In the first place I would establish the office of city architect as a part of the municipal government. This office would carry a very generous salary, so that a man of real worth could accept it without undue financial sacrifice. To safeguard the office from politics, I would have candidates submit designs to a tribunal appointed by the fellows of the American Institute of Architects.

The city architect would have associated with him a council, likewise chosen by merit. All plans for proposed buildings would be submitted to this body, and those that were unworthy of the city would be vetoed. Of course the architect and his council would not use their office to promote any particular styles of architecture, but would welcome individuality in so far as it was in accord with the correct principles of art. In fact, I would have the office conduct frequent prize contests for various styles of buildings, in order that the architects of the city might be stimulated to their best endeavors.

For every building erected there would have to be an architect's plan, and in order that this might not work a hardship on the poor, the office would furnish a large number of acceptable designs from which a choice might be made. For the plan thus accepted, a nominal price would be paid, and this would be turned over to the architect who filed the plan with the office, and who would superintend the erection of the building. These plans could be used many times, provided, of course, that undue duplication in any one locality were prohibited. In this way I would prevent the erection of characterless little houses, and the practice of stealing plans.

The office would observe hours of consultation, when experts would discuss plans or the larger architectural questions of the city with any who might wish to avail themselves of such service. This would be of peculiar advantage to those men who erect business and office blocks, for it is extremely difficult to make such structures beautiful, with reasonable expense. That it can be done is shown by some of the very tall office buildings, which offer the most trying of problems. Some of these buildings spring with liveness and vigor, and with their severe restriction of ornament to the upper stories have somewhat the character of a good Greek column. The aesthetic enjoyment that they give is often very great. It is to the interest of everyone who builds on a business avenue to have every other building good, in order that his own structure may be effective. Indeed, it is hard for the imagination to picture the effect, or to estimate the business potency, of a street, such, for example, as Third Avenue is to be, in which all of the architecture was harmonious, and mutually attractive and supportive. The business man, his architect, and the city engineer should work out the problem of each building block together. The business man would be watchful for the utility of his building and for its economy, the architect for the preservation of his individuality in his work, and the city architect for the general harmony of the street.

There would also be courses of illustrative lectures to be delivered before community clubs, and in the high schools—if

not in the upper grades—systematic courses of one or two lectures a month running through the four years. I think these lectures would be very seriously received, for I am convinced that the majority of people want to have attractive houses and are eager to be taught what is good.

The office would also have charge of the granting of licenses, in case state licenses were not required, because the city would regard quack architects as equally objectionable with quack physicians or lawyers.

To the architects themselves, I think that nothing but good could result from such a departure. They would be protected against vandalism, there would be much more work for them to do, there would be a more rational and meritorious competition, and there would be the enduring satisfaction of united and systematic effort in carrying out a project in which self-interest and altruism were happily combined. The city would be one vast work of art, to the realization of which each architect would contribute.

In these suggestions, I have not attempted to exhaust the possibilities of such an office, but merely to suggest a general line of procedure which allows of being modified or supplemented. Further possibilities have doubtless suggested themselves to your minds already.

Such a departure as I have proposed would cost, I should think, \$15,000 a year, an average cost of five cents apiece, the price of a plain soda or of a pair of shoe strings, when the city has 300,000 inhabitants. It would result in a city of unique beauty and in a happier and more moral people. And further than that it would be a great stimulus to architecture itself, for it has always been true that the periods of most virile activity in the arts have been those in which the populace at large have furnished an appreciative public. Under such encouragement was the Gothic church, the Japanese print, and the German musical revival produced.

Our city is still in its infancy. Only a handful of really permanent buildings have yet been erected. It is ours to do with as we list. And is not the task one to stir the zeal of youth and

to reanimate the spirit of old age. How fair does the city seem this early summer day! Encircled by the mountains, lakes gleaming in idleness, the ocean at its feet, hills and valleys pleasantly folded together, and the soft haze of May over it all. Such it now is, thanks to kindly nature, and can one reflect temperately upon its future?

How fit to employ

All the heart and the soul and the senses forever in joy!

THE NATIONALISM OF A CHINESE CHRISTIAN

BY A CHINESE STUDENT IN AMERICA¹

MY DEAR M ———: I have duly received your favor of January 26, for which please accept my thanks. Having pleasantly read it over, I decide to answer a few lines in spite of the fact that I am overworked with scholastic burdens.

I am really sorry to know that you have been ill, and your sickness has been severe as you told me in the letter. It is also to my great dissatisfaction that I have not been able to know the fact until I read your letter. I do hereby express and extend my sympathy with you in the situation. And I also hope that you will be able to restore your entire health and be strong, indeed, stronger than ever before, so that you may do your great and noble work, full of His spirit and efficient in His service.

To ———, who has been your coworker and lately, as you have told me, your copatient, I also wish that you would kindly give my sympathy and good will.

It is, indeed, to my satisfaction to know that "some things in the letter have made you glad to know." But to expect that I should be able to please you in every way and please everybody, of course you know, is a matter of impossibility. The real question is whether it pleases my God as I know Him, and secondly, whether it pleases my real self as it is. Of course, whenever I can please anybody without compromising the above,

¹ This letter was not written for publication. It is the frank confession of a student to a former teacher in the missionary school in China in which he became a Christian. He has been in this country four years. A year ago he received the Bachelor's degree from a denominational college in the Middle West. He is now a candidate for the Master's degree in another institution. He will return to his home, and hopes to find a place in which he may be useful to "new China." He asked several of his instructors to criticize the letter, and at their request consented to its publication without the use of his name. We print it simply as a truthful reflection of the effect which conflicting influences that are parts of the present situation in China have had upon the mind of a single student.—Ed.

it is also my pleasure to do so. I suppose you will agree with me on this point. We also agree in the belief that in everything we must rely upon our God or the Providence. But as soon as we come to the methods, practical emphasis of facts and concentration of energy, there is a divergence of opinion and belief. My purpose and ambition, if these are correct words, is to be a humble servant of my God, my fellow men, and my fellow countrymen by identifying myself with the cause of education which has been the method of Confucianism. My interests are many-sided, religious as well as others. Besides, my religious view does not need to be the same as that of others as long as difference of opinion in certain respects, and to a certain extent, is inevitable.

With reference to the service of God as our object, there is no difference of opinion between us at all. Our disagreement lies in "methods" as you have called it. Kant says, "Our object is the same, but our methods and results are widely different."

I have three things in mind, and they are all contained in three words, viz., Divinity, Humanity, and Nationality. Briefly stated, my opinion is as follows:

The first in the order of importance is Divinity; the second is Humanity; and the third is Nationality. Without the basis of nation, mankind cannot be served. Without Nationality and Humanity as a sort of background, God cannot be served.

I remember at the commencement meeting at Hangchow College several years ago a certain pastor thought that he had corrected and improved my idea when he said, "the Kingdom of God, not the country of China. Love the God and serve Him only." I still think now, as I thought then, that he has entirely misunderstood the situation, i. e., my viewpoint, the occasion, and China's position at that time. The subject of my speech was a patriotic one, "China Today." How do *you* think of it?

China's present situation is full of dangers, spiritual as well as physical. The greatest physical danger in my sight is the threatening condition of China's existence from the dangers of two kinds, (*a*) from without, through the invasion of the foreign forces and aggression of foreign interests by way of "Might

is Right;" (b) from within, in the form of superstition and corruption, ignorance and weakness, poverty and selfishness, and the misconception of our old tradition—"Right is Might." An effort on the part of the Chinese people to remedy the situation or to prevent the dangers is absolutely demanded by China, and such demand is the most peremptory, forcible, and immediate.

Under the present circumstances, in my opinion, the supreme duty of every true child of old China, male or female, old or young, Christian or non-Christian, if you please, is (1) to preserve her national existence, (2) to resist the unreasonable demands of the foreigners, and to resist it with a sufficient force if necessary, and I am sorry to say, force is a necessity and is the only salvation of China from the hell of the western militarism, (3) to improve the conditions of (a) individual living and (b) social welfare.

It is the duty of those who have received the light freely and early, let us say, to shine freely and brightly. It is incumbent upon them to act unselfishly and enlightenedly. Christians as Chinese citizens are under the absolute obligation to study and think diligently, soberly, and carefully in order to receive more and better light themselves, and then to awaken, enlighten, agitate, direct, lead, and keep the nation on the way of prosperity and progress. Everybody cannot do everything, but everybody must do something.

Preaching is a good thing, I admit. But to expect and insist on every Christian to be a preacher or to say that under any circumstances, preaching is always the best thing, is a simple foolishness. No disaster that may confront soldiers can be greater than that at the beginning of or during a battle, the soldiers of one army should be made to cast away their arms of protection, and kneel down and pray to our God while the enemy keeps on firing their machine guns and pouring down balls and bullets upon them. Will it not be a very great mistake for a preacher to continue his sermon and urge his congregation to remain in their seats when the church is on fire?

I am not sure whether I have made my thought clear to you or not. At present I am not interested in the rightness or

wrongness of my opinion expressed in this letter. The question whether I am wrong or right here, or whether you are right or wrong, does not concern me at all. I leave it entirely to the omniscient. Perhaps time may give us light. But I do want to urge you to understand what my thought is.

I have studied the problem for some time; I have read what some of the best authorities have written on the subject; I have learned from some of the greatest living persons; my prayer has also been persistent; though my observation has not been so full, so wide, and so various as to yield a great satisfaction, yet I think it is no presumption and no exaggeration for me to say that I have almost availed of all opportunities of observation within the possible command of a person situated as I am. May I add that I have found that my humble opinion is on agreeable terms with that of persons who are the most conversant and best qualified to deal with the subject in China, England, United States, and other countries?

So great my admiration and worship of the western civilization has been and still is; so deeply I have been intoxicated with Christianity while in Christian schools at home and abroad, and still am; so predominantly I have been influenced and attracted by the good Christians and missionaries, and still am, and their influence upon me is after all not bad, but beneficent and ennobling, I think. Yet, miserable me! in spite of all, I cannot help feeling an irresistible reaction in my spirit and soul. I have something against the Christians as such and their conceptions of Christianity.

Christians and missionaries in China and America are liable to make errors here. They may think, as I know they often do, that the Chinese students should not be allowed to come to America, because they will see things and change their minds. This is a mistake. It is a bad thing to make a mistake. It will be worse to keep the mistake when one can have the opportunity to correct it. A Christian, like other good people, cannot afford it.

At first I thought that the enlightened West knows China with her people and civilization, and knows us better than the

so-called ignorant and uncivilized China knows the great modern and proud world. But really, is there any difference between the Chinese as knowers of others and others as knowers of the Chinese? I can tell you truly and respectfully that there is too much ignorance even in the circle of university men here. You can tell the rest yourself.

Another interesting thing. The magazines and newspapers published in the English language are fully stuffed with facts and fictions. Sense is mixed up with nonsense, understandings with misunderstandings, knowledge with ignorance, educated learning with childish absurdities. In a word, what the West is pleased to apply to the Chinese is equally true, if not more true, of themselves. To tell the truth, I am at a loss to find out which monster of ignorance and misunderstanding and prejudice, all devilish and hellish, is greater and more fierce.

It may be surprising to you when I say that at the present moment I hold the notion that in spiritual civilization, China is still the superior, at least, she need not feel ashamed of it. I, however, do not doubt for a moment that in material progress the West is far ahead.

I think the missionaries, in spite of their good will, noble devotion, and unselfish work, have done more harm to China than good; they have done more harm than any other people from the West, politicians and traders; and the greatest of all these harms is that China has been made unknown, and much worse, misunderstood. Consciously and unconsciously, purposefully and indifferently, directly and indirectly (such as through statesmen, travelers, etc.), missionaries make misrepresentations and thereby cause the western people to form misunderstandings. It may be that I can as well say that the missionaries have played upon the people, and made fools of them. Am I saying too much? Of course, I am addressing now the intelligent people.

The missionaries, generally speaking, are confined within the low parts of China's civilization. They come into contact with the worst element of China's citizenship and morality. It has been, furthermore, their interest and habit to see the

dark and gloomy side of China. The truth is that the missionary attitude in China has been largely egotistic fault-finding, almost never wholesome criticism. When they write home, they usually draw pictures of the worst things that they have seen, and often give bad interpretations of good things. When they come home, they tell the people of abnormal and unusual cases that they know of. Of course, the purpose of the missionaries is to appeal to the missionary sympathy of their own countrymen. They want to arouse and revive their missionary spirit and work up and stir up missionary enthusiasm. I do henceforth ask for a fair and square answer to my honest and sincere question, "Who is responsible for the misconception of things Chinese in this large western part of the world?"

No doubt, it will be interesting to everybody, as it ought to be so, to reconsider some concrete facts. The Chinese are accused of being liars and bribers while the Americans are defended as being truth-tellers and not grafters. "On Sundays," there is a bold and imposing generalization that "all business in America is closed." America is told that a China woman beats the feet of her little young daughter into pulp and then sells her. The missionaries in China say that America is not right in excluding the Chinese while their own brothers, brethren, and too many of their countrymen conscientiously believe in and maintain therewith the exclusion of "John Chinaman." A certain educational missionary who has been long in China, as I learned, wanted to separate the Chinese students from the Americans on account of his knowledge or misknowledge of the Chinese, that the heathen China is low in morality and cheap in character. Very unfortunately China has bad things. But quite uniquely, the missionaries tell them to America either at random or at wholesale, accompanied with imaginations and exaggerations naturally. Enough of this. Before we proceed, perhaps it may be worth while to have you missionaries and us missionaried come together and talk it over. Remember the fact that, from the Chinese standpoint the students here have many things to tell their fellow-countrymen when they return

home and, if they will, to the great discredit and shame of Christian America.

I may be mistaken myself, or I may mislead the opinion of others, or some people may misunderstand me themselves. There is no perfect thing and no perfect man in the world, because perfection does not exist here. Therefore, the missionaries may be, as I hope them to be, better in reality than in my thought and expression. They are sure enough good men. The only trouble is, in my opinion, that they are not only not so good as they ought to be, but also not so good as many people are inclined to think them to be. What I am certain is that from the standpoint of nationalism and patriotism, they give us little or no satisfaction, or substantial aid.

The above was written to you with all sincerity and earnestness. I am not to be understood that I, in thus speaking, become thereby an atheist and infidel, I suppose. I respect the missionaries; I value their work; I esteem their devotion; I admire their courage; I worship their unselfishness. What I dislike most is their "one-sidedness," or Christianity, let me say, please; what I love most is their "Christian love" and sincerity.

You see, I desire "Tolerance." I believe in "Personal Responsibility." I dislike and disapprove "Insistency." I do greatly appreciate your praying in behalf of me and also that of my friend, ———. I, however, on my part, have also been praying constantly for you and my friend. I do not object to real "Christianizing," but I am greatly against false "Americanizing." I think China can get along very well without particular creeds, doctrines, and opinions. She may get along better without them. Moreover, personal opinions of the missionaries ought not to be taken as authorities without giving good and sure reasons.

I like to add that as far as personal characters, morality, and relations are concerned, I am sorry to say that in my own experience, I have been unable to find much difference between Christians and non-Christians in this country. The fact is that non-Christians treat me as well as the Christians, if not better.

Patriotism is now my decided journey of life. For China,

our dear great and old country, I am very willing, if it is necessary, even to sacrifice my insignificant self and give it in exchange for the sacred habitation of our dear ancestors and the happy land of our beloved successors. For the salvation of China I am even willing to damn my soul, if necessary.

By the way, let me call your attention to the spirit of sacrifice in Moses, Paul, and David or Samuel. Each of these men wished to sacrifice his soul in order to save his people, if it had been necessary. In the career of my own choice, I have been long desiring and yearning for the same spirit and its realization thereof. Tell me wherein I am wrong.

I believe, and very firmly, that it is our duty to preserve China for the coming Chinese who will be great men, to develop and prepare China for her part in the future work of world's co-operation and progress in which she is destined to participate and play a very important rôle. Do you missionaries kindly say no more, for the sake of all concerned, that "China would be better governed by the foreigners;" and also no more, under the present circumstances, at least, "Don't talk Patriotism," "Too much of Patriotism," "No use for Patriotism." I have learned that Patriotism and Modern Nations are inseparable things, rather, the two make one thing. The American missionaries in particular ought to know the spirit of Patriotism and her part in influencing the conduct of national life in the United States of America. Otherwise, they must be either fools or liars.

On the highway of Patriotism, with the banner writ large and clear, "China for the Chinese," my resolution is inflexible, my steps are firm, my attitude is uncompromising, my will is very strong. I feel, however weak it may be in other things, and any sacrifice on my part, if I should be allowed to enjoy this privilege, will be very willingly and freely given.

In short, my position forcibly expressed, amounts to this—*Rather China without Christianity than Christianity without China.* If Christianity cannot get along with the existence of China, or without disturbing or curbing her national life, we, at least most of us Christians, will have none of it. Upon this,

we are determined. Yes, if you please, you can call this to be a worldly idea of a worldly man. Indeed, in that sense, we do care for China and the world only; we do not want Christianity at all.

Personally, I believe, and really, that I myself can know and decide better than any human being can do for me as to what and how I shall live my life. I think I can do much better, perhaps a hundred times better, if you will, than if I chose to be a preacher, in accordance with the persuasion of you missionaries. I refer to the religious interest alone, other things being put aside, in order to gratify your missionary appetite.

I wish I could tell you something of my feeling when I think of the past, the present and the future of the black and red races and that of all existing but conquered and subject nations. The cruel fate of most of them is told. I am wondering if these things have ever touched and troubled the minds of most of you missionaries. It does not seem to me that you have been troubled by them. If not! why not?

True to the dictates of my conscience, I wish to tell you that religion, or even let us say, Christianity, pure and simple, can never be sufficient, in my opinion, to help and save China, unless you enlarge the sphere of your so-called religious interest. My whole self is almost broken down for your blameworthiness when I think of your responsibility to God, to the world, and to China, and the way you let your religious zeal express itself under the present circumstances.

I shall be very glad to listen again to what you have to say with reference to what and how I shall do. Now you can readily see that this is quite a big concession to you on my part. You know, it has been my habit, and I will always try to do so, to give careful consideration to different opinions of reliable persons, but unconditionally reserve to myself the right and responsibility of choice and decision.

Preaching is all right. To love God and serve Him is all right. The trouble is that most of you people, as it seems to me, think that one is right only when he is a preacher, doing and knowing little or nothing else. I assert that such is the

substance of your thought and conduct. That is a mistake. I think it will be the greatest misfortune, yes, indeed, too great for the Chinese to suffer, however forbearing always they are, if China should do as you wish it. To make a long story short, the present situation is, in my opinion, worse than when "the blind lead the blind," because now the blind persuade and urge the less blind to follow and be led. Your one-sidedness, reduced to simplicity, is worse than the monastic one-sidedness. Oh! China and Christianity! Where are you? What are you doing?

I am very much afraid that your counsel and persuasion, which you and others give to me and to other Chinese, is fatal in every respect. I say fatal. Thus speaking, I hope, I have not done injustice to those missionaries who have given us sympathy and due credit or consideration to our objects and actions.

The real trouble is that most of you, I do not say all of you, say that the Chinese ought to love our country (you never say, to serve it), but when we begin to try to realize our patriotic consciousness and express it in our speeches and actions, at once you want to stop and turn us back absolutely to indifference. You wish us as Christian citizens "to do nothing" and "to be nothing," so to speak. I think this alone is a sufficient reason for the enemies of Christianity to attack the missionaries and Christians at large and regard them as unpatriotic and traitors to China.

Perhaps the missionary situation is too peculiar and too deep for me. It may be more good than bad. But it is certainly bad to the patriotic cause. I have long found out that most of us enlightened Chinese Christians know that fact. The enlightened missionaries know it too. And all missionaries ought to be enlightened, anyway.

Let me also tell you something of my religious attitude. I like to say that I hold a liberal view. To the weak-minded orthodoxy, I may look like a heretic. But do whatever you please, still I don't care. Haven't I said already that I prefer China as such to Christianity as such? I refuse to be told otherwise by any human being, however clever he may be. I may be

right and I may be wrong. But that's nothing to me. I mean to say that we do not have time for argument. You understand what I am saying. I am also conscious that against the narrow-minded Confucianists I have likewise committed a heresy. But why should one be afraid of them? Stick to the truth and be a patriot. That's my motto. That's my ambition. That's my object. That's all.

According to my humble opinion one is religion and the other is ethics, and the two can and will co-operate with each other. Confucianism is ethical, because it leaves out the relation of man to God and the future life, which are, in my view, essential elements of all religions. I believe, and very resolutely, that there is no conflict at all between the true Christianity and the true Confucianism. Fight against Confucianism? You can, if you will. But I will not.

At the bottom of my heart, I am of all anxiety and hope that we, the assumed Christian patriots, should have the sympathy, co-operation, and close and constant companionship of our Christian countrymen and missionary friends. Every kind of departure must be unpleasant, especially a departure of this kind. At least, it is so with me.

To you, my dear ———, this lengthy letter, and the unrestrained liberty of expression, I have now written; and this I have done simply because you have taken an interest in me, the unworthy, and also because of your real and deep interest in my friend, Foh Tsu. If this letter is too long, I must beg your pardon. If too short, you have to excuse me. For errors, defects, and obscurities in expression and thought, I leave them to your correction and supplement. I have tried with my utmost to be clear and distinct. Should my expression have been too strong, you can soften it yourself. That is to say, you just read it softly.

Should you missionaries and Americanized Christians, fortunately few, be more cautious, considerate and sympathetic, we would rejoice and bless you greatly. Then most Chinese will help you, too. Or I seem to see as if there were clouds, darkness and dangers coming to cover and overwhelm them. Certainly,

one-sided and bigoted Christianity is doomed. Modern China will not tolerate it.

I suppose you appreciate the pains I have taken in writing this letter, because I hold myself responsible, to a certain extent, to your correct understanding of me and my ideas, but, of course, not to your criticism and judgment. I am also with the hope that in the future this letter will save us much writing and talking on this subject. You know I have made up my mind already.

I am very anxious to see that you are not greatly displeased with the letter, at least not angry. If you are, just remember how you missionaries have dealt with the Chinese people. How often the Chinese had good reasons to get angry with you, yet how often they were not. I have written to you mainly for the sake of the Chinese. Your and my personal affairs are relatively not important. Many thanks for your introduction to the eminent professor, Dr. Henderson, of the Department of Sociology, in the University of Chicago. I have had a very pleasant and profitable conversation with him. As I understand it, the professor's opinion is generally in agreement with mine. He told me that he would write to you soon. I asked him to advise and suggest that you missionaries should be tolerant of honest differences of opinion unless you are *very sure* that God told you that you were right and others were wrong.

I will come home presently, sometime the next summer. I do not have any definite idea yet. Dr. Burton will lead an expedition into China and study the educational needs of our country at the beginning of next year.

With my kindest regards, good will, and Christian love, to you and all, I remain,

Very truly yours,

INDUSTRIAL INSURANCE

X

THE PENSION SYSTEMS OF THE UNION AND OF THE SEVERAL STATES

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The federal government.—This system is instructive in relation to workingmen's insurance both as a precedent and as a warning. The costly errors committed in its foundation and administration will warn the future legislator to prepare carefully and scientifically in advance a consistent and reasonable plan. The pension idea itself, in spite of faults of law and administration, has already prepared the way for insurance of old age for wage earners. From the beginning of our history as a people the pension method of caring for servants of the community has been familiar. The earliest settlers of New England adopted the principle that it was both the duty and the interest of the commonwealth to provide pensions for those who risk their lives in war for the defense of all.

In 1636 the Plymouth Pilgrims enacted a regulation that whosoever should set forth as a soldier and return maimed should be maintained by the colony for the rest of his life. The Virginia Assembly of 1644 passed a law providing pensions for disabilities. Our first real pension law was passed by the Continental Congress, August 26, 1776.

The central and state governments thus sought to encourage enlistments in times of national danger.

With the beginning of the Civil War pensions there is noted increasing liberality in conducting pension affairs. Up to 1879 a man, to be eligible for a pension, must have applied within five years after his discharge. The Arrears Pension Act of 1879 is one of the most noted of our pension laws. It provided that all pensions which had been granted under the general laws regulating pensions should commence from the date of the discharge of the person on whose account the pension had been granted. The rate of the

pension for the intervening time from which the pension had been granted was to be the same as that for which the pension had been originally granted.¹

From this time the sums expended rapidly increased.

Military land grants.—Ever since the War of the Revolution the government has given land freely to veterans of the wars. In addition to grants made by special acts of Congress the government has issued since the war for independence 598,628 warrants for 783,030 acres (Rep. Com. of Pensions, 1906, p. 10).

In this connection we must compare the expenditures for pensions in this country and in Europe. It is true that we have no industrial insurance systems, but we give to a large number of superannuated workers a vast sum in the form of veteran pensions. In the year 1891 Great Britain expended on military pensions £5,410,822, less than \$27,054,000; France, \$29,857,000; Germany, \$13,283,000; Austria, \$12,245,000. The expenditures of the United States for the same purpose in that year were \$118,548,959.² The disbursements for pensions by the United States from July 1, 1790, to June 30, 1906, were \$3,459,860,311.23.³ The amounts paid for the fiscal year 1905-6 were as follows:

Regular Army and Navy (invalids, widows and dependents).....	\$2,521,802.10
Civil War, general law.....	56,789,837.93
Civil War, Act of 1870.....	74,010,063.41
War with Spain.....	3,442,156.53
War of 1812.....	101,278.27
War with Mexico.....	1,376,396.36
Indian wars.....	622,874.85
Treasury settlements.....	135,878.80
	<hr/>
	\$139,000,288.25

Adding expenses of administration, total.... 139,881,726.85

The total number of pensioners on the rolls June 30, 1906, was 985,971. The highest number of pensioners at one time was 1,004,196, on January 31, 1905. As the veterans are growing old and feeble the rate of mortality is high and the cost will

¹ Butler, in *N. C. C.*, 1906.

² *Forum*, Vol. XII, p. 426.

³ *Report of Commissioner of Pensions*, 1906, p. 11.

rapidly decrease. Evils and abuses have been inevitable. For many years since the Civil War the nation has grown rapidly in wealth; the systems of tariffs on imports may have reduced the income of multitudes of consumers but along with the taxes on internal revenue objects, as alcoholic liquor and tobacco, have yielded the federal government an income sufficient to meet the expenses of military and civil service, to reduce the national debt to small proportions, and to produce an enormous surplus which has been a constant temptation to extravagance. Under these circumstances the veterans and their friends, with the aid of political pressure, have been able to secure from Congress such liberal laws as the civilized world cannot elsewhere show. As the manufacturers have desired to retain the high tariffs on imports as a protective measure they had to find a way, or many ways, to spend the surplus, and the soldiers could easily appeal to patriotic sentiment in asking generous pensions.

Homes for disabled volunteer soldiers.—In addition to their pensions, which may be used for the personal care and enjoyment of the men or for the support of their families, the disabled volunteer soldiers have the use until death of some one of the homes provided by the nation or by one of the states. The grounds of these homes are made attractive and are visited by many people on account of their beauty. The inmates are well fed, comfortably clothed in army uniforms, and receive the best medical care. Theatrical, musical, and literary entertainments are provided without charge, and chaplains conduct religious services. During the year ending June 30, 1905, 34,053 members were sheltered in the national and 19,677 in 30 state homes; a total of 53,730, an increase of 1,879 over the preceding year.⁴

The expenditures for 1905 of the ten branches of the National Home were \$3,343,696.67; the average annual cost per person was \$157.76; the average age of those who served in the Mexican and Civil Wars, 66.26 years; of the Spanish War, 37.56 years. The 34,053 persons received pensions to the

⁴ *Laws and Regulations, National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers, 1906; Report of the Board of Managers of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers, 1906.*

amount of \$3,454,752.58 in charge of the superintendents; an average of \$122.82, of which \$786,369.45 was paid to families and \$2,624,419.53 to the pensioners themselves. The amount paid to state homes was \$1,138,879.87. The state homes are inspected by officers of the National Home and reports are made to the board on their condition and management. The percentage of deaths to the whole number cared for rose from 0.655 in 1867 to 6.351 in 1905. Of the 34,053 in the National Home 12,374 had wives living, or minor children, or both, and 21,679 were single. The National Home owns 5,308.50 acres of land, valued at \$345,231.51, and buildings valued at \$9,401,651.68; total, \$9,746,883.19. The budget calls for \$5,208,844 for 1907.

How far do these military pensions act as pensions for working men? On this point it is difficult to secure exact information. Most of the present pensioners went into the army as volunteer soldiers when they were quite young, and immediately after the wars returned to their ordinary vocations, if they were not too much enfeebled by disease or crippled by wounds. They came from all forms of industry. In appointments to civil positions the veterans have always been favored. Since the great majority of the old soldiers came from manual occupations, it seems fair to presume that the military pension system has acted in great measure as a working-men's pension system. Many of the old men and women who, in Europe, would be in almshouses are found in the United States living upon pensions with their children or in homes to which paupers are not sent, and they feel themselves to be the honored guests of the nation for which they gave the last full measure of devotion.

The extravagance and abuses of this military pension system have probably awakened prejudice against working-men's pensions. The most severe criticism is based on the moral effects of having a secure income without saving or labor. Unquestionably some of the old soldiers have permitted themselves to live in idleness and vice because they were satisfied with a petty pension; just as numerous children of rich men are deprived of motive to struggle by the prospect of falling heir to wealth for

which they render no equivalent. But most of the veterans did not thus ignobly decay in idleness. The vast majority of them returned to their occupations and made the most of the favorable opportunities. Many were mutilated or enfeebled and so could not find and retain positions in competition with stronger men. Their idleness was enforced. The argument from occasional abuses does not go far. Rich men continue to prepare fortunes for their children, although they are often enough reminded of the danger, and children rarely refuse to accept legacies because of the moral perils. Our nation will never retreat from its liberal policy toward the brave defenders of its life merely because a few will pervert its gifts. Old-age industrial pensions are offered by many intelligent employers precisely because they tend to foster economic virtues, and surely this system would not produce an opposite effect by being made universal. If workmen contribute to the fund their thrift is cultivated. All depends on the wisdom of the method.

Other federal pensions.—By the act of Congress of August 5, 1892, all women employed by the surgeon-general of the army as nurses during the Civil War, for a period of six months or more, and who were honorably relieved from such service, are granted a pension, provided they are unable to earn their own support. Under this law there were 624 pensioners in the year ending June 30, 1902.

Life-saving service.—The only law providing relief in the nature of pensions in the life-saving service is that contained in sects. 7 and 8 of the act of Congress, approved May 4, 1882. This provides that if any keeper or member of a life-saving or life-boat station shall be disabled by reason of any wound or injury received or disease contracted in the life-saving service in the line of duty, he shall be continued on the rolls of service at full pay for a period under no circumstance greater than two years. A bill to provide for the retirement of and for pensions to those engaged in the life-saving work was introduced in both houses of Congress during the 58th session, but failed to pass on a tie vote. President Roosevelt has shown his interest in insurance of workers in many ways, and his message of

December 5, 1905, contains an argument not only for members of a particular service but for all workers on small pay.

I call your especial attention to the desirability of giving to the members of the life-saving service pensions such as are given to firemen and policemen in all our great cities. The men in the life-saving service continually and in the most matter-of-fact way do deeds such as make Americans proud of their country. They have no political influence, and they live in such remote places that the really heroic services they continually render receive the scantiest recognition from the public. It is unjust for a nation like this to permit these men to become totally disabled or to meet death in the performance of their hazardous duty and yet to give them no sort of reward. If one of them serves 30 years of his life in such a position he should surely be entitled to retire on half pay, as a fireman or policeman does; if he becomes totally incapacitated through accident or sickness or loses his health in the discharge of his duty he or his family should receive a pension just as any soldier should. I call your attention with especial earnestness to the matter because it appeals not only to our judgment but to our sympathy, for the people on whose behalf I ask it are comparatively few in number, render incalculable service of a particularly dangerous kind, and have no one to speak for them.

Civil service pensions.—This subject has been long discussed in the national legislature. In the year 1898 a bill was offered in Congress which was intended to provide a pension system for all civil servants of the federal government. Under this plan 2 per cent. of the monthly salary was to be retained and invested by the Secretary of the Treasury. Four years after the first payments were made, retirements were to begin with life annuities of 75 per cent. of the highest pay at any time received by the retiring employee. Retirements after 20-years' service were to be either voluntary or compulsory; voluntary after 60 years of age and 25 years' service, compulsory after 70 years of age and 35 years' service. The Civil Service Commission was to act as the retiring board. Opinion has been divided as to the wisdom and fairness of this legislation. Advocates of the measure claim that experience in older countries teaches that the service would be improved because the employees could give themselves to their duties and could be dismissed without inhumanity when their power to work becomes too feeble for efficiency. Mr. Frank A. Vanderlip, who has had experience in high positions

at Washington and is a banker of distinction, has thus expressed the argument in favor of civil pensions:

With the exception of the United States, all the great powers of the civilized world pension their civil servants. The question of civil pensions in the United States is one which deserves serious consideration. The full working out of the merit system can never be accomplished until we recognize the principle of a pension for superannuated government employees. It is doubtful if there are any men who have ever been charged with the responsibility of an appointive office in the government service who have not come to recognize that need, and who have not been won over to the belief that it would be an economy in government administration if a proper system of civil pensions were devised.⁵

The widows of the presidents of the nation have been pensioned by special acts of Congress. The widows of the following have been thus pensioned: James Monroe (1836), Abraham Lincoln, James K. Polk, James A. Garfield, Ulysses S. Grant, and William McKinley. Since these pensions were intended by the nation to mark a signal honor it can hardly be claimed hereafter that equitable pensions to working-men, based on life service in productive toil, and on their own contribution to the fund, can be considered unworthy or pauperizing.

The subject would not be complete without mention of the pension systems of the southern states provided for the veteran Confederate soldiers. It was manifestly impossible after the Civil War to provide at national expense pensions for those who had taken active part in an armed attempt to destroy the Union. But it was entirely proper for the individual states to make honorable provision for those who had enlisted at the command of those states. Naturally the pensions voted by the impoverished states have been modest in amount and have probably been more economically administered than the national

⁵ *North American Review*, December, 1905, pp. 928, 929. During the preparation of this article for publication in this *Journal* the actions of Congress have required revision of earlier statements. The new act relating to employers' liability has profoundly modified and increased the responsibilities of common carriers. By a law approved May 30, 1908, the principle of the English compensation law has been embodied in a federal statute, "Granting to certain employees of the United States the right to receive from it compensation for injuries sustained in the course of their employment." The persons eligible for benefits are artisans or laborers in any of the government manufacturing

pensions. Georgia has paid pensions since 1879. In 1903 there were 14,525 pensioners and they received \$857,415. South Carolina had, in 1904, 8,544 pensioners and paid them \$197,309.42. In Tennessee the annual appropriation is \$250,000, and on May 12, 1905, the number on the roll was 2,663. The legislature in 1905 voted \$25,000 annually for the widows of Tennessee soldiers. In Texas the appropriations have increased from \$100,000 in 1900 to \$500,000 for 1907. The pensioners number about 8,000. Virginia expends annually \$300,000 and has between 13,000 and 14,000 soldiers and widows of soldiers on its roll. Kentucky supports a home for Confederate soldiers but does not pay pensions. The institution was established in 1902. Maryland has a soldiers' home, a private institution, founded in 1887, to which the state contributes \$12,000 annually. Missouri has a home established at state expense. Homes for Confederate veterans are established in Virginia, North Carolina, Alabama, Florida, Louisiana, Texas, and Tennessee.⁶ In Alabama, in 1904, there were 15,038 pensioners and the expenditures were \$358,333.78. Arkansas paid 6,495 pensioners, in 1904, \$180,563. Florida had on its roll, July 5, 1905, about 3,000 pensioners, and the expenditures in 1904 were \$266,720.19. Louisiana has had on its list, since 1898, 2,713 names and pays annually \$75,000. Mississippi enacted its first pension law in

establishments, arsenals, or navy yards, or in the construction of river and harbor or fortification work or in hazardous employment under the Isthmian Canal Commission, who are injured in the course of employment. No compensation is paid when the injury is due to the negligence or misconduct of the employee injured. The benefits are: full pay for one year, unless the employee is able sooner to return to work. If the injured employee dies within the year, his dependents—widow, children, or parents—shall receive the benefits. Accidents must be reported according to a form. The disabled employee must submit to medical examinations at intervals. Regulations are made and disputes decided by the secretary of commerce and labor. Creditors cannot seize the payments of benefits. This legislation brings the federal government into line with other civilized countries, and it is to be hoped that the states will pass laws which will require or facilitate similar provisions by all employers of labor.

The federal government has also made progress in the work of providing pensions for civil servants.

⁶ A. W. Butler's *Report*, N. C. C., 1906.

1888, and in 1904 gave \$250,000 to 7,271 persons. The pensioners in North Carolina, in 1904, were paid \$200,000, while for the years 1905 and 1906 the sum of \$275,000 has been appropriated, the number on the list being 13,500 in 1904. In addition, about 90 totally disabled persons are paid by counties \$10 per month.

The result of this study of government pensions is that the federal and state governments have already accepted and acted upon the principle, to which they are fully committed, that those who have served the country in times of war shall be honorably provided for, without necessity of begging charity, during the period of invalidism and old age. In fact this is insurance for entire or partial disability caused by injury or disease in the service of the nation. On a similar ground rests the argument for pensions to men disabled in the dangerous life-saving service. For reasons of a different character the idea of pensions for civil servants of the nation has gained ground. The argument here rests chiefly on the fact that a pension will secure a higher order of service at less cost and also spare the people the humiliating spectacle of lifelong and faithful servants of a powerful and prosperous land begging their bread in invalidism and old age. But all these arguments apply with very great force to laboring men; and the logic of the national conduct leads straight toward a universal system of provision for disability due to sickness, accident, invalidism, old age, and death. It is for this reason that the facts cited in this chapter are so full of significance in a discussion of industrial insurance.⁷

⁷ Enemies of compulsory insurance (which should rather be called, as in France, "social insurance,") seek to obstruct its progress by calling it a form of poor relief, a "charity;" and they deny it a place under the head of "insurance" because the beneficiaries do not pay all the premiums. The argument has no force, for the principle of insurance against a risk is unaffected by the fact that the person insured does not pay the premium. A man's relations may pay his life- or accident-insurance premium; he is insured. Thus one of the highest authorities in the field says: "By insurance we understand an arrangement resting on mutuality for the purpose of making up loss of property through various chances which may be calculated. . . . Sometimes the beneficiaries receive on the basis of their own premium payments an additional sum from the payments of others. This fact does not take away from the arrangements its character as insurance. . . . Social insurance must be conceived of as insurance."—Alfred Manes, *Versicherungswesen*, pp. 2, 15.

[Tables belonging to Chapter IX]

CHARTS ON PENSIONS AND RETIREMENT FUNDS

FIREMEN'S PENSIONS—FUND*

	Former monies belonging to said fund	Fines on members of the department	Rewards, gifts, etc.	Certain license fees	Proceeds from the sale of old department property	Deduction on account of absence, etc.	10% of the excise tax		
New York, N. Y.		"	"	"			$\frac{1}{10}$ of a mill tax	6% of salaries	
Columbus, O.									
Syracuse, N. Y.	Monies from former pension fund	"	"		"			"	2% tax on foreign insurance co.
Toledo, O.								"	
Washington, D. C.							Tax		Fines in police court and dog tax
San Francisco, Cal.	Levied by tax								
Buffalo, N. Y.	Former relief fund	"	"	"	"		3% of the state liquor tax		

* From A. W. Butler's paper, N.C.C., 1906.

CHARTS ON PENSIONS AND RETIREMENT FUNDS

FIREMEN'S PENSIONS—BENEFIT*

	Disabled	Retirement	Widows	Children	Dependent Parents
Ohio.....	\$50 per month ½ former salary	After 25 years \$40 per mo. ½ former salary after 23 years service	\$20 per month \$300 per year	\$6 per month Not to exceed \$300 per year	\$20 per month
Boston, Mass.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Chicago, Ill.....	Not to exceed \$100 per month	.....	\$30 per month	\$6 per month	½ son's former salary
Cincinnati.....	.....	.....	\$50 per month	.....	.....
Dist. of Columbia..	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Grand Rapids.....	.....	\$450 per year after 20 years service	.....	.....	.....
Hartford, Conn.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Jersey City, N. J....	Not to exceed \$100 per month	\$25 per month	.....	.....	.....
Lowell, Mass.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Lynn, Mass.....	\$8 to \$10 per month	.....	.....	.....	.....
Milwaukee, Wis.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Minneapolis, Minn..	\$12.50 to \$40 per mo.	.....	.....	.....	.....
Newark, N. J.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Orleans, La....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New York, N. Y....	½ to ½ former salary	.....	.....	.....	.....
Omaha, Neb.....	25% of former salary	.....	Circumstances de- termine amount 25% of former sal- ary of husband	Circumstances de- termine amount	.....
Paterson, N. J.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
St. Joseph, Mo.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
St. Louis, Mo.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Syracuse, N. Y.....	½ former salary	.....	\$35 per month	.....	\$25 per month
Toledo, O.....	\$50 per month	\$50 per month after 25 years service	\$25 per month	\$7 per month	\$25 per month
Troy, N. Y.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Jersey.....	½ former salary	½ former salary after 20 years service	½ former salary of husband	\$5 per month	\$25 per month
Columbus, O.....	\$20 to \$40 per month	\$40 per month after 25 years service	\$20 per month	\$6 per month	.....
Baltimore, Md.....	½ former salary	.....	.....	.....	.....
San Francisco, Cal..	½ former salary	.....	.....	.....	.....
Buffalo, N. Y.....	½ former salary	.....	.....	.....	.....
Providence, R. I....	Not to exceed \$600 per annum	.....	\$25 per month	\$5 per month	.....
Indiana.....	½ former salary	½ former salary	\$20 per month	\$6 per month	\$12 per month

* From A. W. Butler's paper, *N.C.C.*, 1906.

CHARTS ON PENSIONS AND RETIREMENT FUNDS

POLICE PENSIONS—FUNDS*

	Former police relief fund	Fines imposed on police	Rewards, fees, gifts, etc., to policemen	Lost, abandoned, or claimed or stolen money and property	Deductions from salaries for absence, etc.	% of salaries	Money for bail bonds	
Syracuse, N. Y.		"	"	"	"	1%		
Newark, N. J.		"	"	"		"	Not to exceed 1% of mill tax	
Cleveland, O.						"	Remainder necessary by tax	
Detroit, Mich.	Money in police life and death insurance fund	"	"	"		"		
New York, N. Y.	Former police life insurance fund	"	"	"	"		\$300,000 from excise tax annually	Fees from entertainments
Indianapolis, Ind.		"	"	"		Not to exceed \$15 per year	Not to exceed 1% of mill tax	"
San Francisco, Cal.		"	"	"			From 5 to 10% of excise tax	Fines for carrying concealed weapons
Chicago, Ill.	"	"	"	"		1% of salaries		"

*From A. W. Butler's paper, *N.C.C.*, 1906.

CHARTS ON PENSIONS AND RETIREMENT FUNDS

PENSIONS—POLICEMEN*

	Retirement	Disability	Widows	Funeral Expenses
New Jersey.....	After 20 years	.....	.....	.....
Boston.....	25 years, $\frac{1}{2}$ former salary	$\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ former salary	\$300 per annum	\$1,000
Buffalo.....	.....	.....	.....	150
Chicago.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Cincinnati.....	\$50 per month	.....	.....	.....
Cleveland.....	\$50 per month	.....	\$20 per month	.....
Dayton.....	\$40 per month	.....	.....	.....
District of Columbia.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Fall River, Mass.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Grand Rapids.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Jersey City.....	.....	.....	.....	500
Louisville.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Newark.....	20 years, $\frac{1}{2}$ former salary	$\frac{1}{2}$ former salary	$\frac{1}{2}$ husband's former salary	.....
New York, N. Y.....	$\frac{1}{2}$ former salary	\$300 to \$600 per year	\$300 per year	.....
Paterson.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Philadelphia.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Pittsburgh.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Providence.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
St. Louis.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
St. Paul.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
San Francisco.....	$\frac{1}{2}$ former salary	$\frac{1}{2}$ former salary	$\frac{1}{2}$ husband's former salary	.....
Trenton, N. J.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wilmington.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Worcester.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Syracuse.....	$\frac{1}{2}$ former salary, 20 years service	From \$300 to \$600 per year	\$300 per annum	.....
Detroit.....	\$40 after 25 years service	.....	.....	.....
Indiana.....	$\frac{1}{2}$ former salary	$\frac{1}{2}$ former salary	\$20 per month	150

* From A. W. Butler's paper, *N.C.C.*, 1906.

CHARTS ON PENSIONS AND RETIREMENT FUNDS
SUPPLEMENTARY TO GOVERNMENT AND MUNICIPAL PENSIONS BY AMOS W. BUTLER
Status of Teachers' Retirement Funds in 1897. *Review of Reviews*, Vol. XV

	Approved	Number of teachers	Present contributing membership	Approximate amount from deductions from salaries	Minimum annuity	Present number of annuitants	Average annuity	Maximum annuity	Average years service of retired teacher	Minimum years service required	Joining elective	Amount of permanent fund
Brooklyn....	1895 May 13	2,929	2,193	\$18,869.34	Half pay	21	\$519.00	\$1,200	30	30	Yes for old teachers No	\$23,218.33 None
Detroit.....	May 22	740	730	5,421.81	Half pay	16	292.75	400	31	25	No	None
Chicago*....	May 31	4,900	5,200	45,000.00	Half pay	36	400.00	600	35	F. 20, M. 25	No	57,000.00
New York....	June 4	5,033	5,033	60,000.00	Half pay	92	600.00	1,000	30	F. 30	Yes for old teachers Yes	98,000.00
San Francisco	March 26	950	461	5,067.34	\$540	8	540.00	600	30	20	Yes	None
St. Louis.....	March —	1,576	590	3,232.75	60% of former salary	..	.....	800	..	F. 25, M. 30	Yes	None
New Jersey..	1896 March 11	5,384	2,510	13,000.00	\$250	..	280.00	600	35	20	Yes	9,000.00
Buffalo.....	April —	1,100	1,100	7,000.00	Half pay	8	300.00	600	34	.....	No	6,733.80
Cincinnati...	April 14	940	940	7,700.00	Half pay	..	.....	600	..	.....	No	.....

*The legislature of Illinois, in its session of 1907-8, enacted a new law for Chicago. Under this law the sources of funds will be premiums paid by teachers, gifts, and city funds. All teachers employed after the law is effective are required to contribute to the fund, and the older teachers may become members on complying with certain conditions. The dues are \$5.00, \$10.00, \$15.00, and \$30.00, according to class, the class being fixed by length of service. The annuity after 25 years of service is \$400.00; in case of permanent disability a share of this amount, determined by former contributions to the fund. Arrangement is made to refund payments made by a teacher who is discharged and one-half the payments made by a teacher who retires voluntarily.

A SUGGESTION ON THE NEGRO PROBLEM

CHARLOTTE PERKINS GILMAN
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Transfusion of blood is a simple matter compared with the transfusion of civilization; yet that is precisely what is going on between us and the negro race.

They were forcibly extradited from a distant country, from a status far lower than our own; and we for our own purposes gave them a compulsory introduction into our economic group, and made them working factors in our society.

The results proved increasingly disadvantageous. The first arbitrary relation has been laid aside, but the sociological problem is not solved because one answer is seen to be wrong.

Admitting that in a certain number of cases the negro has developed an ability to enter upon our plane of business life, and further admitting, most cheerfully, that this proves the ultimate capacity of the race to do so; there remains the practical problem of how to accelerate this process.

We have to consider the unavoidable presence of a large body of aliens, of a race widely dissimilar and in many respects inferior, whose present status is to us a social injury. If we had left them alone in their own country this dissimilarity and inferiority would be, so to speak, none of our business.

There are other races, similarly distinguished, whose special standing in racial evolution does not embarrass us; but in this case it does. These were imported, much against their wills, for our supposed advantage; and as their inferiority was the very condition of our advantage, making possible their exploitation, no complaint was then made of it.

The laws of economic evolution proved that this supposed advantage was counterbalanced by such heavy disadvantages that it did more harm than good; and with many blunders and much suffering and loss we put an end to the economic relation

in which the negro had been held, and set him free; free—an alien race, in a foreign land; under social, economic, political, and religious conditions to which he was by heredity a stranger. By consummate mishandling of the crucial period of change, the break in the relations between blacks and whites became a gulf, and has since widened. We now have an immense area of country in which are found two races, of different degrees of social advancement, living side by side, only partially serviceable to one another, and in many ways antagonistic.

On the field of economic competition into which the negro was so suddenly thrown he does not, as a whole, in fifty years, show equality with us—which is not remarkable. That so many negroes, in this brief time, have made such great progress, is the element not only of hope, but of security in facing our problem. The problem is this:

Given: in the same country, Race A, progressed in social evolution, say, to Status 10; and Race B, progressed in social evolution, say, to Status 4.

Given: That Race A outnumbers Race B as ten to one.

Given: That Race B was forcibly imported by Race A, and cannot be deported.

Given: That Race B, in its present condition, does not develop fast enough to suit Race A.

Question: How can Race A best and most quickly promote the development of Race B?

This problem need not be confused by the element of injury and offense. It is true that Race B in many ways retards the progress of Race A, and grievously offends against it; but it is also true that Race A was the original offender, and has a list of injuries to Race B, greatly outnumbering the counter list. It is also true that both races have served each other in many ways. These points may be laid aside. They arouse our feelings and do not clear our thoughts.

The problem—the question of conduct—the pressing practical issue—is, What can we do to promote the development of the backward race so that it may become an advantageous element in the community? This is not a question of “equality” in

any sense. Society is an organic relation, it is not composed of constituents all alike and equally developed, but most diverse and unequal. It is quite possible to have in a society members far inferior to other members, but yet essential to the life of the whole.

A man would rather lose all his ten toes than his two eyes; and both feet than his eyes and ears. Our special senses are far "superior" to our meat and bones; yet it is quite essential to the body's life that even its least important parts be healthy.

If the negro population can become entirely self-supporting and well behaved it ceases to be a "problem" and a menace. If it becomes more than self-supporting, contributing its quota to the general good, then it will be a valuable part of the body politic, an advantage to us all. The fact that so many negroes have reached this position is the proof that social evolution works more rapidly than the previous processes of natural selection. The African race, with the advantage of contact with our more advanced stage of evolution, has made more progress in a few generations than any other race has ever done in the same time, except the Japanese. That splendid instance of this process of self-conscious social evolution shows the irresistible power of direct transference of institutions, and their result. Our own general history, with its swift, resistless Americanization of all kinds of foreigners, shows the same thing. The evolution of society, while based on natural conditions and forces, has long since reached the stage where it is directly promoted by society's own efforts. From the foreigner of every sort the American is made by sharing with him the advantages of our institutions—even by compelling him to partake of that advantage. This brings us again to our direct question: How can we best promote the civilization of the negro?

He is here; we can't get rid of him; it is all our fault; he does not suit us as he is; what can we do to improve him?

At last the suggestion: Let each sovereign state carefully organize in every county and township an enlisted body of all negroes below a certain grade of citizenship. Those above it—the decent, self-supporting, progressive negroes—form no

problem and call for nothing but congratulation. But the whole body of negroes who do not progress, who are not self-supporting, who are degenerating into an increasing percentage of social burdens or actual criminals, should be taken hold of by the state.

This proposed organization is not enslavement, but enlistment. The new army should have its uniforms, its decorations, its titles, its careful system of grading, its music and banners and impressive ceremonies. It is no dishonor but an honorable employment from the first, and the rapid means of advancement. Men, women, and children, all should belong to it—all, that is, below the grade of efficiency which needs no care. For the children—this is the vital base of the matter—a system of education, the best we have, should guarantee the fullest development possible to each; from the carefully appointed nursery and kindergarten up to the trade school fitting the boy or girl for life; or, if special capacity be shown, for higher education.

This at once stops the lowering process—it leaves the state only the existing crop of low efficient to handle, and insures the higher efficiency of the next generation. Those old enough to work should be employed as follows: enough should be placed on farms to provide for the entire body. These farms should be model farms, under the best management, furnishing experiment stations, and bases for agricultural instruction, as well as the food for the whole army and all its officials; and where cotton and such products were raised, they would be a further source of income. As a large percentage of the negro population is best suited to agricultural labor, and this would prove a very important working base for the institution. By modern methods of advanced agriculture the land would be improved; the best results obtained from it, and the laborers continually taught their business. The surrounding country would be benefited by these stations.

Another large number, in mills and shops belonging to the undertaking, would make clothing, uniforms, etc., for them all; and another detachment would assist in the necessary building.

All these are but the internal functions of the new body; its direct service to society would be in meeting the crying need of

the whole South for better roads, harbors, river banks, and the general development of the country. Construction trains, carrying bands of the new workmen, officers, and men, with their families, with work for the women and teaching for the children, would carry the laborer along the roads he made, and improve the country at tremendous speed.

With proper food, suitable hours of work, rest, and amusement; without the strain of personal initiative and responsibility to which so many have proved unequal, a great amount of productive labor would be thus brought to the service of the community. As fast as any individuals proved themselves capable of working on their own initiative they would be graduated with honor. This institution should be compulsory at the bottom, perfectly free at the top.

Each company would have its clerk, each individual would have his separate account as soon as his labor passed the amount necessary for the support of the institution; and, when above that amount, a wage fund should accumulate credited to each, furnishing a small capital to start with when graduated. Many who would not perhaps prove capable of entire personal responsibility, could be organized in small post-graduate groups of farms or shops, and so remain until they went on to higher efforts; or perhaps came back into the army.

What this amounts to is simply state organization of the negro, under conditions wholly to his advantage, and therefore to ours. Some persons, hasty in speech, will now be asking "Who is to pay for all this?" To which the answer is "The same who paid for all the comforts and luxuries of the South in earlier years—the working negro.

Applied labor is wealth.

The unorganized negro does not seem capable in many instances of utilizing his own forces. This organization provides the machinery best to elicit and apply the working force of this great mass of people: and would do so at no loss whatever. If any man, privately, were allowed to govern the labor of, say, a thousand negroes, to his own advantage, he would not be asking "who pays for it?"

The funds necessary to start an undertaking of this sort would, in the first instance, have to be advanced by the several communities interested, but would promptly be returned, and thereafter the organization would be no expense to the community but would pay for itself. Meanwhile the applied labor would result in improvements to the country of endless value, and the improvement in the negroes themselves would add steadily to their value as constituents of the body politic.

A certain percentage of degenerates and criminals would have to be segregated and cared for as they are now, only far more wisely. But the saving to the state in cutting off the supply of these degenerates would go far to establish the economy of the proposition.

Here is at present an undeveloped country and an undeveloped race. Here is potential labor that will not apply itself, and the need for labor unmet. This plan brings the labor to the place where it is wanted, and benefits the laborer in the process. There should be nothing offensive in the whole undertaking. Compulsory education we demand for all in many states; this would enforce it more thoroughly, that is all.

The enlistment would be compulsory, but so is enlistment in the army in highly civilized lands, and that is not held dishonorable. To be drafted to a field of labor that shall benefit his own race and the whole community, need not be considered a wrong to any negro. The whole system should involve fullest understanding of the special characteristics of the negro; should be full of light and color; of rhythm and music; of careful organization and honorable recognition. It should furnish good physical training and as much education as each individual can take.

Every negro graduated would be better fitted to take his place in the community. Every negro unable to graduate would remain under wise supervision, would be really self-supporting, and also help in the great work of raising his people.

Then someone will ask "What will you do when the roads and harbors are all done—when the rough work is exhausted

and the country all properly developed?" By the time that happy end is accomplished there will probably be no negro problem.

"But in the meantime," says the questioner, "How are you going to be sure this great undertaking will be managed wisely, honestly, efficiently? Where are you going to get your superior teachers, your managers and superintendents? What is going to prevent the establishment of an immense system of peonage, of state slavery, of enormous profits wrung from these compulsory enlistments? Of "Army scandals" beside which those of Europe will be as nothing?"

This is a somewhat deterrent suggestion.

If Race A, in Status 10, cannot so behave itself as thus to elevate and improve Race B, in Status 4, it is somewhat of a reflection upon its superiority.

If we, with all our boasted advancement, are incapable of administering a plan of such visible usefulness to both races, of such patent economy and permanent benefit, then we need some scheme of race betterment ourselves. But it does not call for any superhuman virtue.

By the same methods in which a state or county arbitrarily provides for its poor, its defectives, or for the education of its children; so it could now bestir itself to provide for this large class of comparatively backward citizens. If the arrangement were made very clear and visibly attractive, and volunteers were called for, with some special honor and recognition for them, it is quite possible that numbers would enlist of their own accord. It might be called the bureau of Labor and Education, or of Labor and Improvement, and arranged on a military basis, with its construction camps, its base of supplies Nos. 1, 2, 3, etc.; it would form a continuous school for all ages, slowly shrinking and withdrawing as the younger generation of colored people showed their ability for voluntary co-operation or entirely individual effort.

Especial care should of course be given to the management, that it be "kept out of politics," and that the finances of the institution be continually open to the public, that full annual

reports be printed, and that every means be taken to ensure a fair and just administration.

A training-school for domestice service might be part of each stationary base; and individuals could be sent from this on probation as it were—perfectly free to remain out in satisfactory home service, or to improve their condition as they were able. In case of unsatisfactory service they should be reinlisted—and try some other form of labor.

A plan of organized labor that would make all negroes self supporting; a plan of education that would make the whole race rise in social evolution; a plan of local development that would add millions to the value of the southern land, and all within the independent power of each state—surely such a plan is worth considering.

THE VOICES OF PIGEONS REGARDED AS A MEANS OF SOCIAL CONTROL

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INTRODUCTION

Darwin's theory of sexual selection is the most important theory ever invented to account for the songs of birds. The idea of sexual selection has been enlarged somewhat by Groos and Haecker and others, and it is held, in one form or another, by almost all writers who are really acquainted with the habits of birds. But even those who accept the theory must feel that it is far from sufficient to account for the facts; and those who oppose it have never attempted to set up any positive explanation in place of it. Thus there is a pretty general feeling that something more is needed to account for the development of bird songs.

The writer has been studying this question for some years, with the privilege of using the large collection of living pigeons kept by Professor Whitman.¹ I hope to bring out within a year or so a book on the subject, but it seems best to give this brief preliminary statement at the present time.

The great fact to be brought out is, that the utility of the voice in birds (pigeons) is of very much wider scope than has ever been suspected. The voice is a means of social control: that is to say, the voice is a means of influencing the behavior of individuals so as to bring them into co-operation, one with another. Naturalists have taken for granted that, to account for the social activities of animals and for their working together in harmony, it is sufficient to show that each individual

¹I cannot too strongly express my thanks to Professor Whitman for his constant, generous, and invaluable aid, and for the example of his own work in the study of animal behavior. I am much indebted, also, to Professor G. H. Mead and Professor W. I. Thomas for reading this MS before going to press.

is equipped with a set of social instincts. But it must be remembered that the same view was held until recent years with regard to human society, and that sociologists have now found it altogether untenable.

It is a common delusion that order is to be explained by the person's inherited equipment for good conduct, rather than by any control that society exercises over him. Once it was held that normal human beings are born with a set of commandments etched upon the soul. . . . Then came the charming tales of the mutual aid of ants, beavers, and prairie dogs, suggesting the existence of certain social instincts which moralists found it very convenient to use in explaining human society. We are not yet sure, however, that man is the "good ape" Buffon supposed him to be.²

Neither is a bird the good machine that naturalists have supposed it to be. No internal machinery, no system of instincts, be it ever so perfect, could carry an individual dove through the vicissitudes of social life without the agency of social control. Of course I do not mean to deny that the behavior of the birds is instinctive: what is meant is, that to treat the behavior as instinctive is to give it an inadequate description. The inadequacy consists in studying the birds as individuals, and in treating the individual as a distinct entity. What is needed is, to transcend this individualistic view-point, and to see that the instincts of the individual can effect their purposes only when they are guided and regulated by influences from other individuals. In a complete explanation of animal society, therefore, the account of the social instincts must be supplemented by an account of the social influences by which the instincts of many individuals are brought into harmonious co-operation.

The reactions of the individual dove must be adjusted to meet the activities of many other birds—first its parents, later its mate, its young, its neighbors, and the strangers that come in its way. The activities of these other birds are endlessly diverse, and are changing from day to day and from hour to hour; the responses to the activities of these other birds must, accordingly, be adapted in each case to the immediate social situation. The adaptation to the immediate social situation

² Edward Alsworth Ross, *Social Control* (New York and London, 1906), p. 5.

must in many cases be exceedingly delicate, requiring that each individual be delicately susceptible to the influence of others. Most important of all, the individuals are free to change their positions in society. Individuals that are now treated with parental affection are later treated as outsiders. Those now regarded as strangers and enemies, may, after a period of familiarization, be accepted as members of the flock. Mated birds, after remaining absolutely faithful through a long period, may, under certain circumstances, separate, and one of them or each of them may form a new and different union. Now, if pigeon A can become for a time attached to pigeon B, to the exclusion of all other possible mates; and if it can afterward become attached to pigeon C, to the exclusion of all other possible mates; then it is evident that pigeon A must have been under some profound influence from pigeon B, and again under a similarly profound influence from pigeon C; such an influence of one bird over the behavior of another is social control.

The means of social control are various, including much more than the voice, not to speak of the song. The different utterances of the voice, the varying inflections of each of these utterances, the form and color of the body, the bowing, strutting, bristling of feathers, and all the expressions of emotion, are agencies potent to rouse and direct the activities of other birds. The nest, the eggs, and the young, when they come, are so many instruments for effecting social control. In the larger publication which is to follow, I shall endeavor to show what part is played by each of these agencies in particular. But my object in the present paper is merely to bring out the general truth, that the activities of pigeons are directed by social control, and that the voice is one means of such guidance.

The present paper, therefore, will be devoted to proving and illustrating the general principles set forth in this Introduction. The proving and illustrating will be done by a brief sketch of the social life of a dove; the blond ring-dove, the ring-dove commonly seen in cages, will be used as the type. The sketch of the social life of the dove will consist of three parts, treating respectively: I. Social Development of the Young; II. Social

Life of Breeding Birds; III. Social Relations Outside of the Family.

I. SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE YOUNG

In the very act of breaking the shell of the egg and emerging therefrom, the young dove begins to exert control over its parents; for the movements of the young excite the parents, confirm their attachment to the nest and its contents, and stimulate them to secrete the "pigeons' milk" in the crop and to perform the feeding movements. The movements of the young are usually sufficient at first to stimulate the parents to give the requisite amount of food; but if the little one is allowed to become hungry it uses its voice, which, though feeble in tone, is strong in its effect upon the parents. For many days the young receive all their food from the parents. Then they begin to pick up food for themselves, but still continue to obtain part of their nourishment by persistent begging. The parents, however, become tired of feeding them, and the young must beg hard in order to stimulate them to give food; a young bird at this stage follows the old bird persistently, pushing its bill into his face, flapping its wings, sometimes striking the parent gently with one wing, and all the time squealing or piping. A young one which is not a persistent beggar may suffer from lack of nourishment, or may be compelled to seek all its own food at an earlier age than the normal. On the other hand, the duration of feeding by the parents may be under some circumstances greatly prolonged. Thus the whole matter of parental feeding is one of constant and delicate adjustment between parents and young.

The parents make no conscious efforts to educate the young. Nevertheless they educate them unconsciously in some very important matters. For example, the parents exhibit to the young the body-form, colors, gestures, and sounds characteristic of the species and thus the young learn to recognize their kind. Professor Whitman has proved this again and again by taking the eggs or young of wild species and giving them to the domestic ring-dove to foster, with the result that the young reared by the ring-doves have ever after associated with ring-doves and

tried to mate with them. Passenger pigeons, for example, when reared by ring-doves, refuse to mate with their own species but mate with the species of the foster-parents. Hence we must believe that young doves have no inherited tendency to mate with birds of a particular kind; they learn to associate with a particular kind during the period when they are being fed, when the characteristics of their nursing-parents are vividly impressed upon their young minds.

The young doves have impressed upon their minds not only the characteristic marks of the species, but also the fact of differences between individuals. At first the two young doves (since there are nearly always two in each brood) are prone to beg food from each other as well as from the parents; but the facts that the nest-mate does not give food and that the parent does give food gradually lead the young dove to distinguish between the nest-mate and the parent. As the time of weaning draws near, the mother becomes unwilling to feed long before the father does so, and usually ceases to feed long before he ceases; this difference of behavior leads the young to distinguish between the two parents, and thus to add to their knowledge of individuality. Strange birds of the species may come near the young ones; the young may at first beg from these strangers, but the strange birds (under ordinary circumstances) refuse to feed them, and may even drive them off with blows; the young doves are thus familiarized with a further distinction of individuals. Thus a young bird which at first makes the most ludicrous blunders due to the confusion of individuals, gradually learns to make more numerous and finer distinctions until at length its perception of individual differences among doves is more delicate and more certain than can be attained by a human being. And it recognizes individuals not only by appearance, but also by voice.

Imitation as exhibited by young doves is only of the instinctive sort. Pigeons seem to be utterly devoid of that sort of imitation which is practiced by mocking-birds, parrots, and many other birds. It is an interesting fact that while the young dove learns to recognize the cooing of the species which nurses it, yet it does not learn to coo in the fashion which it has learned

to recognize. A *Geopelia* which has been reared by ring-doves associates permanently with ring-doves and tries to mate with them; yet it coos and calls and bows precisely after the fashion of its ancestors, never learning either the music or the gestures of its adopted companions. This fact proves that doves do not imitate, in the sense of voluntary imitation. But instinctive imitation, or suggestion, they exhibit in a great variety of ways and with extreme sensitiveness. The cooing of one dove is enough to set the whole pigeonry to cooing. The sound of the alarm-note is enough to stop the cooing of the whole pigeonry at once. Pigeons may learn to eat a certain kind of food by seeing other birds eat it.³ And hungry birds may be guided to food by hearing other birds pecking. We shall see that suggestion becomes an agent of overwhelming power in the sexual life of mature birds. Suggestion and instinctive imitation are, all told, among the most constant and most potent agents of social control. And the voice is one of the most frequent excitants of instinctive imitation; the voice has immense suggestive power.

When a bird reaches the breeding age, it must have the influence of a bird of the opposite sex in order to complete its own development. Its equipment of breeding instincts is, to be sure, marvelously adapted to the complex processes of mating, nest-building, brooding, and feeding young. Yet these instincts seem to be at certain points incomplete, so that they need to be supplemented by experience; and even where not incomplete, they need a strong stimulus to set them going for the first time. If two inexperienced birds be allowed to mate, they are very slow in coming to the point of mating; and, though they go through all the processes of mating, nest-building, and brooding, yet their efforts lack something of the precision and the promptness which signally characterize the work of experienced birds. If, on the other hand, an inexperienced bird be paired with an old, experienced mate, it is noticeable that the old bird takes the lead in a great many of the operations, and the young bird is brought to the complete exercise of its functions much more

³ C. Lloyd Morgan, *Habit and Instinct* (London and New York, 1896), p. 181.

quickly than if it had had a mate as young as itself. We see thus that tradition is one of the means of social control. And the voice is a most important agent for carrying tradition.

II. SOCIAL LIFE OF BREEDING BIRDS

When ring-doves are pairing off preparatory to breeding, since there is no very evident difference in the appearance of the sexes, each dove must, by its behavior, proclaim its own sex and induce other birds to proclaim theirs. The male takes an aggressive attitude, and compels the female to submit to him. The female behaves in an enticing manner, and leads the male on. The influence which one bird exerts over another is powerful, as we may prove by the following experiment. Take a male of the normal degree of aggressiveness and clamorousness; put him in a cage alone, and put beside his cage another containing a male of an exceptionally aggressive and uproarious temper. The voice and gestures of the second male may in a short time subdue the first, compel him to stop his noisy effusion and his pompous strutting, nay, even constrain him to act like a female. Now, instead of experimenting with two males, suppose we similarly place a male and a female in separate cages beside one another. If the female has been long unmated, she may herself have become almost as aggressive as a male. But if the male that is now put beside her is ready to mate and plays up to her, he will quickly subdue her and cause a complete reversal of her character. The change is so complete that a man who has learned to know all his birds individually will find it hard to recognize the same female after such an alteration. The female exerts an influence over the male which is perhaps equally profound, but which is not usually so conspicuous. I have, however, seen a slow and indifferent male mourning-dove set on fire by one coo from the female. Anyone who has witnessed the mutual influence of the sexes in doves, and has appreciated the power of that influence and the profundity of its effects, can never again hold the theory that the voice of the dove is impotent and useless.

This reciprocal stimulation of the mating period has not

only the immediate effect of rousing the mutual feelings of the two birds and uniting them to one another by an unbreakable bond. It has remote effects of great diversity and vast import, some of which I shall now indicate.

The union of a certain male with a certain female inhibits each of them from paying any attention to the sexual advances of other individuals. The two birds are remarkably faithful to one another so long as they remain mated. This faithfulness is not blind and inevitable, like the reputed faithfulness of an ant or a termite. For it may be terminated by the death of one party to the union, or by the passing of the breeding-season, or by other circumstances. In such cases the liberated bird or birds may afterward form new unions. This fact shows that so long as the two birds do remain united and faithful, they must be controlled by bonds which are potent not only to bind them to one another but also to make them regard with indifference the sexual behavior of their neighbors. One such bond is a daily and almost hourly communication of affection by means of voice, gesture, and mutual caresses.

The stimulation of pairing prompts the birds to seek a nesting-site and to construct a nest. This brings at once a new and important problem for social control. The two birds must be brought into agreement upon a nesting-site. They usually try a number of promising situations. Either bird, upon finding a likely spot, gives a nest-call which stimulates the mate to fly toward the source of the sound. (Now comes into useful operation the ability of the birds to recognize one another individually by sound of voice.) When at length a site is agreed upon, the selection is impressed upon the minds of the birds by a ceremony in which both sit together in the chosen spot and call and caress one another for a long period. Then one bird, usually the female, remains in the nest to build and fashion it, while the other bird flies off in search of building material. Each time the male returns with a straw, the female welcomes him with a low, complacent cooing and an affectionate flutter of the wings; which must serve to confirm still further the union of the birds and the choice of a nesting-site. The nest

itself, by association with these ceremonies, becomes an instrument of social control; it acquires a power over the birds to hold them to their duties.

Copulation is preceded by a most elaborate ceremony. Groos attempts to explain this by a double theory which states: (1) That the act of copulation must be rendered difficult, in order that it may not be repeated to an injurious extent, and in order that the birds may gradually be made ready for the act. (2) That the means by which the act of copulation is rendered difficult is a special instinct of coyness in the female. This theory may perhaps be regarded as an adumbration of the truth. But there are many objections and difficulties. And there are two easily ascertained facts which are each sufficient to confute the theory. These facts are: (a) In some birds, notably the domestic fowl (also the "English" pheasant, and perhaps the whole pheasant family), copulation, though sometimes preceded by a slight ceremony, is in many cases effected by the male at will, without ceremony or check of any sort, showing that this mode of behavior is not necessarily a dangerous one, as Groos's theory assumes it to be. (b) In pigeons, among which there is always a ceremony before pairing, the female sometimes is more anxious to mate than is the male, and leads the male on. The females of this group at least, certainly have no special instinct of coyness. They may in some cases show reluctance to accept the advances of the male, but these cases may be explained in the simplest manner. For in some of these cases the trouble is that the female is not yet ready to mate. In other cases the female may be ready to mate, but she has been made timid by contact with a miscellaneous group of birds, some of which are fighters; it is natural that such a female should at first be frightened by the advances of the male; this certainly does not show a special instinct of coyness.

The fact to be explained, then, is, that some birds, as the pigeons, invariably lead up to copulation with an elaborate ceremony; but other birds, as the domestic fowl, frequently copulate without such ceremony. If we contrast the habits of these two sorts of birds, we find that which will account for the ceremony.

Copulation in the domestic fowl may be performed at almost any time; but copulation in pigeons has important time-relations which explain the whole matter, time-relations which I shall now describe in some detail.

In the first place, the sexual activity occurs at long intervals in the life of the dove—once in about four or five weeks throughout the breeding season. In the intervals both birds are normally destitute of the desire to pair. The elaborate preliminary ceremony is needed as a stimulus to bring both birds to the point of sexual activity.

In the second place, each time the birds unite in sexual activity they must be given the impetus to start a long, complex cycle of operations which may be summed up thus: Copulation continues for a few days; copulation ceases; the female lays two eggs; both birds begin at once to take regular turns in sitting on the eggs; after fourteen days of brooding, when the eggs hatch, both birds begin suddenly to secrete in the crop a food aptly called "pigeons' milk," and to perform reflexes peculiarly adapted to the feeding of the tiny young. The birds must go through the whole series of activities in order. If a male has been through the pairing activity, he is ready to sit; otherwise, he is not ready to sit. If he has been sitting on the eggs for fourteen days, he is ready to feed young; otherwise, he is not ready to feed young. And so with many other steps in the process, which cannot all be mentioned in this brief account. Now, the ceremony at the beginning evidently serves as a match which sets fire to this long train of stimuli. And when this train has burned to the end, the fire of another ceremony is needed to set off the train of the next brood.

In the third place, and most important of all, the whole series of changes mentioned in the last paragraph, in order to be successful, must occur in both birds at the same time. Each bird contains in its nervous system, not only a train of explosive material, ready to be touched off, but also an accurate 14-day chronometer; the male chronometer and the female chronometer must be wound up at the same time and set going synchronously, in order that the birds may enter synchronously upon the feeding

of the young. Asynchronism may and sometimes does occur, and it may cause loss of eggs or of young. But the number of such accidents is reduced to a minimum by the fact that it is difficult for either male or female to start any of the reproductive operations without the elaborate preliminary ceremony. In other words, it is difficult for either male or female to start any of the reproductive operations without the active co-operation of its mate. Whenever either bird is more ready than the other, the first bird is retarded by the influence of the second, and the second is accelerated by the influence of the first. Thus synchronization is effected by mutual adjustment, not by the adjustment of either bird exclusively.

The most remarkable fact in this time-adjustment is, that even the time of egg-laying on the part of the female is determined by the mutual activities of the two birds. The time of egg-laying is determined by all the preliminary operation, including the work upon the nest. Experiments show that the ceremony which accompanies copulation is one of the most important stimuli to oviposition. Even if the birds be prevented artificially from consummating the act of pairing, yet the ceremony of pairing is followed by the laying of the two eggs.

To sum up all that has been said with regard to the uses of the elaborate ceremonies of the pairing period: These uses are, (a) To bind together two birds as mates, and to inhibit in them all impulse to seek other mates; (b) To bring both birds into agreement upon a nesting-site, and to inhibit all impulse to use other nesting-sites; (c) To rouse both birds to breeding activity, to start both synchronously upon the complex series of reproductive activities, even to determine the time at which the female shall lay her eggs.

As soon as the first egg is laid, a great change comes over both birds. This change is manifested in several ways—among others, in a comparative silence. This has usually been regarded as a merely negative change, a mere loss of voice; but there could not be a greater mistake. The silence is one of inhibition, not a mere lack of impulse; it is active, not passive; it is a silence suffused with strong emotion, not the silence of indiffer-

ence. The teleology of the silence is obvious—it is to reduce the danger of the discovery of the nest by enemies. This silence, as I have said, is only relative; the birds feel one another's presence as much as during the pairing period, they still continue to communicate, though in subdued tones, when near the nest, and when away from the nest the male may sing as loudly as he does during the pairing period.

The doves continue, through the period of brooding and feeding the young, to exercise control over one another in a great variety of ways. They exhibit several new forms of social control which serve the new ends of brooding and feeding. But I must leave a complete account of these forms of social control to be given in the larger publication which is to follow.

In closing this brief account of the sociology of breeding birds, I wish to mention the preparation for a second (or third, fourth, etc.) brood. When the young are about ten days old, the exact time being very variable, the parents begin to prepare for a new parenthood, going through a ceremony very much like that which preceded the first brood. If it happens at this time that the male, for example, lacks energy to perform the ceremonies and rouse himself to the duties of a second brood, the female entices him for a long time, but finally, if he fails to respond, she deserts him and seeks another mate. This is an example of that individual freedom which shows us that doves are not so mechanically bound to their social duties as ants are reputed to be (p. 93), and that dove society can hold together and pass through its teleologic sequences only by means of social control (pp. 86-87).

III. SOCIAL RELATIONS OUTSIDE OF THE FAMILY

There is a great deal of contention among pigeons. But a contest is never decided by mere physical strength and prowess. Very rarely does a bird suffer serious injury in a fight. The vanquished is usually defeated simply because of the superior determination of the victor. Hostilities are accompanied or preceded by an elaborate ceremony of cooing and gesturing, and in a large proportion of cases this pantomime alone is sufficient

to show which party to the quarrel is most determined, and to cause the other party to turn tail and flee without striking a blow.

Now, if one bird is much more determined than another, there is some reason for its being so. It may be defending its own territory against invasion by a stranger. Recently I put into the cage occupied by a small, young, timid female, a cruel tyrant of a male, whom I had taken away from his mate because he abused her; after a few seconds' exchange of blows between these two, the timid bird that "owned" the cage had that cruel male flying before her, offering no resistance to her vicious attacks upon him. Birds that own a nest with eggs or young are so determined in their manner that strangers dare not approach. A female regularly gives in to her mate, even though he may be cruel to her. If she is approached by other males, she suffers herself to be driven away from them by her jealous spouse. Professor Whitman tells me that even a female of the domestic pigeon, when mated with a male ring-dove (less than half her size), whom she could crush if she wanted to, gives in to her little husband with the same meekness that she would show toward a husband of her own species. But let the female be threatened, not by her own mate, but by a stranger, and she is changed at once from the lamb to the lion. That the female always yields to her mate is due to no severity on his part, for he is always restrained in his attacks upon her. Indeed, the male shows restraint even when quarreling with neighbors outside of his own family; for if they are birds with which he is familiar, he fights them with less fury than he would show toward an utter stranger. Many other examples could be given of what I must call the pigeon's sense of rights and duties. Psychologically this is surely very different from the human sense of rights and duties. But sociologically its working resembles the working of the sense of rights and duties in the mass of the human species. The few facts which I have given are sufficient to show that the contentions between pigeons are settled, not in accordance with the will of the strongest contestant, but in accordance with certain principles comparable to our principles of right and duty. And the settlement of a contest is

often rendered still more merciful and more equitable by the fact that it is accomplished, not by blows, but by a vocal and pantomime ceremony.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

The organization of pigeon society is so flexible and adaptable that it cannot all be accounted for by reference to the instinctive machinery within each member of the society. Each dove is truly an individual, free to adapt itself to new conditions and thus to change its relations to society. For this reason, so long as an individual dove does maintain a fixed relation (such as that of mate), it does so by virtue of influences which society brings to bear upon it. That is to say, each dove is held in its place and held to its duties by social control. The song is one means of social control.

The uses of the song in social control are so numerous and so complexly interrelated that a complete list of them could not be made. I have drawn up the following partial list simply to give some notion of the diversity of the uses of the song.

1. Personal control, as that of the male over his mate.
2. Suggestion; as, the nest-call coo quickly brings the mate, the challenge coo causes the enemy to flee.
3. Stimulation; as, working up both male and female to the point of pairing, inducing oviposition in the female.
4. Inhibition; as, inhibiting adultery, inhibiting the use of nesting-sites other than the one chosen; inhibiting copulation out of the normal time.
5. Co-ordination in space; as, leading male and female to use the same nest.
6. Co-ordination in time; as, leading male and female to go through the brooding activities synchronously.
7. To proclaim: (a) the bird's species; (b) the bird's sex; (c) the bird's individual identity; (d) the bird's rights (p. 98).
8. Tradition; as, when an experienced bird is mated with an inexperienced one, the former takes the lead (p. 91).

It should be added that, while these and many other uses may be ascribed to the song, there are still other forms of

social control served by utterances other than the song. For example, the voice of the young exerts a most powerful influence over the parent. The uses of the song are of the same general nature as the uses of other utterances, depending similarly upon the constitution of pigeon society and upon the susceptibility of the members of that society to control by the voices and gestures of their comrades. The song, therefore, ought never to be studied (as hitherto it has been studied) without reference to the whole system of vocal and gestural activity. And this system is of such magnitude that in the present paper I have not been able to mention all its details, much less to explain them.

Some of the pigeon's performances have been called ceremonies; this name has been applied, not carelessly, but after due consideration. The non-ceremonial vocal performances of pigeons are more like ordinary converse or communication; for they are used at any time, even upon the slightest stimuli, and they are accordingly simple, short and quick, and so flexible as to be changed this way and that according to the immediate circumstances. Those performances which I have called ceremonies, on the other hand, are reserved for more important occasions: they are highly elaborate, and accompanied by violent gestures or tense attitudes; they occupy a considerable time, often with a certain number of repetitions; and they have a fixed and definite form, which is not sacrificed to meet the petty circumstances of each occasion. These bird-ceremonies are more comparable to the elaborate ceremonies of some primitive peoples than to anything else in human sociology. Therefore, when naturalists witness the extravagance, the display of superabundant energy, in the songs of birds, let them not hastily conclude that the song is merely a vent by which surplus energy may go to waste; let them remember that similar extravagance appears in the human analogue of bird songs—the ceremonies of primitive peoples. Extravagance does not prove that savage ceremonies are useless, no more does it prove that bird songs are useless.

REVIEWS

Soziologie. Positive Lehre von den menschlichen Wechselbeziehungen. Von GUSTAV RATZENHOFER. Aus seinem Nachlasse herausgegeben von seinem Sohne. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1907.¹

Every product of the mind rests on inspiration. Even the philosophical thinker receives from it his fundamental ideas. Whether these ideas are true and fruitful or false and worthless rests with fate; no praise or blame attaches to the individual. But if he gives forth a "happy thought," its usefulness will depend upon his manner of doing it—how much zeal and effort he devotes to its elaboration, establishment, and execution.

In the realization of such inspirations two methods are employed, but these again are not matters of free choice, but rather of individual temperament. A person of sanguine temperament will give to the world the ideas that come to him as quickly as possible without much reflection and without laying a solid foundation for them; one of choleric temperament will go about his work with care. The latter will establish the correctness of his idea in all its parts; will follow it out in all directions; will elaborate it and build it up into a system; will fortify every part of the system and bring the separate parts into organic connection with one another. Of course one who thus proceeds will perform a higher service than he of the sanguine temperament, who merely heralds forth his inspiration, or thoughtlessly proclaims it, leaving to others the task of placing it where it can earn its golden usury.

Ratzenhofer did not bear lightly the happy sociological thought that inspired him; he founded his sociological philosophy on a prolonged, serious, painstaking effort of thought, tested it in every department of life, and sought to grasp and establish every detail sociologically. Not until he had surveyed all these domains from politics to ethics (the two opposite poles) with the bold spirit of an investigator and discoverer, not until he had made each one of these domains the subject of fundamental sociological study, reviewing all the sciences from the sociological standpoint and

¹ Translated from the German manuscript by Lester F. Ward.

accomplishing their true restoration, did he, at the end of his literary career, which, alas! was also the end of his life, venture upon a full sketch of "sociology," in which he could bring clearly and conspicuously into view the connection with it of all the fields previously covered by his work. He did not live to see this last work appear. The able editing of it we owe to his elder son, who, as shown by numerous notes appended to it, is fully imbued with the spirit of his father's labors.

Ratzenhofer more especially characterizes sociology as the "positive doctrine of the mutual relations of mankind." The most important result which the mutual relations of mankind accomplishes is social development. Ratzenhofer distinguishes six periods of this, and points to a seventh which lies before us.

The first of these is the social condition in which the dispersion and migration of hordes over the whole earth took place, and during which the principal races of men were developed under the influence of geological and geographical conditions.

The second period is that of the "beginning of primitive culture," in which, under the influence of varied modes of life, the differentiation of races takes place, and there arise "industrial races on the one hand, and warlike races on the other, and finally those which seek to occupy a wise middle ground between the tiller of the soil and the hunter through barter and exchange."

In the third "barbaric period," as a result of the rapid multiplication of nomadic races, roving and settled races unavoidably come into contact.

This at once introduces the fourth or military period. In this period there arises the relation of domination between the different strata of the population, and with this the state, with law as the accompaniment of power.

As a consequence of life under the state, especially through the pursuit of enjoyment on the part of the ruling class, who utilize the mercantile races for their satisfaction, there arises the fifth period of the "general unfolding of the conditions of existence." "To the love of power is added the love of gain and of pleasure, resulting in the discovery of the remotest regions of the heavens and the opening up of the entire globe to supply the wants of culture peoples."

As the unavoidable result of such a process the sixth period is ushered in, viz., that of capitalism in which we live today. The

characteristic of this period is that in it money is the most important element of power in the cultural intercourse of men, whereby, "out of the most astute and unscrupulous classes (the mercantile races) an aristocracy of capital has been created, which shares with the traditional aristocracy of earlier times in the dominion over the masses."

Ratzenhofer naturally concentrates his whole attention upon this *our* period, and devotes to it his most piercing criticism, for the present has of course the greatest interest for everyone. Indeed, we might call Ratzenhofer's sociology in a certain sense a sociology of the capitalistic period, not only dealing with its origin, but going to its essence and its evils, laying bare its abuses, and pointing the way to their possible remedy. Ratzenhofer believed in this remedy and hoped that it would come about in a seventh period of social development still to come. This will be the period of the "settled condition of man and of the harmony of production."

We will refer later to this ideal, but must now come to the kernel of his sociology, the analysis of the "mutual relations of mankind." These are determined by "social efforts" which produce "social development." But the essence of this development "consists in the struggle of individualization on the one hand to break through the social fetters, and of socialization on the other to apply the reins of the social order to the too active impulses of individuals." The tendency to individualization led in fact to freedom, but this ideal of unrestrained activity led to the rule of personality. This liberation of the individual, however, due to that tendency, "went on at the expense of the masses, whose interests, now growing more pronounced and ultimately irresistible, are demanding recognition." Ratzenhofer does not doubt that recognition will be accorded to the masses, because "socialization is inevitable." But on the other hand, "individualization as the only means to human perfectionment" would be rendered impossible. The period that is approaching therefore presents us with a troublesome dilemma: socialization or individualization? The first is "inevitable;" but the decline of individualism means the decline of all the achievements of civilization. Shall we permit this to happen?

Now Ratzenhofer is no pessimist; a bold, energetic optimism characterizes all his thinking. He does not lose courage even in the presence of this hard problem of fate; sociology will point the way

to our rescue! "Individualism itself, in the maturity of sociological wisdom, is now teaching us at the last hour to recognize the necessity of speedily contemplating the organization of society before the lower interests of the rising masses and their parasites shall swallow up those personalities who have saved the higher interests from the universal competition for the conditions of existence." "It is now the task of sociology to inquire how it is possible to preserve unsullied the social need of free personality."

But in order to be equal to this task sociology must first thoroughly investigate the inner mechanism of society. To this end Ratzenhofer draws up and carries out the following programme: (1) the factors of social development; (2) the social functions; (3) the social structures; (4) the principles of social development.

1. The oldest factors of social development are geological relations, for these have formed the primitive races and are still constantly working as "social influences of the habitat," which must not be overlooked today in judging of social relations. For "there is no greater danger in sociological thinking than the attempt to comprehend social development from the standpoint of any one speciality." And here Ratzenhofer emphasizes the onesidedness of modern race theories, which would explain social development solely from the standpoint of races, whereas "race is *only one* of the factors of development," and it is "onesided and unscientific to regard any one factor as adequate." Still, the race must not be overlooked, since it forms the basis of the "hereditary characters of men." For "the action of man is determined by experience, both his own and that of his ancestors, which when morphologically fixed constitutes his character." But along with these inherited characteristics must be considered the acquired ones as the products of the environment. The richer and more manifold the influences of this environment, the more important the acquired characters become. "While on the lower plane the hereditary qualities (the race) mean everything, now (i. e., in an advanced stage) that which the individual experiences during his life, what he learns, and the qualities that he acquires, must be taken into consideration."

A further factor of social development is tradition. This psychic factor is almost as powerful in its social effect as the physiological one of race.

One of the broader factors of social development is the inbreed-

ing of races or endogamy. Ratzenhofer here agrees with Reibmayr² that the original inbreeding continued too far has certain injurious effects, because "in a race living in endogamy the variational causes die out, so that the race, for want of external stimulus and invigorating antitheses, degenerates." The early "instinct of crossing within a certain circle of group communities" operates against these disadvantages. Yet the crossing of strains that are too unlike is attended with injurious consequences. The "contact of different characteristics as a factor in social development is especially marked in the state, which, indeed, seems to be established for the very purpose of producing such contacts. For "the state arises through conquest, and in its racially stratified membership the bearers of different tendencies dwell side by side and come into the closest relations with one another, especially through slavery which always leads to sexual mixture." Besides this form of mixture taking place on a larger or smaller scale, there are also going on in the state from the outset "the struggle for existence and natural selection" between the races forming the state (the ruling, trading, and laboring races).

As the last factor in social development Ratzenhofer mentions "ruling ideas." Now as "an idea is nothing else than the formulation of a need," ideas differ according to the grade of human wants from the lowest physiological to the most developed transcendental ideas, and even one's own ideas. Therefore in judging civilized societies we must keep in view the fact that the ideas which control this civilization do not exist in the masses, to whom only lower objects and interests are intelligible, but are confined to the highest intellectual levels of this society.

The difference between the higher and lower ideas consists in the fact that the former seek to attain the object of all human effort, the satisfaction of physiological and race interests, better than the latter, through indirect means and by circuitous routes. The higher idea is also more farseeing and foreseeing, whereas "the people think of bread only when they are hungry," so that the ideas of the masses lead to catastrophes.

2. By "social functions" Ratzenhofer understands "the various phenomena of politics." This, however, is nothing else than "the continued struggle for the conditions to the preservation and

²I refer to Reibmayr's excellent work: *Inzucht und Vermischung beim Menschen*, 1897.

perpetuation of individual life," which, in view of the social nature of man, is not carried on by single individuals but between and within social groups of the ζῶον πολιτικόν. This struggle is primarily an economic one, i. e., one which is carried on for the means of preservation.

Out of the nature of man; out of his desire to escape labor on the one hand, and his efforts to satisfy his physiological needs on the other, arises the principle of all economic activity: "The attainment of the maximum satisfaction with the minimum expenditure of effort." This principle leads to the common labor of many men upon one kind of work, or to the division of labor, whereby the organization of production has been everywhere established and maintained by means of power. Thus economics was changed from an individual to a social operation, and furnished the most important cause of political subjection. The fundamental phenomena of economics are production and consumption, which were originally in close connection. But in time trade with all its methods and special purposes, "thrust itself between them," whereby the producer as well as the consumer loses sight of "the possible harmony of the conditions of existence with their needs," in consequence of which that condition arises which Engels calls "the anarchy of social production." Now while Marx and the socialists regard the exclusion of the laborer from the possession of the means of production as the cause of this condition of things, Ratzenhofer thinks that the excess of trade (*Handel*) is alone responsible for it. Trade is also the source of capitalism, which "permanently excludes the laborers as lifelong wage slaves from their just share of the earnings of labor." Ratzenhofer with the socialists also regards the present so-called "flower of industry, trade and commerce, as synonymous with economic anarchy," only he does not look upon these "frightful evils" in the same light as does the social democracy, whose position relative to these facts he regards with good reason as a wholly false one. Ratzenhofer would then oppose the present crimes committed by capitalism not by means of freedom, equality, internationalism, and like misleading phantoms, not by means of revolution, expropriation, and communism, but through a "civilized economic policy" the essence of which should be "the development of the rights of labor."

When such a civilized economic policy shall be accompanied by a corresponding population policy, and when also the "policy of

force," that of "the religious orders," and finally that of private life, shall have acquired a civilized character, then Ratzenhofer expects the advent of the "age of settled society (*Sesshaftigkeit*) and of the harmony of production." In all the departments named Ratzenhofer formulates with precision the demands of the civilizing policy. In the domain of population he considers "the establishment of the civilized state as possible only on a national basis." The civilized state cannot dispense with the application of force. For "force is and remains a *permanent* function of social development." Therefore "the capacity for the energetic application of force to the moral basis of character which rules undaunted over life and death and shrinks from no act necessary to the common good, is a fundamental demand of civilization." If Ratzenhofer demands this for the internal policy it is clear that in the external policy he concedes to war its justification for a long time yet to come. "The idea of a perpetual peace . . . is a relic of that class of ideas which supposes the state to have risen through Rousseau's social contract. . . . It is true that the human race may some time approach the ideal condition of a permanent peace . . . but we are still far removed from this stage, and the peace idea propagated by women of both sexes is fallacious and injurious to its advocates."

The religious orders have a "place independent of all other functions of social development." Ratzenhofer makes a sharp distinction between religion and religious sects. The former, as "the effort of thought to penetrate into the origin and purpose of our being," is an individual fact, which only becomes a social fact through "the outward activity of the religious sense." But the sect only arises when intellectually influential individuals attain to a more or less definite answer to religious questions and elaborate formulas of faith, which are enacted through rituals." For now the sect begins "to become socially effective through the power of the stronger individualities upon the rest, and through tradition upon posterity." The sect is a means of social union and of political purpose, since it produces priests, hierarchies, and churches. In the process of development through the sect and the priesthood to the church the source itself is gradually dried up. Religion and the church become a political organization with greater and greater powers of aggrandizement. "The Roman church has so far stripped off all religious features,

has so ceased to care for the transcendental interests of the race, that no obstacle stands in the way of its extension to all races or to the adhesion to the political organization of individuals of a wholly different character, nay, even of those destitute of religion. The policy of the church is furthered by the association of the most dissimilar political interests and by social organizations which in the progress of enlightenment have lost or fear to lose their possessions and influence." Ratzenhofer predicts that "through indifference for formal dogmas, and through the perception of the glaring misapplication of transcendental interests to political ends on the part of the religious orders, the inner religious sentiment, which keeps aloof from everything relating to material interests, will be eliminated."

All the "external social functions" thus far considered come at last into action in private life. In this, as the internal social function, it has to be shown "whether the former accomplish their purpose." If the external functions are civilizing this will express itself also in private life. For "the condition of the family is the reflex of the state of civilization in society. . . . No wonder then that the present period of capitalism has also loosened the bonds of the family. An anarchistic spirit is rending the family asunder," complains Ratzenhofer. But here, too, his optimism makes him hope for a better future. "It is to be assumed that the diminution of trade will bring about a reform in private life."

3. After the treatment of the *factors* and *functions* of social development social structures are described, which expression Ratzenhofer uses in a very wide sense, since he understands by them not only (a) the family, (b) the associated bands of races and tribal communities, (c) the nobility, and (d) the state, but also "associations of ideas" and "civilization" itself.

In connection with the race question Ratzenhofer here deals with the problem of the Jews. He states the striking fact that while "the Jews in all departments are the champions of enlightenment and progress . . . their atavistic cult with its rigid and often senseless prescriptive rites remains untouched." As he concludes his treatment of the subject with the remark that "the disappearance of Judaism is a prerequisite (*Voraussetzung*) of civilization,"³ it is easy to see that this expression will call forth violent

³ He means their assimilation by the peoples with whom they live. He has shown the advantages that would accrue from this to both the intelligent and the indigent Jews. See p. 135 of the work under review.—TRANSLATOR.

opposition. Nevertheless it must be admitted that a true and genuine civilization seems incompatible with all "atavistic" cults and with the "senseless prescriptive rites" that always attend them.

Not less sharply does Ratzenhofer criticize the social organization of the nobility and the social embodiment of power, the state. "That the nobility as a social combination shall disappear is in the interest of civilization," and the "opposition to the state has its roots in the contrast instinctively felt between the *barbaric state* as it is and the civilized state as it ought to be," but from which we "are still far removed."

But a guaranty that this (civilized) state must some time come seems to lie in the social structures of "ideas" and of "civilization." In these social structures "the members of various races irrespective of somatic differences" unite "on the basis of common interests" through the simple bond of ideas which rest upon the intellectual intercourse of men. But the highest of these social structures is the *nation*, which Ratzenhofer regards as the social structure of civilization *par excellence*. For, however much in individual cases the origin of the state may deviate from the "typical subjection of settled laborers by roving marauders," in every case "the life of common rights and business interests makes an approach to the popular elements, which is first expressed by a common language, then causes their different origins to be forgotten, and, as a compromise of race elements, forms a social structure of a higher order, the *nation*." And although "civilization has a tendency to socialize mankind," yet, "the variety of races and of the conditions of existence will always enable social structures with special interests and special cultures, i. e., autonomous nations, to exist."

4. Ratzenhofer derives this consolation from the consideration of the "principles of social development." By this he understands the antithetical impulses of social development, whose reconciliation and utilization in the interest of mankind is to be aimed at. Thus it is at bottom individualism and socialism that struggle together. These principles are represented by special races. "Nomadic tribes become individualistic, settled tribes, socialistic races." "Civilization requires an individualism in the service of socialism, a heroism for the common good." Ratzenhofer sees a favorable sign that such a state will some time come in the circumstance that the existing governments aim at the appearance at least of seeking the public good.

As a broader principle of social development Ratzenhofer introduces integration and differentiation, which express themselves in the policy of the state as centralization and autonomy; then as progress and regress, freedom and coercion; finally as equality and authority. What we now call "social order" is a certain "average condition of equilibrium" in conflict with the above principles. In support of the social order the ruling class always called in the priesthood, which, however, proved itself inappropriate to the culture state. "It thus came about that the national state and civilized society assumed the task of creating and maintaining the social order in opposition to the churches." For some time science and enlightenment have taken the place of theology, crowded out of public life. Thus "the metaphysical stage followed the theological . . . which in our day is replaced by the positive. But still today there reigns an immeasurable confusion on the question as to the principle in which the social order is to be found.'

"All authorities" are still today disposed to restore to the church its pristine rôle as the basis of the social order, since they suppose it to be "a danger if the dominion of natural laws is recognized also in intellectual and social phenomena, if morals and law are robbed of their supernatural origin." But "positive monism furnishes a far more reliable basis for the social order than those conceptions resting upon faith. Sociological philosophy upholds the authorities without the help of ideas whose influence on individuals is vanishing."

Penetrated by this conviction, Ratzenhofer, in the second part (B), essayed to sketch an "applied sociology," in which the doctrines of theoretical sociology should be presented in their practical applications. But this part had only reached the condition of a fragmentary outline, which contains much of value, but in which the subjective element is strongly in the ascendant. Nevertheless, applied sociology has more to do with the future than with reality, and thus affords a much too tempting opportunity for the formulation of one's own wishes in the matter. It inheres in the nature of men that they, as Ratzenhofer thinks, desire to utilize "knowledge as a means to an end." The question "whether it is at all possible for the individual to exert an influence upon social development, which is a natural process," Ratzenhofer answers in the affirmative, though with certain limitations. But if we admit the possibility of such an influence, one thing is at least certain, viz.,

that "applied sociology" is politics, and in this the subjective element must make itself felt, i. e., the objective element vanishes. For this reason a scientific objective criticism of "applied sociology" is out of the question.

If then this part of Ratzenhofer's sociology is open to different opinions according to the standpoint and party affinity of the critic, it will certainly still remain undisputed that we possess in his theoretical sociology the first scientific system of this discipline that has appeared in German countries.

From the idea that there must be a science of society to the construction of a system of the same was a long step. Ratzenhofer has taken it successfully. True, in English-speaking countries before Ratzenhofer, some sociological systems had arisen—first that of Herbert Spencer, then those of Lester Ward, Giddings, and others. Also in the Latin countries of Europe, where sociology finds a warm welcome, several systems have appeared. But none of these systems adhere so rigidly to the societary or social, none define so exactly the scope of sociology, as does that of Ratzenhofer. In this nuclear domain of sociology Ratzenhofer has unquestionably broken a new way. He has had the courage here to utter truths the open admission of which has heretofore been universally shunned. But now that they have been openly expressed they seem to every thinking man to have been uttered from his own heart. Hence they work like revelations, and once promulgated, can never again be suppressed. Ratzenhofer's sociological theory remains an imperishable possession of science.

LUDWIG GUMPLOWICZ

In Indian Mexico: A Narrative of Travel and Labor. By FREDERICK STARR. Chicago: Forbes & Co., 1908. Pp. xi+425. \$5.00.

Professor Starr's work in Mexico is already well known, especially his recent expeditions, four in number (1898-1901), undertaken for the purpose of studying the physical characteristics of the various Indian tribes of southern Mexico. The scientific results of these studies, in part at least, have already been published (*The Indians of Southern Mexico: An Ethnographic Album; Notes on the Ethnography of Southern Mexico; The Physical Characters of the Indians of Southern Mexico*, etc.). The present

book is the popular account of Professor Starr's experiences during these four journeys, as well as a preliminary one in 1896. The better-known portions of Mexico are passed over in silence, and the book deals almost exclusively with trips, by horse, mule, or ox-cart, away from the railroad, through the more remote, or Indian, portions of the country. This makes the narrative somewhat disconnected in places, but an itinerary is given at the end of the book.

On these trips the various Indian tribes of southern Mexico, over twenty in number, were visited in their native villages. The author gives a vivid account of his personal experiences, and the difficulties and hardships of traveling in these regions. The very natural disinclination of the Indian to be photographed, measured, and modeled was overcome by government orders (which Professor Starr had been careful to obtain beforehand) to the local officials; and when these were refractory, threats of punishment by the higher authorities usually proved effective. Many interesting sidelights are thrown on local conditions and government and on the manner of life and thought of the natives, but no effort is made to systematize any of this information.

The book contains numerous illustrations of native life and natural scenery, but no map—a most serious defect in a book of this character. There is a glossary of Spanish and Indian words, and an appendix containing a reprint of two articles from Chicago newspapers.

A. B. LEWIS

FIELD COLUMBIAN MUSEUM

Essai sur les Revolutions. Par ARTHUR BAUER. Ouvrage récompensé par l'institut international de sociologie. Bibliothèque sociologique publiée sous la direction de M. René Worms. XXXVI. Paris: V. Giard & E. Brière. Pp. 303.

The author of this essay is favorably known through an earlier study published six years ago on *Les classes sociales*. In that study Bauer attached great importance to correctness of method in sociological investigation. This emphasis on method reappears in the brief introduction to the present essay.

In the earlier period of historical writing it was the ambition of historians to recount events. Such writers of history cultivated

artistic presentation and expression. The result was authorities in history, such as Thucydides and Polybius in antiquity, and Montesquieu and Macaulay in modern times. But latterly less attention has been given to proportion and more to detail, until now one might suppose the scientific historical method to stand for the intensive study of a single society. But comparison is necessary. The historian with this method ends with conclusions lacking solidity. The sociologists, Bauer thinks, have been more successful because they embrace in the circle of their research all social conditions. But on this very account they have undertaken too much, and they tend to limit themselves to a study of early society. The view-point of the sociologist and historian must be united into a synthesis by employing analysis fixed upon some specific phase or fact of social life, after the manner of the physiologist, who does not select the whole organism for his research, but he will select some particular phase or aspect of the entire organism, like the muscles, for example, which he will undertake to make the subject of exhaustive research.

In the brief study above referred to, Bauer lays the foundation for the explanation of his method; in the essay before us he undertakes to give an example of the specific application of his method. He undertakes what he regards as a rational and complete explanation of the phenomenon of revolution, not by considering revolutions as a series of historical cases, but by analyzing the phenomenon of revolutions in its scientific generality. It is by this method, based upon the sociological importance of classes, that the author seeks to establish the certainty and fixity of science within the changing and complex domain of social life.

Revolutions are considered from three standpoints, which furnish the basis for a threefold division of the subject: "La fermentation," "La crise," and "renaissance." In the first part, "Fermentation," Bauer surveys the rise of the new forces which make for change of the established order by analyzing the nature of revolutionary acts under the respective control of individual and social ascendancies, marked by the development of new ideas and sentiments which find expression in literature, morals, religion, and law. Thus a revolutionary party tends to form, made up of the discontented, who, from internal and external causes, find themselves out of adjustment with what is established. The immediate result is failure of social cohesion, followed by failure of resources,

financial distress, and dissatisfaction with the personnel of the government. In the second part, "La crise," are expounded the initial revolutionary acts, both individual and collective, culminating in sharp struggle in which new legislative, judicial, and executive powers are exercised by those in ascendancy, the ecclesiastical establishment usually supporting the old order, while force, represented by the army, becomes the ultimate determinant of order. In the third part, "renaissance," we find an examination of the slow process of reconstruction which follows the crisis. Laws, constitutional, political, administrative, judicial, civil, physical, and military, are recast. Social correlation is wrought out through intellectual and moral forces amid varied successes and failures. The study closes with a tribute to the principal factor in progress, the intellectual and moral activity in man.

ISAAC A. LOOS

STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

Economic Condition of the Jews in Russia. (Reprinted from Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor, U. S. Department of Commerce and Labor, September, 1907). By L. M. RUBINOW. Washington, 1908. Pp. 96.

This study is offered as a part of a series of inquiries on immigration and its relation to social and industrial questions in the United States. The study is thorough, abounding in well-worked-out tables. Jewish population in Russia is studied historically and demographically. The occupations are next analyzed. Agriculture yields but a small quota, while the artisan classes and unskilled labor have a larger proportion. The chapter on manufactories is very significant. The share of the Russian Jews in commercial pursuit receives very sympathetic treatment. The work of Russian Jewish charities is no surprise to anyone who knows the philanthropic predisposition of this race. The unfortunate educational situation passes under review next. The facts detailed in this essay indicate how deeply the lives of the Russian Jews have been influenced by the legal conditions under which they live. A study of these conditions and their economic results seems to be doubly important for a clear understanding of Russian immigration to this country; not only because these conditions shape the physical, psychological, and economic status of the immigrant, but also because

they are of decisive influence in determining the very dimensions of the current of immigration from Western Russia to the United States.

HUGO P. J. SELINGER

CHICAGO, ILL.

Socialism before the French Revolution: a History. By WILLIAM B. GUTHRIE, PH.D. New York: Macmillan, 1907. Pp. xviii+339.

This work does not cover the broad field indicated by the comprehensive title, but deals only with the period from Sir Thomas More to the French Revolution, at the end of the eighteenth century. The aim of the work is double—to indicate what were the “socialistic” ideas before the emergence of the most recent collectivistic movement, and how the several prerevolutionary theories or plans for a better society were related to the general thought-environment of their times.

In an introductory chapter, the author considers the sources for judging of prerevolutionary socialistic doctrine and of the general “preconceptions” of the several social schemes. He finds one great difference in basal ideas, reaching back to Aristotle and Plato, the one view being that the social will forms and controls institutions, i. e., that society is an artificial product; while the other is, that there is an adaptation or determination of social relations, practically unmodifiable “by taking thought.” Their agreement on the former position constitutes the one thing common to all theorists of the socialistic type.

One-fourth of the book is devoted to More, with consideration of his environment—particularly the discovery of America, the Reformation, and the English political and economic situation. In More’s scheme is found a direct appeal for a better “vertical” distribution of human cultural assets, the existence of social classes being recognized and made the chief object of criticism. The second reformer treated is Campanella, his social theories being related not only to the contemporary psychic and economic environment, but also to his own wider activities as a leading anti-scholastic metaphysician. Consideration is next given to the French revolutionary theorizing in the eighteenth century, which Dr. Guthrie centers about Morelly, but the case in favor of the large claims made for Morelly’s direct influence seems not to be made out beyond

reasonable question. The author shows very clearly how the divergent philosophies of the time—the individualistic and the socialistic—are equally based on the vague notions of a “state of nature” and “natural rights” as existing in a hypothetical past. Individualistic ideas dominated the revolution, which modified the economic organization chiefly in giving private property a wider constituency. The collectivistic theories of Morelly, reaching extreme communism in Babeuf, remained dormant until a new optimism gained attention in the generation following.

Dr. Guthrie closes the study with a chapter of conclusions, with all of which one need not agree in order to feel that his book is exceptionally fair and forms a decidedly desirable contribution to the subject.

ALBERT H. N. BARON

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Standards of Public Morality. The Kennedy lectures for 1906, in the New York School of Philanthropy. By ARTHUR TWINING HADLEY, president of Yale University. New York: Macmillan, 1907. Pp. xi+158. \$1 net.

The theme of this little book is one that with many variations has been recently made the *Ausgangspunkt* for countless criticisms and analyses, ranging from the “muck-raker” variety to the most respectable expression of mild dissatisfaction with present conditions. President Hadley has, in these lectures, taken a broad outlook upon the social situation as it presents itself to all frankly thinking people. The chapter headings and their succession are suggestive of the very extended meaning given to the terms “public” and “morality”—“The Formation of Public Opinion,” “The Ethics of Trade,” “The Ethics of Corporate Management,” “The Workings of Our Political Machinery,” “The Political Duties of the Citizen.” In an attractively untechnical manner Dr. Hadley reviews anew the relations between private property and public welfare, and makes specific insistence on the moral implications of all economic and civic action. Throughout, the author, consistently with former utterances, emphasizes the primacy of an enlightened and enlivened public opinion, and deplores the tendency toward premature legislation that falls into contempt through lack of the support of an effective public opinion. He points out very clearly that the main

difficulty in our social life today is largely the same as it has always been—the setting up of higher standards for others to follow than we recognize as binding upon ourselves. “The man who in his own grocery store encourages his clerk to let the scales weigh a little too heavy for the customer who does not notice . . . has deprived himself of the chance of saying anything effective against railroad rebates,” while the recipient of the latter “applauds himself because others are in their hearts admiring him; and as long as he has this admiration he cares not for editorial attacks, or denunciatory sermons, or even laws to restrain his activity.”

Dr. Hadley finds the reason for the difference between “our standards of public and private morals” in the fact that “our experience in the one case has been much longer than our experience in the other.” While the time element in the process of codification of morals is important, would not a completer explanation of this phenomenon of “ethical pluralism” be that, while the proscribed acts in our “private morals” have from early times been clearly observed in their relation to their evil results, the far more complex relations and the indirect results of modern activities hinder the formation of clear judgments of right and wrong?

ALBERT H. N. BARON

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The New Basis of Civilization. By SIMON N. PATTEN, PH.D., LL.D., Professor of Political Economy, Wharton School of Finance and Commerce, The University of Pennsylvania; being the Kennedy Lectures for 1905 in the School of Philanthropy, conducted by the Charity Organization Society of the City of New York. American Social Progress Series. New York: Macmillan, 1907. Pp. vii+220.

The *critical* argument of the *New Basis of Civilization* is based upon the proposition that our ideals, virtues, morality, and institutions have been determined under the pain or deficit economy of the past and are not competent under the waxing pleasure or surplus economy of the present; and upon its corollary that in the transition from the former to the latter economy the conflict between the struggle-born, belated traditions and the herladic relationships born of co-operation causes confusion, inaction, or mis-

directed effort. This proposition with variations is found in every chapter of the book, e. g.:

Our social inheritances come from two radically different forces that have been acting upon us from the first. One springs from universal deficit the poverty of the early world. The other emerges from the later store of goods which builds a social surplus. The bonds uniting the first society were made by wars, famines, irregularity of supplies, and the other causes of common primitive poverty which forced men into groups that could survive the reign of want, when the free individual must have perished. The dread of foes and the craving for sympathy in disaster bound men together even while economic advantages might have called them apart. Terror and suffering developed social solidarity long before men were intellectually able to conceive the economic value of co-operation (p. 34).

Disease, oppression, irregular work, immature old age, and race hatreds characterize the vanishing age of deficit; plenty of food, shelter, capital security and mobility of men and goods define the age of surplus in which we act (p. 186).

The confusion of the transition is stated or intimated on almost every page, but perhaps as good a statement as any is to be found on p. 10, as follows:

We must admit that such a process of amelioration in world affairs is going on. But the changes wrought by that process are so recent that the effects of old conditions have not disappeared. They persist in a revolutionized order of things which has not yet definitely reconstructed the traditions and orthodox modes of thought. Mental habits continue long after the economic conditions which fashioned them have disappeared and popular beliefs reflect the passing age of nature's deficit, while the actions of men who hold those beliefs are chiefly governed by the new age of surplus in which they live. The economic revolution is here, but the intellectual revolution that will rouse men to its stupendous meaning has not done its work.

Or again:

Men are now squarely confronted with two issues. They may continue to cultivate ancestral qualities of strife and sacrifice in surroundings of peace and plenty, or they may consciously develop a new type of man fitted for the society without poverty toward which we aspire (p. 150).

The *constructive* argument rests upon the proposition that,

Provision for the future should be made henceforth from the current body of society's riches rather than out of the weakness of mothers; the human being must cease to be the frail yet all-important vessel upon whose capacity depends the progress of the type. World riches may

replace the living sacrifice and become the social contrivance that lowers human costs; and we must cease to think that the anguish of sentient creatures is compensated by the development of moral qualities which merely reconcile men to repeating the experiences of suffering. Each generation may spend the current wealth of commodities as formerly it spent the current wealth of womanhood; but Capital in its destruction reproduces itself and passes onward without the deterioration caused by pain. The social surplus is the superlative machine brought forth in a machine age for the quickening of progress. It is an advance upon nature, her waste being saved by human ingenuity at work upon her illimitable resources (p. 55).

Or again:

On the one hand are the obstacles economic (that hinder advance), maladjustments between men and nature, which forced men in the past to submit to a poverty they did not know how to escape; on the other hand are the obstacles social, which do not originate in nature, but in those past conditions retaining present potency that have aligned men into antagonistic classes at home and into hostile races abroad. The economic obstacles are being slowly weakened by the application of knowledge, science and skill; but the social obstacles will never be overcome until an intellectual revolution shall have freed men's minds from the stultifying social traditions that hand down hatreds and shall have given to thought the freedom that now marks industrial activity. Thought must be as mobile as action if social institutions are to be remodeled to serve economic ends by giving to the poor such intense and steady purposes that they shall be lifted from one income level to another until they are emancipated into their culture rights (p. 68).

As to the origin of many present conventions the author declares that sacrifice (p. 153), abstinence (p. 141), and the loftier emotions (p. 41; see also p. 56), sympathy, friendliness, courage, and love, were conceived in deficit and arrested action, and reminds us of the universal belief that the finest character is the product of suffering. In a recent magazine article he sets over against the several deficit-born qualities their proper constructive surplus-born activities. Thus he sets over against neighborliness, citizenship; against pity, harmony of interest; against sympathy, faith in humanity; against consciousness of kind, organization; against goodness, efficiency; against service, generosity; against character, improved conditions. (Cf. *Charities and The Commons*, p. 1644 [February 29, 1908].)

Professor Patten has given us as a final chapter in his book a

programme of social work which contains suggestions as to how society may realize upon its surplus now at hand.

One cannot read the *New Basis of Civilization* without being reminded of Miss Addams' book, *The Newer Ideals of Peace*. "The immediate theme of Miss Addams' book is the inadequacy of a governmental order that has arisen out of, and is still unconsciously dominated by military ideals to express the democracy of an industrial community" (Mead, *American Journal of Sociology*, p. 121 [July, 1907]). She maintains that the ideals and institutions called upon to function today in an industrial community were born of war and conquest and, being belated, are misfits. Professor Patten maintains that the incompetent virtues, precepts, and traditions of today are the offspring of economic and social parsimony and are therefore out of step with the more abundant life. But the difference between the two authors is rather one of interest and of emphasis, than of essence. Both maintain that a redefinition of virtues, morality, and institutions must be made before the present chaos and inaction can be resolved into efficient functioning.

The New Basis of Civilization joins issue with *The Good Neighbor* (by Miss Mary Richmond) as to the comparative values of service-altruism and income-altruism, or of friendly visiting and community improvement. (See *The Good Neighbor*, pp. 16 ff.; and *Charities and The Commons*, February 29, 1908, "Social Forces," by the editor, and an article, "The Good Neighbor," by Professor Patten.)

The difference [between service-altruism and income-altruism] is that which separates the old from the new charity. The one crossed the road to help the Samaritan after he had suffered under bad conditions of highway management; the other patrols the road and arrests the wayside thieves before the traveler falls among them. Service-altruism binds the wounds, breathes forgiveness, and solaces the victims of recurring disasters without attacking their causes. Income-altruism hews to their base, for it has money power to police and to light the road to Jericho (p. 86).

But Professor Patten does not regard the two as exclusive, as a careful reading of the book will show and as he has said in a rejoinder to Miss Richmond. For example, he says:

Neighborliness and kind-heartedness thrive in the help that those in temporary distress give each other. Without these qualities we might have a super-man with excellent adjustment to nature; but if this super-man

mocked the weak instead of saving them, his strength, excellence and beauty would be those of an animal. He would have power but not virtue (p. 170).

To the reviewer it seems there is no essential contradiction involved. There are relations in which friendly visiting is perfectly natural, such as the poor with the locally neighboring poor and in intra-group and intra-class relationships; and others where it closely approximates naturalness as in the case of a friendly visitor in a charity organization society, or sometimes in that of the resident of a social settlement. Also there are relations in which income-altruism is a perfectly natural form of service, e. g., in all forms of mediated and endowed charity, civic improvement, and general constructive social work. In these latter relations neighborliness—as the result of territorial or group community—and friendly visiting are unnatural and incompetent. The comparative value of the two kinds of service is difficult to determine, but that both have value in their appropriate spheres is not to be doubted.

The New Basis of Civilization is exceedingly suggestive, provokes one to thought, and submits a programme for the reconstruction of our civilization. It is perhaps too much to require that a book of such small compass should be convincing at all points. There are, moreover, some statements that are not at all evident. It may be doubted whether an "income-altruism" and a "socialized-capitalist" would have any *raison d'être* in a reign of surplus. The author challenges our faith as to the reality of the land of surplus, and it is hard saying when he bids us say farewell to certain homely virtues even though born of need.

THOMAS J. RILEY

THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

Report of the Librarian of Congress and Report of the Superintendent of the Library Building and Grounds. For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1907. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1907.

This report from the pens of Mr. Herbert Putnam and Mr. Bernard R. Green deserves notice in a sociological journal, not only for the reason that it is an interesting document concerning governmental provision made for the knowledge interest of the

population, but also for the further academic reason that it is an instructive study in the art of making a report. To the professional librarian pp. 54-60 will be of special interest. We learn that 774,144 cards were filed; 43 sections were either recatalogued entirely or are now in process of recataloguing; considerable progress has been made in securing uniformity of Catalogue rules in the United Kingdom and the United States.

Considerable interest attaches to the acquisition by the Library of Congress of the private library of Mr. Yudin of Siberia, comprising 80,000 volumes all relating to Russia and Siberia, and all save about 12,000 volumes in the Russian language. So ample a collection, so well balanced, in this particular field may not exist outside of Russia. The owner's manuscript catalogue accompanies the collection.

It is rather significant that in the same year in which the library secured this valuable collection of books concerning Russia there was also added a similar library concerning Japan. This is a valuable "working collection for the student of Japanese literature, history, and institutions. It is the personal selection of Professor Asakawa, formerly of Dartmouth, now of the faculty of Yale University.

The general reader may be interested in the figures of the Copyright Office. There were in the fiscal year 11,255 foreign and 112,574 domestic entries, a total of 123,829. The present status of the copyright law is discussed in an interesting manner. The attention of serious investigators may justly be called to pp. 70-78, and the last appendix, which give complete information concerning the unique privileges accorded to unique persons by the most unique library in the civilized world.

HUGO P. J. SELINGER

CHICAGO, ILL.

New Reading of Evolution: A Study Plan Correlating the Known Facts of Nature and Forming a Scientific Basis for a Synthetic Philosophy of Individual and Social Life. By HENRY CLAYTON THOMPSON. Chicago: New Reading Publishing Co. Pp. 355.

Reading this book one gets the impression that the author is an intelligent man of fair general education, but with no scientific or

specialized training of any kind. He urges that everyone can and should work out a philosophy of life and society for himself. Then on the basis of having read a few books, mostly on biology and evolution, eked out with a history of the sciences and some encyclopaedia articles, he shows by example how to work out your life-philosophy. He cites, with criticism, Darwin, Spencer, Huxley, etc., but with complete approval *The Great Work, Miracles and Modern Spiritualism*, by Alfred R. Wallace, *The Evolution of Love* and *Harmonics of Evolution* by Florence Huntley. Thus mixing without discrimination science and pseudo-science, practically ignoring the literature of psychology and philosophy, he goes on his way rejoicing.

A few ideas picked up apparently from Ward's *Dynamic Sociology* and *Outlines of Sociology* guide him to a fairly satisfactory result under the circumstances. The author evidently felt the need of new ethical standards and rushed in to supply it forthwith.

VICTOR E. HELLEBERG

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Growth of English Industry and Commerce During the Early and Middle Ages. By B. W. CUNNINGHAM, D.D. Cambridge: University Press.

The fourth edition, carefully revised, of this valuable work of Dr. Cunningham testifies to its increasing usefulness. It is to be hoped that we shall soon have as thorough a work on American economic development.

VICTOR E. HELLEBERG

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The World's Peoples: A Popular Account of Their Bodily and Mental Characters, Beliefs, Traditions, Political and Social Institutions. By A. H. KEANE, LL.D., F.R.A.I. New York: Putnam, 1908. Pp. viii+434. With 270 illustrations reproduced from original photographs.

The scope of Dr. Keane's latest work is sufficiently indicated by the title. He has managed the matter of illustrations admirably. No book in English of anything like the scope can compare with it on this score.

A book of this general character should precede or accompany the study of history, politics, and sociology in the schools. This volume is not itself so well adapted to school use as Professor Keane's *Ethnology* or his *Man, Past and Present*, but it is admirably adapted to the intelligent public.

The problem of space has made it necessary to neglect some aspects of the life of the different groups of mankind. The formal descriptions, the enumeration of peoples, and the geographical relations are well done, but social and mental questions are not so well handled.

It is interesting to note that the author, while "eschewing debatable questions," such as the origin of exogamy, group marriage, and magical practice, expresses himself without hesitation on such questions as "the cradle of the human race," and "the original home of the white man." These and some like questions are regarded as also debatable by many ethnologists, but they are among the questions on which Dr. Keane has made up his mind.

W. I. THOMAS

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Kindergarten in American Education. By NINA C. VANDEWALKER, Director of the Kindergarten Training Department, State Normal School, Milwaukee. New York: Macmillan.

It is generally acknowledged that the kindergarten is in a transitional stage, in America at any rate. This is not to be wondered at, since our entire educational system is in a state of flux; and it is probable that the kindergarten is not changing more vitally in its philosophy and methods than is the elementary or the high school. Indeed, the kindergarten has resisted quite effectually the forces in American education which have unsettled the foundations of the traditional educational structure. Nowhere in the whole world has there been such searching criticism of educational theory and practice as there has been in our country the last fifteen years or so; and while the kindergartners have come in for their full share of this criticism, yet they have been remarkably steadfast in their loyalty to their institution as it has come down to them from its founder. No body of teachers in this country, either in our own day or in the past, have been so devoted to a man and his gospel

as have the kindergartners. The Herbartians were for a brief space extraordinarily zealous in promulgating the teachings of their leader; but they have already well-nigh lost their identity, and have become assimilated with the general educational movements of the times. Herbart as a distinct personality does not now stand out clearly in our educational theorizing as he did a few years ago; but Froebel has suffered no such eclipse. His devoted followers have preserved himself and his doctrines from effacement in the great educational revolution which has been in progress in our country the past two decades.

The story of the career in America of this remarkable institution can hardly fail to be of interest to any student of social or educational movements. It is more properly a story than a history; for the events described are of too recent occurrence to have the character of historical fact. Most of the names of educational men and women (and there are many of them) mentioned in Miss Vandewalker's book are now in the prime of their professional life. Some of them are still in the transitional stage, and they would at this moment hardly acknowledge the views which they advanced a few years ago and which are written down to their credit in this book. Because of its contemporaneity the book is unusually concrete and explicit, and not in the least speculative. The author aims to give facts in a simple, straightforward way; and she does not attempt often to enter a plea for the kindergarten or condemn it on any point, though her treatment is sympathetic throughout.

So far as the present writer can tell, the data presented in this volume are reliable, and they are given in great abundance. On almost every page there are many names of persons and organizations and places which have played some part in the development of the American kindergarten. The story starts at the beginning of the kindergarten movement in this country, and it follows its expansion down through the decades to our own day. The author shows how the kindergarten "idea" became recognized and fostered by women's clubs, and what a rôle it has played in church, Sunday school, mission, temperance, and settlement work. Progress in kindergarten literature is traced, as is also the incorporation of the kindergarten in the public-school system, and its influence upon elementary education. For the student of educational theory the last two chapters of the book will prove of chief interest. These chapters deal with (1) the changes produced by the kindergarten

in modern primary education, and present-day tendencies in the kindergarten. Miss Vandewalker maintains that the primary school would still be formal, wooden, mechanical, if it were not for the kindergarten, which has compelled the primary teacher to assume a different attitude toward her pupils, and to introduce games and plays, constructive activities, drawing, music, etc., into the schoolroom. It is certain that some of the readers of her book will think that she claims too much for the kindergarten in its influence upon the elementary school, and neglects other and very powerful forces that have been at work to make the teaching and discipline of the primary school more vital and sane and effective.

Miss Vandewalker recognizes that the kindergarten as developed by Froebel must be modified in respect to details at any rate to conform to the requirements for healthful and effective education as indicated by modern science. Moreover, there are peculiarities in the social organization and the temperament of American people which require that the kindergarten must be adaptable, or else it will not become a part of the public-school system of our country. It is occasion for congratulation that the leaders in the kindergarten movement, such as the author of this volume, are thoroughly progressive, and eager to keep the kindergarten fully abreast of scientific investigation, while at the same time preserving its peculiar temper and quality.

M. V. O'SHEA

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

American Communities and Co-operative Colonies. By WILLIAM ALFRED HINDS, PH.B. Second Revision. Chicago: Kerr, 1908. Pp. 608.

This book is written for the purpose of convincing its readers that the ultimate aim of social development is communism as the recognized basis of society. For this purpose there is an encyclopedic array of facts concerning most of the communistic movements in American history. The book aims to be scientific; the author wishes to become authority on the subject. He has succeeded in giving us a valuable book of reference abounding in facts but very popular in character.

HUGO P. J. SELINGER

CHICAGO, ILL.

Chapters in Rural Progress. By KENYON L. BUTTERFIELD, President of Massachusetts Agricultural College. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1908. Pp. ix+251.

Chapters in Rural Progress attempts to present some of the more significant phases of the rural problem and to describe some of the agencies at work in solving it. The farm problem is declared to consist in maintaining upon our farms a class of people who have succeeded in procuring for themselves the highest possible class status, not only in the industrial but in the political and social order—a relative status, moreover, that is measured by the demands of American ideals.

The agencies for solving the problem are the rural school, the agricultural college, farmers' institutes, the Grange, and the country church. The author discusses these several agencies and the possibility of their federation. The book contains an outline for a brief course in agricultural economics and another for a brief course in rural sociology. The latter is very suggestive in its topics and their arrangement is good. The book is a splendid introductory study to rural sociology and should do much to call attention to the subject and to mark out the lines for its study.

THOMAS J. RILEY

THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

Littérature et Criminalité. By SCIPIO SIGHELE. Translated from the Italian by ERICK ADLER. Preface by JULES CLARETIE. (Vol. XXXVII de la Bibliothèque Sociologique Internationale.) Paris: V. Giard & E. Brière, 1908. Pp. vi+219. Fr. 4.

This volume is an important contribution on the relation of crime to literature. The same point of view is not maintained throughout and the subject-matter might well be treated in two separate volumes. The first part is a study of modern novelists and poets (such as d'Annunzio, Zola, and Eugène Sue) from the point of view of psychiatry and criminal anthropology, and the second part is a study of the effect of literature in producing crime.

WM. I. THOMAS

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Vorträge und Aufsätze. Von DR. GOTTLIEB SCHNAPPER-ARNDT; herausgegeben von DR. LEM ZEITLIN. Tübingen: Verlag der Laupp'schen Buchhandlung. 1906.

Schnapper-Arndt is well known as a German continuator of the work of LePlay and author of elaborate studies of families. Zeitlin tells the story of his life and edits the essays on "Theory and Methods," "German economic and culture history," and social political sketches. Professor K. Bücher has added some interesting criticisms in the *Zeitschrift für gesamte Staatswissenschaft* (4, Heft, 62. Jahrgang, 1906).

C. R. HENDERSON

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Anarchism and Socialism. By GEORGE PLECHANOFF. Translated with the permission of the author by ELEANOR MARX AVELING. With an introduction by ROBERT RIVES LAMONTE. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Co., 1908. Pp. 148.

This is one of a series of reprints of socialistic literature published for purposes of propaganda. The treatment is a well-reasoned defense of Marxian socialism as over against utopian socialism on the one hand and nihilism and anarchism on the other hand. The treatment is conventional, and the chapters on Proudhon and Bakounine are especially readable.

C. R. H.

Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics. New York, 1907. Pp. clii+894. Albany: State Department of Labor.

This valuable document contains articles on the economic conditions of labor in 1906, trade and labor unions, health conditions in the printing trade, returns from unions, and British rules for the regulation of certain dangerous trades.

C. R. H.

The Elimination of the Tramp. By EDMUND KELLY. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1908. Pp. xxii+111. \$1.00.

This is a sane and instructive plea for the Swiss labor colony plan of dealing with vagrants. The analysis of the class is very suggestive; the social conditions of vagabond are fairly portrayed;

and a definite, reasonable method of treatment is set forth. The author hardly makes proper allowance for differences of subjects and situation in Belgium and Switzerland, and he might have enriched his argument by using the collection of expert opinions presented at the Budapest meeting of the International Prison Congress in 1905, on the subject of outdoor labor for convicts. This book is a notable addition to the discussion.

C. R. HENDERSON

Les sociétés coopératives de Consommation en France et à l'étranger. Préface de M. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu. By J. CORRÉARD. Paris: P. Lethielleux, 1908. 1 vol. Pp. 301.

This little volume is a convenient account of the development and present condition of the co-operative movement in various countries, with a critical estimate of its importance.

C. R. HENDERSON

The Common Sense of the Milk Question. By JOHN SPARGO. New York: Macmillan, 1908. Pp. xiv+351.

If all socialists kept as close to reality as Mr. Spargo does in this book they would improve their reputation for sanity. One must follow the sources in order to detect occasional errors; the best available authorities are apparently followed, and the author has investigated the milk supply for himself. The style is tense with the emotion of human sympathy; the value of the human infant is the basis of the argument; the various factors of the argument are logically analyzed; and a practical programme of reform is urged with literary power.

C. R. HENDERSON

Eleventh Annual Report of the State Commissioner of Prisons of New York, 1906. Pp. 345.

This illustrated report contains the results of inspections of jails, penitentiaries, and other prisons in New York, with discussions of topics of interest in relation to the treatment of offenders. Every state should have equally careful reports about the condition of county jails.

C. R. H.

The Federal Regulation of Child Labor. By EDGAR GARDNER MURPHY. Montgomery, Alabama: Alabama Child Labor Committee. Pp. 38.

No one should commit himself irrevocably to the Beveridge-Parsons bill for federal regulation of child labor without first reading this thoughtful argument.

C. R. H.

The Young Malefactor: A Study in Juvenile Delinquency, Its Causes and Treatment. By THOMAS TRAVIS. With an introduction by BEN B. LINDSEY, judge of the Denver Juvenile Court. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., 1908. Pp. xxviii+243. \$1.50.

From this essay one may gain a fairly complete and accurate summary of the evidence relating to the sources of juvenile lawlessness; the evidence being taken from observations in reform schools, in laboratories, and in cities. To considerable reading the author has added a certain number of personal studies. The bibliography has important defects, but indicates significant books. The neglect of E. C. Wines, F. H. Wines, A. Marro, Baernreither, Folkes, Herr, and G. S. Hall, is a serious matter, and suggests apprentice work, but work full of promise.

C. R. HENDERSON

RECENT LITERATURE

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NOTES AND ABSTRACTS

The Control of Sweating.—Sweating seems due to unregulated competition among unorganized workers and is intensified by the existence of a weak class of labor. It is worse where the work is in the home, because longer hours and unfit persons can be pressed into service. In Victoria and New Zealand, the evil has seemingly been successfully met, without serious protest, by regulated wage and regulations controlling sweating. Wages regulation in New Zealand consists in a system of compulsory arbitration working progressively through three stages: (1) Industrial agreement between master and man; (2) conciliation boards for arrangement of disputes; (3) Industrial arbitration court to settle disputes authoritatively. To secure the right of this regulation for any occupation seven workers therein must register. The objects of the system are, (1) prevention of strikes and lockouts; (2) to build up and strengthen the trades unions; (3) to secure better and more humane conditions for workers.

The Victorian wages boards are elective instead of judicial, both sides choosing an equal number of members, with an independent chairman. The advantage here is that the members of the board have an actual knowledge of the conditions. Disadvantages, for populous and cosmopolitan communities, are, (1) in devising suitable machinery for electing the boards when the workers are largely ignorant, unlike in race, and migratory; (2) regulation of wages is sectional, resting on the trade.

As to sanitary regulation, there are two schemes in the field. The Tenant Amendment Bill proposes, (1) to treat all homes receiving work as if they were workshops, so far as concerns the provisions of the Factory Act and Public Health Acts; (2) to extend the same responsibility as these homes have to the giver-out of work. The practical difficulties are great, but the movement may result in diminishing the amount of work handled in this way. The Women's Industrial Council's Home Work Bill regards regulation of wages as impracticable under the present competitive system and emphasizes strict sanitary control with extension of direct employment by the state and municipalities. The bill proposes a system of licensing by which the employer can give out work for the home only on a sanitary certificate for that home issued by the factory inspector; the certificate renewable each six months and revocable at any time for failure to conform to law. The practical difficulty here is in the large increase necessary in the inspecting staff. The main point in either case is to secure effective administration.—B. L. Hutchins, *Economic Review*, October, 1907.

L. L. B.

The State and the Children.—With increasing governmental control in many lines, the state is extending its powers with regard to the care of children. The ratepayer who finds it hard to feed his own children is likely to object to free education, free meals, and ultimately free clothing for the children of the improvident and dissolute, in order that these last may have more to spend at the public house. Certainly charity has not been very efficient so far in eradicating the necessity for itself; and its expenditures are heavy.

But the work with the children of the submerged classes is for future results, the fitting them to give some return to society for its expenditures in their behalf rather than permitting them to swell the ranks of casual laborers, unemployables, and semi-criminals, who are the despair of all social reformers. Feeding of children does not mean complete responsibility for them, and it is more humane and may prove cheaper in the long run. Although many now avoid parenthood from foresight, and many poor have large families from lack of foresight, it would seem that the former should not be burdened with the improvi-

dence of the latter. Still it is no less unreasonable that the task of the maintenance of roads and sewers should be left to those who are willing to undertake it of their own choice and at their own expense than that the rearing of children be treated likewise.

The child once in the world, the best thing the state can do for its own protection, apart from philanthropic considerations, is to become responsible for it. At present the uncorrelated condition of charities and an antiquated poor law make it too easy to shrink parental responsibility. The parents should be made to suffer and the child should be protected. Any system adopted must have care to not demoralize those who at present do their duty.—W. M. Lightbody, *Economic Review*, October, 1907. L. L. B.

The Church and Philanthropy.—If the Church is to be efficient in philanthropy it must use modern methods. Unscientific methods of giving were natural for the Middle Ages, but must be abandoned for today. The monastery and the parish church were comparatively indiscriminate givers and encouraged poverty. The separation of church and state and the growth of nationalism somewhat lessened this evil. The Reformation, with its emphasis upon faith and freedom, hindered a further development of definite, far-sighted, and permanent aims in the church. Thus much philanthropic work has passed into the care of the state; but there is still much left for the church to do.

It is sometimes observed that the relations between the churches and efficiently controlled charitable societies are not altogether friendly. Yet the majority of charity workers are church members. The personnel of the organized charity workers is good; "apart from their life-work they are reputable citizens—and church members. Affiliate them with their labors—there's the rub." Co-operation between the church and modern philanthropy has been most successful in Buffalo, where in 1906 there were 122 co-operating churches, or nearly all the important ones in the city. Relief here is largely denominational, but not wholly so, to obviate friction. The district church has three chief duties; care of the neglected, giving of relief, and furnishing of district visitors. Some of the difficulties are: need of more education in methods of district visitors to make investigation, and a better comparative use of the organized society's records. Some of the churches were not sufficiently interested and their work was unsatisfactory. Distrust of the society's work had to be overcome; concentration and discriminative co-operation, with constructive work had to be attained; the difficult problem of adequate relief to be solved; and friendly visiting to be provided for. Other places have been slow to follow Buffalo's example, at least other than spasmodically.

The amount of co-operation between churches and organized philanthropy is increasing, though largely hindered by the unscientific methods of the former bodies. There is a small class of clergymen who welcome gladly the aid of the societies with their scientific methods, discrimination, and wide perspective of cases. Another and larger class are friendly to the society but have not come into relations with it, largely because of lack of enthusiasm and fire. A third class reluctantly agree to consider the problem. Here we must look to the next generation. A fourth class are opposed to organized charity, due largely to traditional dislike for secular societies. This class, because of their influence, are the chief menace to co-operation.

The more conservative churches carry on relief by providing a fund—often called the deacon's fund—and which is not always easily secured. This is disbursed variously and not always intelligently. Much good work is done by visiting committees. But rarely has the minister fitted himself for this work with a knowledge of social problems and their treatment. The theological school has too much of Hebrew and Greek and too little sociology. The Chicago Theological Seminary and the Divinity School of the University of Chicago are pleasing exceptions in furnishing advantages for sociological study. The church should insist that its institutions for training ministers provide such instruction.

In the matter of practical activities many churches have individually taken up a multitude of lines of social work in touch with modern life and needs. Besides agencies engaged in outdoor relief, there are others devoted to constructive social work of a surprising variety. (*Exhaustive Analysis of Concrete Cases*, pp. 535, 536.) The Inner Mission, along with other ideas and methods, have been adapted from Germany. Altogether the co-operation of the church with organized charity has broadened the scope of the former's activity.—George B. Mangold, *Annals of the American Academy*, November, 1907.

L. L. B.

The Elberfeld System of Helping and Relieving the Poor.—This name has been applied to many derivative societies. These are under municipal management in Germany, but are purely voluntary in England. The system's distinctive feature is that, instead of placing the administration of poor relief in the hands of a few officials, the work is distributed among the general body of citizens. Along with other advantages this helps to obliterate class feeling. In Elberfeld, there are districts and circuits with a superintendent and an almoner (*armenpfleger*) for each respectively, and a governing body of nine appointed by the municipal council. Service as almoner is compulsory for three years, but there are many volunteers. All vocations are represented. Much sympathy is developed. A great advantage of the system is that it prevents overlapping of charitable work. At Elberfeld it excludes direct administration by clergymen and women—by the former because of their already heavy duties, and by women for no good reason whatever. However, women are beginning to be admitted to certain work, especially the care for children. Some classes of traders are also excluded. Preventive methods as well as positive are used. It is an economical method, there being little administrative expense. Almoners are required to collect and transmit facts of social importance. Extreme care is used in granting relief, and accurate records are kept. Both indoor and outdoor relief is given, and no workhouse test is used. No stigma attaches to the receiving of relief as in England yet no recipient can vote at public elections.

Some additional features of the Berlin society are that delinquent applicants are sent to the workhouse; there are infirmaries and hospitals for infirm, sick, and aged persons; a town refuge for homeless people of good repute; a shelter for homeless people, who are required to disclose no name, supported by private charity; and labor colonies, with employment at piece work at five to thirteen marks a week, and admission is for a term of from three to six months.

The advantages of the system in general are that it makes citizen service its keynote, employs proper discrimination, does not make relief unacceptable to the worthy, and often employs fellow-workmen of the recipient, who knows his needs, as visitors. Its greatest limitation for a democratic people is in its bureaucratic methods.—F. B. Mason, *Economic Review*, October, 1907.

L. L. B.

Max Adler Protests in Die neue Zeit of October, 1907, against the unwarranted dragging into the materialistic interpretation of history of philosophical materialism of any kind. The materialistic interpretation gains nothing by this union, while on the other hand it takes upon itself all the sense of materialism. His analysis of the claims of the materialistic interpretation of history as enunciated by Marx, tends to show that this doctrine has nothing to do with the material in the sense employed by the natural sciences. The materialistic dealt with by the historical materialism has reference only to such conditions of life, or economic conditions, in which human beings stand in relation to each other. It is not to be found in nature but in man and as such it is necessarily psychical. What "economic conditions" really means, is but the possibility of realization of the psychical, the form and direction along which the social and individual problems must be solved. But that society has problems at all is not due to economic conditions.

M. S. H.

Home Work and the House of Commons.—The question of home work in England received a new hearing during the last session of Parliament as a result of the efforts made to pass a licensing bill with provisions similar to those of the Massachusetts Licensing Law. The bill was not passed but the Select Committee which was appointed to consider "the conditions of labor in trades in which home work is prevalent" reported on the eighth of last August (Report from the select committee on home work together with the *Proceedings* of the committee, minutes of evidence and appendix, London, 1907) the evidence that had been taken together with a recommendation that a "Committee on the same subject be appointed in the next session of Parliament."

Just what this may mean with regard to the future of the licensing bill, it is not possible to say but the evidence which has been printed contains testimony of interest and importance. The case against home work has been presented so often and so ably that new arguments on that side are hardly to be expected and they are not here. But the witnesses who threw the weight of their testimony against the bill gave so favorable an account of the conditions of the home workers in London that their evidence might be said to make a new case for home work in England.

The most important of these witnesses was Miss Clara E. Collett, the senior investigator of women's industries for the board of trade and for more than twenty years the recognized authority on conditions of women's work in England. Her testimony is of special importance not merely because it is based upon the result of a special inquiry which was made under her direction for the board of trade last year, and therefore represents facts rather than impressions, but because she is so rarely free in her official position to express an opinion on subjects related to her work. It is therefore a fortunate chance that gives us the benefit of her opinion upon an important measure of social policy. During "all these years," she says, "I have felt that an untrue case has been presented and a false impression of home work has been created."

Although the cross-questioning of twelve different members of the committee has made the evidence somewhat difficult to follow, an attempt has been made to bring together what was said on the following points: (1) extent and method of the inquiry on which the evidence was based; (2) number and character of home workers; (3) conditions of their homes; (4) wages or earnings and hours of labor; (5) reasons for opposition to the licensing law.

1. *The home work investigation.*—The special inquiry made for the board of trade in 1906 related to London, to some of the provincial districts, and to the north of Ireland. It dealt entirely with the home workers in the clothing trades and, except for interim information, did not refer to the tailoring trade. In London, therefore, the investigation was concerned principally with blouse-making, mantle-making, ties, the shirt and collar trade, women's underclothing, and infants' millinery. Mr. Chiozza Money, one of the members of the committee and a well-known supporter of the bill, implied in his cross-questioning that he distrusted Miss Collett's conclusions because her returns did not represent the whole of London and he calls attention to the fact that she had not been to Woolwich or to Paddington. In Appendix 5, however, Miss Collett has submitted a statement of the number of outworkers in the various boroughs of London, which shows clearly the relative unimportance of both Woolwich and Paddington in comparison with the districts visited and quite overthrows Mr. Money's objection. The "City" as the great giver-out of home work was taken as a starting-point. The medical officers there and in Finsbury (the other "headquarters" for giving out work) furnished the names of the employers who had the largest number of outworkers and from these employers the names and addresses of the workers were obtained. Boroughs like Woolwich and Paddington, in which the number of home workers was very small, were not visited. A further question of method was raised by Mr. Money in his inquiries (p. 42) as to whether the method of tracing out workers by obtaining the names of those receiving "out relief" had been thought of. In reply, Miss Collett said that she had tried this method when she was at work in East London in connection with Mr. Charles Booth's investigation and she had come to the conclusion that that

was not the right way; "that we get the extreme cases by going to them; taking the other way we came across the people who are receiving 'out relief.'" All this is of interest not because those who are familiar with Miss Collet's work for the Royal Commission on Labor, or with her reports on the employments of women and children for the board of trade are likely to question her method of work but because we often have as much to learn from the methods of an investigation as from the results.

2. *Number and character of home workers.*—It was pointed out that the census returned 700,000 as the total number of women and girls in the clothing trades in England and Wales, and of these 400,000 are employed in factories; of the remaining 300,000, a large number work very irregularly, "do plain sewing when they can get it" and these seamstresses" who do not get work from the givers-out of home work in the "City" but probably deal directly with the consumer, are very difficult to trace (p. 40). Between 30 and 40 per cent. of the whole number of home workers are estimated to be full-timers (p. 40).

There is a great difference between what may be called the married and unmarried trades—that is, a trade is much more likely to be irregular if a large number of married women are engaged in it. In the north of Ireland it was estimated that 66 per cent. of the workers were unmarried, 40 per cent. in London, 21 per cent. in the provinces. This irregularity of the work of married women is in part voluntary and in part due to other circumstances. They find, for example, that by doing a very small amount of work (from \$0.60 to \$1.25 worth a week), which they can work in very nicely with their house work, they have a convenient supplement to the family income. But when the husband is out of work and they suddenly want to put in more time, extra work is not to be had. This involuntary irregularity is a consequence of the voluntary irregularity of good times. The result is that "all the work given out for home work is work which is naturally fluctuating. It is largely seasonal and the married women are the people who are taken on when there is a large demand for it at the seasons" (p. 48). Naturally, too, in the factory the employer wishes to keep his machinery fully employed, so it is the outworker who suffers from the irregularity of trade. But this, as has been pointed out, is effect as well as cause, for a very large number of home workers do not normally wish full work.

In London 69 per cent., in the provinces 75 per cent., and in Ireland 27 per cent., were women working alone without the assistance from other members of the family and of those working alone in London 55 per cent. were married women and 18½ per cent. were widows. The high percentage of married women means of course that the daughters can find employment in near-by factories or workrooms.

It is of interest in contrast to our own situation that in London home work is not done by foreigners. The Whitechapel Jew goes into a workshop and the testimony is very positive to the effect that there are "very few foreign workers among home workers. They nearly always work on subdivided work, the women often in their father's workshop" (p. 47).

3. *Conditions of the homes.*—With regard to the homes in which the work is done, Miss Collet's testimony was that their condition was on the whole satisfactory; that the majority of the home workers live in "well-kept houses" and on the whole in the better streets. The "very slummy" street would not be likely to have any home workers in it, or if there were a home worker there, the house would be "nearly always better and cleaner than the rest of the street." This is so directly contrary to the general impression that the home worker is likely to be the poorest tenant in the poorest house in the poorest street that almost every member of the committee, in cross-questioning, asked some further questions regarding it.

Miss Collett explained that while she would not imply that the home workers were "well-to-do people" from the point of view of the middle classes, yet "they are people who do not dream of taking help from outside. They are people who feel that there are a great many people poorer than themselves. A large number of the London workers are in Hackney and in the northeast suburbs of London

and outside of London (p. 41). They are really in very well-kept houses."

It was emphasized that the comparison was between the home worker and the non-home worker and that the investigation had tended to show that in the poorer districts "the home worker's is the superior home" (p. —). That there were many hard cases was not denied but the majority were not in this condition. To quote her own words again, "We have got any number of hard cases but they are associated with other circumstances than industrial circumstances."

4. *Wages and hours.*—The irregularity of home work makes it exceedingly difficult to estimate earnings definitely enough for a comparison with similar work done in a factory, but Miss Collet has been very skilful in reducing vagueness to definiteness. The home workers were classified into two groups, those who worked full time, and those who did not (full time being a week of forty-eight hours or upward, including the time spent in going for the work (p. 37). It was explained that a great many who were called full-time workers never worked on Saturday and that the limit of forty-eight hours and upwards might include a great many different ranges.

The following table shows the result of a comparison (p. 46) between the earnings of full-time home workers and the returns of the earnings of about 1,100 women in factories doing similar work (the blouse-making in particular was much the same).

TABLE I

	Factory Work	Home Work
Percentage earning less than 10 shillings.....	13	13
" " from 10 to 20 shillings.....	64	83
" " more than 23 ".....	23	4
	100	100

That the factory worker earns more is clear from this table. As to whether the piece-work rate itself was higher in the factory, it was pointed out that there was no satisfactory basis of comparison. The subdivision of work in the factory and the fact that they do not generally give out the same work that is being done inside makes a comparison difficult. But at the same rate, earnings would be higher "in the factory where everybody is working and there is no temptation to leave off" (p. 48). In some cases where the same work was actually being done, the rate was lower in the factory but the earnings were higher nevertheless (p. 49). As a point in the comparison it was noted that the factory work is much harder. "You must work your full time and you cannot take rests. The homemaker cares very much about being able to settle her own times of work and about being able to go out in the afternoons and to have visitors" (p. 46).

Further information in regard to home earnings was given in a comparison of full-time and partially employed home workers. The average for 472 cases, of which only 179 were full-timers, gives the following result (see p. 39):

HOME WORKERS' EARNINGS

TABLE II

	s.	d.
Average earnings (week) of 472 home workers.....	9	8
Average for all full-timers and partially employed)		
Average earnings (week) of 179 full-timers.....	13	7
" " " blouse-makers only full-timers.....	14	4
" " " underclothing " " ".....	14	0
" " " tie-makers " " ".....	14	2
" " " mantle-workers " " ".....	14	7

The home worker who had at some time been employed in a factory was usually found to be earning more in the same time than the ordinary worker. This was obviously the result of her factory training. She has "got accustomed to regular work and to working at a high speed and the home worker has not" (p. 39). Miss Collet refused upon being cross-questioned to say that home work is "ill paid." The word she said was "a little difficult to define since so many of the home workers do not aim at doing full work" (p. 42). It was pointed out that the worst cases that had been met with in the investigation, "the people who make the smallest amount per hour are very naturally the old people. A very large number of the cases we hear of, of the difficulties connected with home work, are mostly people who are really past efficient work" (p. 38). That the married home worker tended to lower the rates was denied. The married women whose husbands were in work would not work at low rates. They are on the whole better off than the other home workers. "They are frequently quite well-to-do people, and they will not work for the very low rates . . . that you will find a widow with two or three children would accept" (p. 38).

5. *Licensing not a remedy for bad conditions.*—With regard to the value of licensing as a remedy Miss Collet squarely raised the question as to the real object of the bill. Was it to discourage home work or to protect the public from the danger of infection from work done in unsanitary premises? Was it for the sake of the worker or the public? If the former she thought it would fail. The bad home might not be passed, the license would be refused but the people living in the room would be no better off though their earnings would be reduced (p. 40). It was insisted further that the majority of home workers were not in need of inspection (p. 41); that perhaps 10 or 20 per cent. of the whole might be hard cases but 10 or 20 per cent. of a large number gives a large number and the popular impression was fixed by this, regardless of the fact that it was a small percentage (p. 45). "The question is whether home work is on the whole an evil or a good thing and my opinion is that it is a good thing" (p. 45). It was further pointed out that home workers are better off than the families where there is no work done; that the docker's wife is able to look after her children in a way that would not be possible if she went to the factory. The half-crown or five shillings a week can be worked in comfortably with the household work and the money is useful. "There are a great many things which are very much better for the married woman at home than the continuous heavy work in the factory" (pp. 46, 47).

Although the testimony as a whole has no bearing upon the problem of home work in American cities where conditions are for the most part quite different, yet the question as to whether some better method than licensing will not have to be found to remedy the evils which are associated with home work is still an open one for us. On this point the testimony of the representative of the home office (pp. 1-20) is of interest. His position was that inspection should be left to the sanitary inspectors and not to the factory inspectors, that the conditions which the license is introduced to secure are mainly sanitary and relating to the sanitation of what are, after all, dwelling-houses should come under the local authority responsible for the sanitation of houses; that the owners of all dwelling-houses, not merely those in which home work was being done, should be compelled to keep them in sanitary condition. It would seem to be clear that the refusal to license an unsanitary dwelling does not improve the condition of the people if it only forbids needle work being taken into the house and allows children to go on living in it. E. A.

Albert Schäffle's Sociology.—Schäffle set forth his sociological views three times; originally in the first edition of the work *Structure and Life of the Social Body* (Tubingen, 1875-78); then in the second edition of the same work in two volumes, reduced from four (1896); and lastly in the posthumous book whose text K. Bücher carefully and piously put together partly from printed and partly from unprinted material. The second publication gave, according to Schäffle's explicit declaration (preface to 2d ed.), a "system" altered in many respects. This posthumous book, however, holds with "essential

enlargements" (p. 6) an exposition which has freed itself from the leading string of the biological analogy in order, from the beginning, to guard itself against the criticism which has been directed against that. As a work of Schäffle's it deserves in every way complete recognition. Its contents, however, make it especially interesting as throughout it is, even though not entirely consciously, permeated with a correct notion of the essence and the task of sociology, accompanied, of course, by a few important errors.

Sociology can only win a sure path for itself if it is clear about the essence of society, i. e., about that moment in society, presenting itself as phenomenon, which is the essential for social life and which at the same time carries within itself such regularities that a systematic ordering of the many-sided phenomena, that is a science of society, is possible.

It is now manifest that society is a union of people that has formed itself in the struggle for existence. The germ of society is the horde, a loose band of people of like descent and like speech as old as the societies and "tribes" of animals, but undergoing an evolution that out of the horde gradually allows the great "folk" to emerge, while the animal societies undergo no development, but remain the same in extent and inner organization within historic time.

The essence of man, however, so far as he engages in the struggle for existence, is his *will*, which we can, as Spinoza grasped, call the strife for the sustaining and expansion of self, which is also the precise subject of the struggle for existence.

This difference between society and the animal organism is felt by Schäffle even though he does not bring it out with extreme clearness. Such a feeling shows itself in his repudiation of the imputation of his being a "pure organicist" that many of his critics charged him with (pp. 105 f.). A clearer intimation is shown in this passage: "The family is not the foundation of the folk community but in the first place only a foundation of the renewal of the organic personal substance of the body, an organ of generation" (p. 12). The family then as such gives in fact only the physical material for the society. Only in so far as it educates, i. e., develops the later growth of the will does it serve the continuance of society as such. And in that sense Schäffle reaches the concept of the spiritual organism, in that he agrees with Espinas who explains, "A society is a living consciousness, an organism of ideas" (in Schäffle, p. 14); in that he further considers "the characteristic of a spiritually developed community" as belonging to the "folk-and-society concept" (p. 18); in that he finally counts "six kinds of spiritual ties" which bind peoples together (p. 23 ff.). The will side of society also is recognized in that Schäffle mentions the "social valuation processes" that "precede and accompany all trade" (p. 57) and brings out "the power of mass opinions and of mass determinations," through which "the society shows the spiritual pre-eminence of national or people wholes over the single consciousness" (p. 72). On the contrary (p. 83), where he speaks of "the elements" out of which the social body builds itself and of "the energies which are given in these elements," he fails to reach the will as the element in which at the same time the energy of the society lives, but seeks this energy rather partly in the population—rightly—partly in all kinds of objects in the environment upon which society works, which, it is true, react in a certain sense on the society, such as the land and "public property" (p. 84).

This contains one of the fundamental errors of Schäffle's sociology. He says, "the characteristic of possession of material goods may not be absent from the definition of the folk" (p. 22; cf. pp. 28, 82). Accordingly he gives (pp. 103-16) a long classification of the "components of property," whether of materials or sources of power, of inorganic or organic nature, increasable or unincreasable, movable or immovable, temporary or permanent, exclusively useful or replaceable. The classification is followed by a long description. That is all very interesting but does not belong immediately to sociology.

According to the celebrated "materialistic interpretation of history," all human action and suffering is determined, so far as it is social, collective by the economic technique. Technique and economy are not the only social forces.

Schäffle feels this also in that he (pp. 155, 172) protests against "pan-

economics." But otherwise his views as to technique (pp. 148 ff.) are aimless. Only in regard to exchange (p. 161) does he speak effectively of its consequences for the ideas and will of men (p. 170).

Where sociology fails to build itself up out of the investigations of the social past it remains flat and purely descriptive. The historical review first furnishes uniformities in that which has been, and guiding lines for the future. It is a fundamental error of the latest programme of sociology, that of Waxweiler, that it renounces the social phenomena of the past. Schäffle did not renounce the past, because he expressly says (p. 235): "Sociology will remain a torso if it does not also try to grasp the Janushead of society on both its sides, its past and its ineradicable impulse toward the future, i.e., historically and politically." "The designation 'political' as used here should be understood in the broadest sense of the creative impulse of each present toward each future not only the creative impulse of the state and through the state."

Schäffle also emphasizes the necessity for psychology as an accessory science (pp. 31 f.) beside which he freely—guided by the above characterized erroneous reckoning of material goods as part of society—draws on the natural science knowledge of material goods in much too broad a range. He desires, for instance, a complete "socio-physics" and a complete "socio-chemistry," but he mentions no principle according to which these must select their materials from general physics or general chemistry.

Schäffle is nevertheless a worthy ally for the champion of historically directed as against purely descriptive sociology. It everywhere hovers before him more or less clearly and his wide grasp of facts makes him an important witness for it. This historical sociology or sociological philosophy of history was what J. S. Mill had in mind when he said "The philosophical study of history is one of the most important creations of the present day." To build up sociology as philosophy of history is the task of the immediate future.—Paul Barth in *Vierteljahrsschrift für wissenschaftliche Philosophie und Sociologie*, new series, Vol. VI, pp. 467-83. V. E. H.

The Morality of Nietzsche Is Criticized from the Scientific Point of View by Stefan Sterling in *Archiv. für Geschichte der Philosophie*, of October 10, 1907. —The writer finds Nietzsche's claim that the only true morality is a morality of the strong, of the ruler, as opposed to our modern morality, which is a slave morality, is not consistent with itself and Nietzsche's own standards of human perfection. It is false to assume that the only and true aristocracy was the aristocracy of the strong as determined by the struggle for existence, for this would leave out of account the aristocracy by inheritance which is so frequent among savage tribes whom Nietzsche seems to have in mind. And again it is false to call the prevailing intellectualized morality a slave morality, when Nietzsche himself, true to his Greek ideal of an individual, considers intelligence as one of the important factors in civilization and life. Is intellectual power any less of a power than physical power? asks the writer. M. S. H.

The Moral Problem in the Twentieth Century.—There has been for more than a century a moral question which is vital for every thinking individual. It is important for those of us who believe in the social aspect of the moral experience to prove the above statement, which is shown by the Romantic movement in literature. The solution of the problem can be reached by the sole force of reason without any supernatural belief, whether one finds a rational principle for it, or whether one finds it on an empirical conception of reality. The moral problem is, above all, a social problem. The evolution of the social question would entail the moral question (if the individual is only a reflection of society) or, rather, it is the indispensable and necessary condition for the solution of the moral problem. The moral law consists essentially in a belief sufficiently strong to impose on individuals, acts which their wills dissuade them from, and which they do not question or debate. The religious principles underlying moral beliefs have lost their values when challenged by the intellect, and then

their effectiveness upon the will. They no longer hold, in fact, either one or the other, except through the force of badly controlled customs or habits. But since morality is useful to individuals and societies, it must have a natural foundation. Its future does not depend upon those ideas which have hitherto supported it. It will recover all its practical power, if we discover the *rational* necessity of rules which hitherto have rested upon a mystical basis, upon religious sanctions.—G. Aslan, *Revue Internationale de Sociologie*, March, 1908.

F. F.

The Fair Complexion.—Everywhere the fair complexion is dying out. Nearly all the conquering and at the same time colonizing races were blond. The Greeks and Macedonians were fair and generally tall. The more enterprising mediaeval Italians were also blond; the Romans were exceptions. Complexion has no virtue in itself; it is the visible sign of the attributes and peculiarities which make the constitution. The light-complexioned peoples seem best adapted to withstanding disease and hardship. Hospital statistics also confirm this view. Northern legends regard the red-haired as both brave and treacherous. The fair complexion has always been associated with the adventurous, the warlike, and love for the open air. The detailed and confining work of modern urban populations is relatively unfavorable to the fair-complexioned, consequently the cities are fast coming to be peopled by the brunette type.—Fredk. Boyle, *Contemporary Review*, February, 1908.

L. L. B.

Relation of General Sociology to Administration of Justice.—Summing up the results of this investigation of the difficulties under which our administration of punitive justice is laboring, it will be seen that we must look for relief partly to general improvements that will be long in coming, and partly to specific improvements which may be made at any time. General improvement will come *through better general education in sociology, leading the public to abandon the retributive idea and the man in the street to desist from his demand for revenge*; through such institutions as the Legislative Reference Bureau in Wisconsin and the newly instituted Bureau of Comparative Legislation, leading to more intelligent legislation and less haphazard patchwork; through the bringing forth of judicial specialists in criminal law and administration, whereby inequality of sentence is reduced to a minimum and intelligent, scientific understanding of the problems of criminology is applied to each case; and through a better educated and better organized bar, ridding us of ultra-contentious procedure, of the idea that common-law doctrines inhere in the nature of things, and of repugnance to legislation and inclination to defeat it. Specific and immediate improvement may be had: (1) by curbing the unbridled power of the advocate, giving to the judge the power to make an effective charge, to give the jury the benefit of his experience by fair comment on the evidence, and to point out sophistry and buncombe addressed to them by counsel; (2) by limiting the jury to its proper function of finding the facts, and giving the court power to hold them to it; (3) by giving the state power to obtain effectual review of prejudicial errors at the trial, and refusing to apply the rule as to double jeopardy till the cause has been completely adjudicated; (4) by modifying the rule as to self-incrimination, at the same time guarding against unreasonable searches and seizures; (5) by ceasing to grant new trials except where the reviewing court believes the verdict wrong on the whole case, and finally (6) by providing a more modern and flexible judicial organization and more simple and business-like procedure.—Concluding sentences from address of Professor Roscoe Pound, Northwestern School of Law, read before the Political Science Association, December 30, 1907, at Madison, Wis., the subject being "Inherent and Acquired Difficulties in the Administration of Punitive Justice."

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BIBLICAL SOCIOLOGY. I

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The relation of the Bible to pure sociology has been considered in this *Journal* under the titles "The Sociological Significance of the Bible" and "Sociology and Theism." It has been suggested that pure sociology and the Bible have such an intimate relation that either may be so handled as to introduce the other. The treatment given the subject thus far has been brief. It presupposes a large amount of material which is wholly omitted. We now undertake a more systematic treatment with special reference to the pedagogical demands of the subject. The plan is to issue a textbook; but publication in the present form is needed in order that we may have the benefit of as much discussion and criticism as possible.¹

I. INTRODUCTORY SURVEY

The discipline crystallizing under the name "biblical sociology" may be defined as that branch of pure sociology which exhibits the formation of the biblical idea of God as an inci-

¹ The two papers mentioned may be found in *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XII, No. 4 (January, 1907), and No. 6 (May, 1907). To these should be added a paper entitled "Professor Orr and Higher Criticism," in *The American Journal of Theology*, Vol. XII, No. 2 (April, 1908). The subject has also been treated in the writer's *Examination of Society* (1903) and *Egoism: A Study in the Social Premises of Religion* (1905). The proposed title of the new work is *Biblical Sociology: An Examination of the Social Process in Relation to the Idea of God*.

dent of the social process. This is distinct from biblical history and theology, although it has much in common with these disciplines. It approaches the Bible from the standpoint of pure sociology, showing how the forces at work in the social evolution of ancient Israel are assimilated with the forces everywhere operative in human society. The distinctive religion of the Bible is not a mere appurtenance of that section of ancient society which we know as "Israel." In its ultimate nature it is not a local fact. For the religion of the Bible has been propagated onward through history; and it is rapidly becoming a world-wide phenomenon. This proves that the religion of Israel contains elements of universality which are not found in other ancient systems of belief and worship. In considering biblical religion, we need temporarily to exclude the New Testament from the field of view. Our first concern is with the Old Testament. This is not to say that biblical sociology has nothing to do with the newer section of Scripture. It is merely recognition that the Old Testament comes first in order of time, and that it must be thoroughly comprehended before we can fully understand the later work. The Old Testament was the only Bible in the hands of the founder of Christianity. The place of Jesus in the world's history is determined by the universal way in which he applied the terms of Israel's religion to the human race. The Old Testament may be called the world's great manual of religion while the New Testament is important as its first great application. In study of the biblical problem we are therefore thrown back first of all upon the earlier composition. The question for us is, How came it that the religion of Israel possessed elements that were susceptible of common application to human society? We are told in the first book of the Old Testament that when God called Abraham he said to him, "In thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed." It is not so important for us to inquire whether Gen., chap. 12, is literally true, as it is to ask what was the social situation in which a passage like this could be written. Whence came Israel's consciousness of a world-wide mission? The universal character of biblical religion indicates the general

nature of the subject-matter treated by biblical sociology. The new discipline is concerned not merely with antiquities, for the Bible and its religion are the possessions of today. The spread of biblical religion throughout the world proves that there is in some way a community of nature between all the social situations in which it has figured. Biblical sociology is therefore a discipline having a broad reference. It can easily be taken as a concrete introduction to the standpoint of pure sociology. Its position gives it strategic importance in the sociological campaign, for it appeals to the religious material in the mental furniture of everybody in the modern world, and it is directly involved in the spiritual problems of personality up to which pure sociology leads.

When European civilization received the Bible from the ancient eastern world, there was inherited along with it a philosophy of biblical origins. This philosophy became—and still is—a part of the official orthodoxy of the Christian church. Its terms are those of *dualism*. According to the official view, the religion by which ancient Israel is distinguished from the rest of ancient society was imposed upon it at the beginning of the national history by the one God of the universe, acting under the name of “Jehovah,” or Yahweh. The immanent purpose of this action was to make Israel the teacher of true religion to all the world. The worship of Yahweh was therefore thrust upon Israel from the outside. It was an extraneous fact. It had no connection with existing forces of human society. It was a foreign thing, intruded from another world into the life of humanity. So much was it outside the habits of the children of Israel that they resisted this religion, and earned the titles, which are applied to them so frequently by biblical writers, of “rebellious house” and “stiff-necked people.”² Other opprobrious terms applied to Israel are “harlot” and “adulteress,” which indicate the unfaithfulness of the people to the service of Yahweh. Many biblical passages describe the Israelites as apostates from the beginning, having always turned away from

² Cf. Exod. 32:9; 33:3, 5; 34:9; Num. 20:10; Deut. 9:6, 13; 31:27; Jer. 4:17; 5:23; 17:23; Ezek. 2:3, 5, 6, 8; 3:9, 26; 12:2, 3; 17:12; 24:3.

Yahweh to the worship of other gods. The entire history of Israel—from the invasion of Canaan to the great Babylonian exile—is regarded by this philosophy as a period of *discipline*. During this long period the people were chastised again and again for their inveterate rebellion, and were slowly prepared to become the exponents of true religion. Various punishments of increasing intensity were inflicted upon them. Spasmodic but ineffectual efforts at reform were made by the people themselves. At length, after a discipline of more than six hundred years, during which most of the Israelites had been scattered in foreign parts, the remainder were carried away into the great Babylonian exile. The Holy Land was thus denuded of its inhabitants; and the “rebellious house” was politically extinct. Israel in captivity suffered the supreme penalty for past sins. The exile was the turning-point in this remarkable history. In due time the remnant came back to their old home in Judah, and founded the Jewish church. This ecclesiastical polity represented the old Israelite kingdom. But unlike its pre-exilic parent, the Jewish church embraced the principle of complete devotion to Yahweh, the one God of the universe. Before the exile the Israelites had failed to put into practice the religion which had been thrust upon them at the beginning of the national history. But after the exile the Jewish Israelites made fanatical reparation for the shortcomings of their ancestors. Not until the return from Babylonia was the system finally established which had been commanded by Yahweh so many centuries before. According to this philosophy, moreover, the Bible itself is the literary deposit of these remarkable events. Holy Scripture is an infallible record, inspired by God, and therefore thrust into human history from the outside. This view of the subject sets up a sharp antithesis—a distinction in terms—between the history of ancient Israel and the history of the rest of the world. Accordingly, the history of Israel is *sacred*, while the history of the world at large is *profane*. By the same token the Bible is *holy*, while other literature is *secular*.

This philosophy of the history of Israel expresses the conceptions that most of us have been taught to associate with

the general subject. It is the first systematic philosophy of history ever promulgated; and it ought to be specially interesting to the sociologist, as it is the earliest recorded attempt to generalize a social situation. We are not just here concerned to ask whether it is a valid rendering of the facts. We are simply emphasizing it as a matter for preliminary attention. It is more or less familiar to all of us. For most people it is a commonplace which is either accepted as literally true, or ignored as if it were unworthy of serious thought. Whatever be our attitude with reference to it, we must admit that its terms are most remarkable. God himself bends down from the transcendent heaven, and, amid portents of awful power, binds a nation to his worship, and makes them his ministers to the world. As one biblical writer says:

For ask now of the days that are past, which were before thee, since the day that God created man upon the earth, and from one end of heaven unto the other, whether there hath been any such thing as this great thing is, or hath been heard like it. Did ever people hear the voice of God speaking out of the midst of fire, as thou hast heard, and live? Or hath God assayed to go and take him a nation from the midst of another nation, by temptations, by signs, and by wonders, and by war, and by a mighty hand, and by a stretched out arm, and by great terrors, according to all that Yahweh your god did for you in Egypt before your eyes? (Deut. 4:32 f.)

The traditional philosophy of Israel's history stood unchallenged for many hundreds of years after the Bible had been imported into Europe. The Book and the Tradition came down the centuries hand in hand. There was no scientific investigation of Scripture during the "Middle Ages" that lie between ancient and modern history.

But at last, along with the revolutions that led out from the mediaeval period into the modern world, there began to be a new kind of biblical study. Careful, scientific investigation of Scripture now claimed a place for itself. Although it commenced in a very small, modest way, and although it made no atheistic professions, there was much prejudice against it. Those who cultivated it were persecuted by the Catholic and Protestant churches alike. The new investigation (as indicated in the former of the papers mentioned above) was at first

confined to inquiry into the nature of the documents composing the Old Testament. It was shown that these writings were compiled from a number of documents far older than the Bible itself; that the biblical writers were, in some cases, more than five hundred years distant from the events described; and that the authorship of the sacred book, instead of being simple, was a much more complex matter than had been supposed. This first phase of scientific biblical research is known as the *literary criticism* of the Bible. Investigation did not stop at this point, but led naturally to inquiry into the circumstances under which the different biblical documents came into existence. Biblical study thus gradually passed from the literary stage into a period in which the center of interest was transferred from the book itself to the history of the people who gave the book to the world. As one of the papers mentioned above gives the main facts connected with establishment of *historical criticism* of the Bible, we need not now reproduce them. The great, outstanding result of the new research is briefly reported as follows: The system of religion whereby ancient Israel is distinguished from the other peoples of antiquity was not imposed upon Israel from the outside at the beginning of the national history. On the contrary, it grew up out of the life of the people, and did not reach its final form until after the Babylonian exile. The religion of Yahweh was at first only a local cult, standing on the level of ordinary Semitic heathenism; and its transformation into a higher and purer system was a matter of slow development.

Thus we see that since the opening of the modern period the official philosophy of biblical history and religion has been challenged by opposing views. Although many conservative scholars defend the older doctrine, the new proposition has been demonstrated to the satisfaction of most biblical specialists in the great universities. The problem is the actual *origin* of biblical religion. Here is a definite area of ancient Semitic society wherein most remarkable events of *some* kind occurred, and from which came religious influences that have spread throughout the world. Now, what accounts for this whole situation—

there and here? What made the religion of Israel arise where it did? Why and how did it come to us? What brought Holy Scripture into the world? And why is the Bible the official sacred book of western civilization? Many are unwilling to admit the existence of the problem indicated by these questions. Some are offended by the suggestion that there is a problem where they find no difficulty whatever. The official view is that the religious conceptions and institutions of the Bible were "handed down from above." This we are told is the only adequate "explanation" of biblical religion. In the view of the older orthodoxy we have no ground for finding a problem here. The matter is very easy and simple. We already understand all that we can possibly understand about it; and there is no occasion for asking such questions. The traditional philosophy of Israel's history stands today as part of our official theology. But the modern intellect is in revolt against it. Now the fact that the older philosophy survives in the majority of religious people, and in the official formularies of theology, indicates as clearly as anything can that no rival has yet succeeded to its empire. This interesting situation demands careful study.

In the first place, the question is often raised *why* the older philosophy of the Bible was ever called in question. The implication here is that the reaction against the official view is a very special and mysterious thing. But it is neither special nor mysterious; for, as already hinted, it is merely an incident of the tremendous intellectual uplift that marked the transition from the mediaeval to the modern period. With the precise conditions leading up to the modern awakening we, of course, are not here concerned. Suffice it to note that the comparative stagnation of the middle ages gave place to a movement which recovered the literature of the ancients and made way for modern scientific discovery. The mediaeval teacher supported his propositions by appeal, not to facts, but to books. The modern awakening brought gradual emancipation from blind subservience to authority. Criticism of received ideas, upon the basis of observation and comparison of actual facts, led to the establishment of the sciences of astronomy, physics, chem-

istry, and biology. Meanwhile the study of ancient literature was going forward; and under this head came the *Bible*. The problems that have been raised with reference to biblical matters are no different in principle from those that have been raised in modern times about everything. The revolt against the older philosophy of Israel's history and literature is a part of the general modern reaction against ancient ways of thinking.

The next question that suggests itself is, Why does biblical criticism remain admittedly an *academic* movement, with little or no influence upon the rank and file of the people, and no effect upon official theology? As Professor Brown observes in the passage quoted in our paper on "Sociology and Theism," "the new phases of truth are not paralleled in the church by that careful attention and enthusiastic interest which alone can make them effective in the production of character. The people have not assimilated them. They appear indifferent to them." This frank admission by a biblical scholar of the front rank does not exaggerate the facts. Although biblical criticism has made its presence felt in the world, it is a movement among professional scholars. It lacks popular support. Here and there we find laymen whose views are affected by it; but it remains an academic fact. When we look at this remarkable situation from the standpoint of scientific research in other fields, we begin to see it in its true proportions. For we find that scientific results elsewhere have been thus far popularized more extensively than have the conclusions of biblical science. The people at large know nothing about the literary and historical criticism of the Bible. But the main, ruling conceptions of modern astronomy, of physics, of evolution, of the germ theory of disease, etc., filter down and strike root in the soil of the popular mind. Although the Bible is in all our homes and our churches, and although we have heard it read and preached from our youth up, the new knowledge about this book may be said to be almost hermetically sealed within the limits of the academic and professional world. The scholars know what is taking place. But the laity have neither part nor lot in the movement. This is no fault of the people. It is in the situation. Not only do the

results of modern biblical science fail to be popularized rapidly; but there is a vast ignorance of Scripture even as viewed from the older, traditional standpoint. We know the Bible, and yet we know it not. Let us be frank. Are we not, most of us, under the influence of the ancient dualistic view that the Bible and its religion were put into this world from an outside world? We carry about with us an impression that the Bible is a book specially adapted to the uses of aged saints, who are about to depart "this life" and who must prepare for the "world to come." We are taught to nourish our piety on scattered passages, wrenched from their context, and brought together for purposes of spiritual edification. We are familiar with the proposition that it is our duty to read the Bible. We know of saints who plod through the sacred volume once a year. Our minds are full of Bible verses and sentences that we are unable to locate. Our whole attitude toward this book is a paradox. As a people, we buy more Bibles than any other book. It is more familiar to us than any other literary composition. But we don't know much about it. When we hear the Bible referred to, we connect it at once with solemn-faced clerical persons, and churches, and coffins, and graveyards, and the "other world." The question before us, then, is not merely, Why do not the people know more about literary and historical criticism of the Bible? It widens into the comprehensive question, Why does the Bible count for so little in culture?

This question is not a hard one to answer if our premises are granted. According to the view here taken, the Bible is a fact for pure sociology. If this be true, the mystery of Scripture cannot be resolved until a good beginning has been made in scientific understanding of human society. Whatever the immediate cause of it may be, sociology in the abstract is the result of assumption of the natural science attitude with reference to society as a definite object of attention. The task of sociology does not suggest itself until those earlier sciences have been established which deal with what may be called the stage setting of society—i. e., the world outside of human life. It is necessary that we learn to take up the natural science attitude

toward the worlds of space, toward matter, toward organic life, and toward mind, before we can properly or profitably assume it with reference to such a complicated thing as human society. And not only this; but in order that the standpoint of sociology as the general science of social organization and evolution be reached, it is necessary that numerous attempts be made to solve special problems relating to government, law, industry, the family, the state, etc. Such attempts are essential to advertisement of the strict *interdependence of all social problems*.³ Perception of this truth reveals our need of correlating special problems of society within a single perspective. And this is the work of sociology. The amount of time required to start the sociological movement explains delay in comprehending the Bible as a part of the social process. Biblical criticism has just reached the point where it can pass into the sociological stage.

It is no injustice to say that the traditional view of the Bible is unreal or unnatural. It sets the history of Israel off in distinction from all other history. It insists on contrasting "nature" and the "supernatural." It goes on the assumption that the religious movement in Israel's life was controlled by forces different from those that preside over human life elsewhere. In many ways this dogma runs counter to the results of modern culture in such wise that, although we can philosophically assent to the underlying truth expressed—i. e., the guidance of a personal God in human history—we are unable to combine it, in its traditional form, with what is now known about the world and about human history at large. The old view claims that God acted through the history of Israel in a fundamentally different way from that in which he acts through history elsewhere. It sets up an antithesis between Israel and the rest of the world. And it claims that any rendering of the biblical situation which is not strictly in accord with its own terms drives God out of the Bible and out of human life. There can be no doubt that the philosophy which our fathers inherited

³ Under this head will come numerous writers like Hobbes, Montesquieu, Adam Smith, Buckle, Maine, etc.

along with the Bible has alienated from the church, and kept away from the Scriptures, many cultured persons who are glad to believe that there is a personal Providence at work in the world. So long as we take the Bible and its religion as if they were put into *this* world from *another* world—so long as we regard them as imposed upon us from the *outside*—just so long shall we regard the Bible as a thing essentially *outside* of our main interests in this present life.

Biblical criticism has been a noble preparation for the break-up of the older, "outside" view of the Bible. It has been taking many steps preliminary to final displacement of the ancient philosophy by a more natural rendering of the biblical situation. As we remarked a little while ago, the whole movement of modern scholarship with reference to this problem centers upon the proposition that the religion of the Bible, instead of being put into the life of Israel from the outside, arose from and within the life of Israel by a process of natural development. Notwithstanding its emphasis upon the *fact* of development, biblical criticism has not been carried far enough to show *how* and *why* the Bible and its religion are actually involved in the history of Israel and in the wider life of mankind. It has exhibited the characteristics of the different biblical documents. It has done much toward showing the relation of the documents to the actual course of the history. But it has not given us a clear-cut, connected view of the fundamental forces that controlled the history of Israel and shaped its ecclesiastical system. It has not given us a vivid insight into what may be called the *dynamics* of the biblical situation. This it cannot do so long as it remains a process of literary and historical criticism in the present conventional sense of these terms. It has been well said by Professor Robertson, of Glasgow, that modern biblical criticism is very strong in minute analysis, but weak in the face of great controlling facts.

The distinctive task of biblical sociology is to explain the actual origin of the religious constitution of ancient Israel. According to the philosophy which we have inherited along with the Bible, there was given to the people of Israel, at the beginning

of their national history, a system of religion which was composed of two distinct elements. One of these elements was a very elaborate ritual organization presided over by the priesthood. It consisted of a circle of institutions revolving about the sacrifice, the altar, and the sanctuary. It was a complex machinery of worship, intended to fix the mind and heart of Israel upon Yahweh. This element of elaborate ritual organization is called in a general way the *priestly element*. The characteristic of this phase of the religion is that it is the external, objective element in the system. It is the part that makes appeal to the physical senses—the part that can be seen by the eye and handled with the hands. But along with the priestly, objective, external phase of the constitution there was another feature of a different kind. This was the remarkable and powerful emphasis upon the demands of morality between man and man in the common walks of life. This feature of Israel's religion was in special charge of the prophets. Hence it is called the *prophetic element*. The original meaning of the Hebrew term which we translate "prophet" is that of a speaker or preacher on behalf of another person. The work of the prophet had but little to do with forecasting the future. The prophet was first of all a teacher of morality. He stood for the ethical qualities which we describe by the terms "justice," "kindness," and "righteousness." The characteristic of the prophetic element is that, instead of appealing to the physical senses, like the priestly element, its appeal is to the heart. It is, therefore, the internal, or subjective, element in the constitution.

The point of contact between these two elements is the worship of Yahweh, the god of Israel. Priest and prophet united upon the platform of service to Yahweh; but they differed seriously in their emphasis upon the *nature* of worship. The course of biblical history shows a wide breach between prophet and priest. The priests emphasized their own special work of external organization and forms of worship, but paid little or no attention to the demands of personal morality and social regeneration. In other words, the priests tended to

identify religion with mere outward acts of worship, in which the soul approaches God and leaves humanity behind. On the other hand, the prophets identified the worship of Yahweh with moral righteousness, and made small account of the external machinery of religion. In other words, the prophets represented the tendency to identify religion with the universal struggle for social reform and moral development. Every candid student of history will admit that the principle of organization is necessary in human society; but it was just at this point that the prophets of ancient Israel were weak. Prophets are never good organizers. They stand for ideas rather than for machinery; and Israel's prophets were no exception to this rule.

In exhibiting the rise of the biblical idea of God as an incident of the social process, biblical sociology undertakes to explain the development of the priestly-prophetic system. It ought to be emphasized here that this discipline has nothing to do with the origins of religion and of the idea of God apart from ancient Israel. We are not investigating the origin of *religion* but the origin of *biblical* religion. It is no part of the business of biblical sociology to account for the existence of the idea of God in the human mind, or for the origin of religious worship in human society. For religion in general is one of the primary data upon which biblical sociology works. Religious ideas and worship were not peculiar to ancient Israel. All the peoples of antiquity were religious. The origin of religion in general is a fascinating problem; but it falls outside the sphere of investigations like the present. For we proceed upon the assumption that the people of Israel had religion to start with before they acquired the *distinctive* religion of the Bible. The problem before us is to show how a religion standing on the common level of ancient heathenism could be transformed into the religion which is peculiar to Israel. The final solution of this problem, we maintain, is not a matter of literary or historical criticism, but a task for pure sociology. And pure sociology, in the attitude of treating this problem, becomes *biblical* sociology.

As soon as the Bible is understood from the sociological

standpoint, the respective provinces of science, theology, and philosophy will be marked out more plainly to our vision than at any earlier time. We are far from claiming that biblical sociology will inaugurate a revolution. It will merely help to crystallize a visible tendency. It will not tell the leaders of thought anything essentially new. It will help to organize the material of culture into shape fit for assimilation by a larger public. As we have published in this *Journal* two papers on biblical sociology we feel a greater freedom than would otherwise be possible in voicing the implicit demand of the scientific spirit for explanation of the mystery of Scripture. Our stand on the relation between science and religion is indicated sufficiently in the second of these papers. Enough has been said to show that while biblical sociology subverts many opinions held in the name of theology, it is a thoroughly constructive proposition which does no violence to the essentials of Christianity. After a period of reaction against the claims of religion, the modern world is undoubtedly advancing into a return movement. The phenomena of religion are being examined from the standpoint of science with more care than at any previous time. Not only this; but the earlier materialism and agnosticism is being replaced by a growing faith. It is our hope that biblical sociology will be a factor in the present revival of interest in spiritual things. "There are not lacking signs in England and America, as well as in other countries," writes Professor F. M. Davenport, "that the so-called age of skepticism is warming toward an age of faith. The gentle heat has touched already some mature men of science and many young men in the colleges and universities. The transformation is at once intellectual and spiritual."

The method of biblical sociology is, of course, largely inductive. There was a time when the western world knew practically nothing about the ancient eastern civilization. But the Bible is no longer our only source of knowledge about the Orient. Modern research has disclosed a tremendous mass of material relative to the life and customs of the ancient East. The Israelites were simply one of the families of the great

Semitic race; and, like other nations, they came forward into the light of history out of the darkness of prehistoric barbarism. Their fundamental institutions were not in any sense peculiar to Israel, but are found in all the Semitic nations. Biblical sociology therefore makes use of material inside and outside the Bible. It approaches Israelite society as a system of institutions common to Semitic antiquity. Accordingly we examine the situation from the standpoints of kinship, life, industrial organization, and religious practice. In this way we obtain the data necessary to a survey of the remarkable and profoundly interesting *social process* that brought the distinctive religion of the Bible into existence.

II. NATURE OF THE BIBLICAL MATERIAL

Before turning to the programme sketched above, some further introduction is necessary. If the sociologist is to examine the institutions of Hebrew society, he must know how to handle his principal source of direct information. Although great help is now had from researches into the general field of eastern history, the Bible is the main depository of the facts directly in question. In order to work intelligently upon this problem, the sociologist needs to acquaint himself at the outset with what modern research has discovered about the nature of the biblical material.

When we first approach the Bible, the material that comes before us is perplexing and unwieldy. We are in a strange land that has but little in common with the experiences of the life of today. The succession of events appears to be interminable. The perspective is confusing. It is a matter of great difficulty to get our bearings in such a way as to obtain a satisfactory view of the situation. We hardly know where to begin. The Bible comes to us from a nation called "Israel;" and at first thought it would seem to be a history of this people. But if we turn to the introduction, and begin reading its remarkable statements, we find nothing about Israel.

The opening book of Scripture carries us far back to a dateless time when the visible universe was created, or fashioned, by

God, who appears under the designations "Elohim" and "Yahweh." According to the cosmology of ancient times, the earth on which we live is not a small part of the scheme of things; it is in the center of the system. Therefore, after the earth has been created and fitted up with vegetation, the sun, moon and stars are brought into existence for the purposes merely of giving light on the earth, and regulating its times and seasons. After this the creative work centers again upon the earth, and the lower animals come into being. Presently God creates man out of the dust of the ground, and then gives him as a companion a woman. The first human pair are placed in the midst of a garden; but hardly have they begun housekeeping before they transgress the divine command not to eat of the tree of the knowledge of *good and evil*.

It is aside from our purpose to inquire into the specific interpretation of this passage. But its general meaning is made clear by an inductive study of all the biblical material before us. An examination of the Book of Genesis in the light of the following divisions of the Bible yields this important principle, which must be carried firmly in mind along with any course of scriptural discipline, literary, historical, theological, or sociological: *The Bible is not a history, but a work of edification.* In *form* it is a history of Israel, prefaced by a brief account of the world at large before the appearance of the people of Israel upon the scene. But the Bible is history in *form* alone. In *substance* its purpose is not historical. Its real object is moral and spiritual edification under the guise of history. It begins innocently enough, as if it were a mere disinterested narrative without ulterior purpose. But we hardly have time to reflect upon its opening sentences before we are plunged into the midst of the world-wide struggle of *good and evil*. The very first human pair go wrong. They do *evil* in the sight of God. There is no hint of the ethical problem so long as one man is taken by himself. But as soon as two human beings come in contact, the problem emerges. *The Bible assumes the conventional ethical categories without philosophic criticism; and it employs these categories as the fundamental terms of its*

philosophy of the social situation. From the standpoint of this fact, the work of biblical sociology is to trace out the influence of these categories in the organization and evolution of the distinctive religious system of ancient Israel. The descendants of the first man and woman overspread the earth, and are themselves evil. Finally, mankind comes into such a terrible case that there is only one *good* man to be found in the welter of universal wickedness. "Noah was a *righteous* man, and *perfect* in his generations." As for the rest of the world:

Yahweh saw that the *wickedness* of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only *evil* continually. And it repented Yahweh that he had made man in the earth, and it grieved him at his heart. And Yahweh said, I will destroy man whom I have created from the face of the ground. (Gen. 6:5 f.)

Accordingly there comes a deluge of water which drowns all mankind save Noah and his family, who float safely in a great boat. After the water has done its deadly work and subsided, God waits to see if the children of Noah do any better than their fathers. But with a perverse atavism the descendants of Noah inherit the evil tendencies of the first man rather than the good character of their closer parent.

It now becomes plain to God that he has to deal with the same situation that he encountered before the flood. He had tried to wash away the world's evil by water; but the flood would not work. He now changes his entire plan of dealing with the problem. The flood represented the method of *destruction*; but instead of this it is decided to try the method of redemption. The first plan was *physical*; the second was ethical. The new method consisted in choosing a certain family, and educating that family to be so good that the rest of the world should follow their example. The first person to become a part of the machinery of redemption is Abraham. He is instructed to come out from his father's house, and go into the land of Canaan. His descendants are to inherit this land, becoming a great nation through which all the families of the earth are to be blessed. Abraham begets Isaac and other children; and Isaac in turn begets Jacob. The divine purpose of

redemption descends through this line of Abraham's progeny. Other branches of the family are brought forward for brief treatment, and then dismissed from the main stream of the biblical narrative, attention being centered upon Jacob. Here, for the first time, the name *Israel* comes before us. It is another term for Jacob. This famous character becomes the father of twelve sons. A famine drives Jacob and his children out of Canaan into the land of Egypt. Here they increase and multiply until they become the conventional twelve tribes of Israel. At last they leave Egypt, under the leadership of Moses, and set out for the land of Canaan. Stopping at Mount Sinai, or Horeb, they enter into covenant with God, receiving at a single stroke a large body of law regulating all their social institutions. This law binds them to the service of God alone, and forbids them to worship false gods. It identifies the service of God not only with a stated system of ritual, but with the principle of moral righteousness; while the service of the false gods is identified with the principle of evil. Here the contrast between ethical categories recalls again the motive dominating the Bible. The people are told that as soon as they enter the land of Canaan, they shall stand between the two mountains, Ebal and Gerezim, and shall pronounce a *blessing* upon the one, and a *curse* upon the other. The blessing is to be theirs if they worship the true God; the curse is to blast them if they serve the false gods.

This brief sketch gives us a closer view of the biblical philosophy of history spoken of in an earlier connection. It carries us to the end of the Pentateuch—the first five books of the Bible—and leaves the children of Israel standing on the borders of the land of Canaan.

Immediately following the Pentateuch is the Book of Joshua. The formal object of this book is to give an account of the Israelite invasion of Canaan. According to this narrative, the children of Israel enter Canaan under the leadership of Joshua, and carry everything before them with a high hand. They make a clean sweep of the territory, and then divide it by lot among the twelve tribes. The general impression conveyed

by the Book of Joshua does not agree with that of the next following books. Its account of the invasion is not credited by the leading biblical scholars, many of whom regard the book as in the same class with the Pentateuch. Joshua is in fact so closely assimilated with its predecessors that for some purposes we regard the first division of biblical material as a "hexateuch," or six-book group, instead of a "pentateuch," or collection of five books.

Leaving the first six books behind us, we immediately come upon another group of related narratives. This collection goes by the names of Judges, Samuel, and Kings. Going back over the ground covered by Joshua, it gives the history of Israel from the invasion down to the great Babylonian exile; in other words, from the time at which the Israelites acquired the land until the time at which they lost it. The period covered by Judges, Samuel, and Kings is therefore a long one—more than six hundred years in duration. A course on biblical sociology holds the material of this group in the center of attention. On the one side of the long narrative contained in Judges, Samuel, and Kings, is the Hexateuch, which may be taken as an introduction to it. On the other side stand the prophetic books, from Amos to Ezekiel, which may be taken as a commentary on the period covered by it.

The narrative of Judges, Samuel, and Kings, equally with that of the Hexateuch, bears out the proposition that the Bible is not properly called a history, but a work of edification, written from the standpoint of the worship of Yahweh as against the worship of other gods. Sentences, and even paragraphs, here and there throughout these books indicate that Judges, Samuel, and Kings are prepared under control of the same leading ideas that we find in the Hexateuch.

We have spoken of the prophetic works, from Amos to Ezekiel, as a commentary on the history of Israel from the time of the invasion to the time of the Babylonian exile. When we reach these works, it is as if a mask were taken away from the Bible. There we encounter material which is not even historical in form. The writings of the prophets contain abundant inci-

dental reference to history; but in both form and substance these works are exhortations to serve Yahweh and forsake other gods, to seek righteousness and shun evil conduct.

The next important fact that we shall notice with regard to the biblical material may be formulated as follows: *The Bible expresses judgments upon earlier stages of the social process from the standpoint of later stages in the process.* This fact will call for emphasis in this form later. At present it may be re-stated in another form thus: The Bible as it stands before us has plainly come through the hands of writers who lived many centuries *after* the events described. It hardly seems fitting to exhibit the proofs of a point like this in the main text of a sociological treatise. The truth expressed is a commonplace of biblical criticism, and is fully covered in modern introductions to the literature of the Old Testament. But it cannot be taken for granted that sociological students are familiar with this fact; and they need a vivid introductory impression of the *post-eventum* nature of the biblical material as it now lies before us. To this end we give here a few of the proofs that the larger part of the Bible is the work of authors who are not contemporary with the events described.

In Gen. 14:14 we read: "And when Abraham heard that his brother was taken captive, he led forth his trained men, born in his house, and pursued as far as Dan." This passage relates to events that are said to have occurred far back in the patriarchal period, hundreds of years *before* the Israelite invasion of Canaan. If we now turn to Judg., chap. 18, we find that the city called *Dan* in Gen., chap. 14, did not receive that name until *after* the Israelite invasion of Canaan. There we read:

And the Danites came unto the city of Laish, unto a people quiet and secure, and smote them with the edge of the sword, and they burnt the city with fire. . . . And they built the city and dwelt therein. And they called the name of the city *Dan*, after the name of Dan, their father, who was born unto Israel. Howbeit, the name of the city at first was Laish.

This comparison of passages indicates that the Book of Genesis in its present form has come down to us through the

hands of a writer who knew the city in question by its later name. Instead of saying that Abraham pursued as far as Laish (the earlier name), he says that Abraham pursued as far as *Dan* (the later name). This indicates that the authorship of Genesis was many centuries distant from the events described. The same fact, in even more palpable form, is brought out by further scrutiny of the passage above reproduced from the eighteenth chapter of Judges. After mentioning the settlement of the city by the Danites, it continues thus: "And Jonathan, the son of Gershom . . . , he and his sons were priests to the tribe of Dan *until the day of the captivity of the land.*" Now the captivity of Israel was an event far along in the history. It was at least four hundred years after the events described in Judg., chap. 18. Hence, the Book of Judges, in its present shape, has come through the hands of authors who look back over several centuries upon the facts with which they deal. Many other instances of the same nature occur; but after the above citations we need not canvass them in detail. We find a large part of the biblical material in the Books of Kings. Much of our information regarding more than four hundred years of Israelite history comes from these books alone; but we need to bear in mind that the narrative of Kings carries the history down to the Babylonian exile. The authorship of Kings, therefore, must be at least as late as the exile. And the same observations apply even more emphatically to the Books of Chronicles, which go back to the first man and then come down to the exile.

We pass now to another fact, equally impressive and convincing, which not only buttresses the proposition about lateness of authorship, but throws light upon the method by which the biblical material was brought together. In many passages the authors of the Bible cite by name earlier books upon which they depend for their facts. In the twenty-first chapter of Numbers the writer transfers into his own text a passage from an ancient work known as *The Book of the Wars of Yahweh*. The tenth chapter of Joshua reproduces a passage from an earlier work which was called *The Book of the Upright*. The

same book is also cited in the first chapter of the Second Book of Samuel, where a long passage is quoted from it called "The Song of the Bow." The First and Second Books of Kings are very brief summaries of the reigns of successive monarchs. The reader is referred many times to writings now lost. One of these is called *The Book of the Acts of Solomon*. Another is referred to as *The Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel*; another, as *The Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah*. The last two named are not the "Chronicles" now found in the Bible, but are independent earlier works which have been lost. Outside the biblical references no traces of them are now to be found.

These observations about the lateness of biblical writers, and concerning their dependence upon earlier works, apply more to the Hexateuch, Judges, Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles than to the literary prophets from Amos to Ezekiel. The prophetic books are more nearly the productions of writers who were contemporary with the events described. It is true that these works of the prophets also bear marks of having passed through the hands of later authors; but their treatment in this respect is not so extensive, nor so systematic, as that of the other biblical material just named. This distinction between the prophetic books and the other works is parallel to the contrast already noted in regard to the Bible as a work of edification.

With regard to the actual authorship of the biblical material, except the work of the prophets, we have no information. For, as just emphasized, the Bible, as it stands before us, is evidently the work of *secondary* writers, who collected and arranged the compositions of earlier authors. This method of book-making, so foreign to the modern mind, was not strange to antiquity. It was a common practice in ancient literature; and the Bible is nothing exceptional in this respect.

Not only is the Bible a product of many hands; it is written from a variety of standpoints. In some places we encounter views of the history of Israel that conflict with views found elsewhere. A remarkable instance is found in connection with the bloody revolution of Jehu in the ninth century B. C. At

this time the house of Ahab was in possession of the throne of Northern Israel; but there was a powerful party that wanted to see the family of Ahab deprived of the crown. Accordingly, some of the prophets of Yahweh incited the army officer Jehu to exterminate the reigning house and seize the kingdom. In the ninth chapter of the Second Book of Kings we read the commission as follows:

Thus saith Yahweh, the god of Israel, to Jehu, I have anointed thee king over the people of Yahweh, even over Israel. And thou shalt smite the house of Ahab thy master. . . . For the whole house of Ahab shall perish.

Jehu carries out this bloody order by assassinating several hundred persons who either belong to, or support, the family of Ahab. He then mounts the throne, and is accepted as the legitimate king of Israel. In the next chapter we read:

And Yahweh said unto Jehu, Because thou hast done well in executing that which is right in mine eyes, and hast done unto the house of Ahab according to all that was in mine heart, thy sons of the fourth generation shall sit on the throne of Israel.

This is positive and unequivocal. The bloody murders carried out by Jehu were supported by the prophets of Yahweh in the name of their god; and then Yahweh himself set the seal of his approval upon them. It should be observed here that part of the bloodshed caused by Jehu occurred in a place called "Jezreel;" and all of his murders were spoken of later under the brief and convenient phrase, "The blood of Jezreel." A hundred years after the time of Jehu we find that an entirely different view of the revolution is taken. We read in the first chapter of the prophet Hosea:

The word of Yahweh that came unto Hosea, the son of Beeri. . . . And Yahweh said unto Hosea, Go take thee a wife. . . . So he went and took Gomer, the daughter of Diblaim; which conceived and bare him a son, and Yahweh said unto him, Call his name Jezreel; for yet a little while, and I will avenge the blood of Jezreel upon the house of Jehu.

Here we find two standpoints with regard to the same thing. According to one view, Yahweh commanded and commended the bloodshed whereof Jehu was the cause. According to the other view, Yahweh regarded these murders as a great load of crime, whose dark shadow still hung over the land a hundred

years later. There is no reasonable reconciliation of these passages. We are dealing here with inconsistent positions. Conflicting views of this kind are frequently found in the Bible. Especially significant are the differences of opinion between prophets. A prophet would come forward in the name of Yahweh with a proclamation to the king or to the people. Another prophet, with equal confidence, would express a wholly different view in the name of Yahweh. The question of prophecy never took a form satisfactory to all the contemporaries of any given prophet. The author of a passage in Deut., chap. 18, attempts to deal with the problem in this way: "If thou say in thine heart, How shall we know the word that Yahweh hath not spoken? When a prophet speaketh in the name of Yahweh, if the thing follow not, nor come to pass, that is the thing that Yahweh hath not spoken. The prophet hath spoken it presumptuously. Thou shalt not be afraid of him." This is only a special form of the commonplace principle that opinions about what ought to be done are to be judged in the light of events.

This leads to the question of our attitude toward such expressions as, "Yahweh said thus and thus," or "Yahweh did thus and thus." For the biblical material frequently brings this form of statement before us. It needs to be emphasized that such expressions, instead of being peculiar to Israel, were common to antiquity. Let us go outside the Bible for a moment, and read some selections from the famous Moabite Stone. This interesting object was discovered in 1868 by Rev. F. Klein, of the Church Missionary Society. The translation is by Professor Driver, of Oxford.

I am Mesha . . . King of Moab. My father reigned over Moab for thirty years, and I reigned after my father. And I made this high place for Chemosh [the national god] *because he had saved me from all the assailants, and because he had let me see my desire upon all them that hated me.* Omri, King of Israel, afflicted Moab for many days *because Chemosh was angry with his land.* And his son succeeded him; and he also said, I will afflict Moab; but I saw my desire upon him, and upon his house, and Israel perished with an everlasting destruction. . . . *And Chemosh said unto me, Go take Nebo against Israel.* And I went by night, and fought against it,

and slew the whole of it . . . and I took thence the vessels of Yahweh, and I dragged them before Chemosh. And the King of Israel had built Yahas, and abode in it while he fought against me. *But Chemosh drave him out from before me. . . . And Chemosh said unto me, Go down, fight against Horonen.*

Turning at once to the eleventh chapter of the Book of Judges, we find the Israelite chieftain, Jephtha, addressing a foreign people in these words:

Yahweh, god of Israel, hath dispossessed the Amorites from before his people Israel, and shouldst thou possess them? Wilt thou not possess that which *Chemosh* thy god giveth thee to possess?

In the twenty-first chapter of the Book of Numbers we read:

Woe unto thee, Moab! Thou art undone, O people of *Chemosh*. He hath given his sons as fugitives, and his daughters into captivity.

The point for emphasis here is, that foreign peoples took up the same general attitude toward *their* gods that Israel did with reference to Yahweh. Foreigners quoted their gods, and referred to their mighty deeds, in the same general terms that Israel used in speaking of the words and acts of Yahweh. If we would handle the biblical material intelligently, we must approach the Bible in full view of the fact that *the psychological and theological forms of its conceptions are nothing peculiar to it.*

The problem of the Bible and its religion is now fairly before us. In what terms are we to describe the forces that actually brought the Bible into existence? Who was Yahweh? If Yahweh was but a local god, as the earlier biblical documents declare, and as the earlier heroes of the history believed, how came his worship to be distinguished from that of Chemosh and the horde of other deities whose existence was acknowledged in ancient society? How did the antagonism between Yahweh and the other gods arise? How did this antagonism come to be a *symbol* of the world-wide conflict between "good" and "evil"? What accounts for the co-operation of the hostile interests represented by priests and prophets in the construction

of the system of religion which finally became the distinguishing mark of Israel in the world? What is the actual bond of community between the distinctive religion of the Bible, and the religious institutions of all societies that have adopted the Bible as their official sacred book? These are the questions that biblical sociology sets itself to answer.

THE ASSETS OF THE UNITED STATES

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If the people of the United States should decide to abandon their present form of government and organize as a corporation, what would be the value of the assets of the new company, provided all the present possessions of the people were turned over to it? If such an organization was effected and a balance sheet was prepared after a careful appraisal, or stock taking, would the statement sustain the boastful claims of those who for political effect or for other purposes now assign a value to our national possessions, which is much in excess of one hundred billion dollars, or would it reveal the fact that current estimates of our national wealth are greatly exaggerated and that when we point with pride to our riches we are relying, as do some modern corporations, as much upon water or wind as upon actual possessions?

Before attempting to answer these inquiries, it is worth while to ask of what do our possessions consist? The answer must be: They are the material things in our country having a present value for the purposes to which they are applied, and for which they are used or are being held for use. They are the lands utilized for various purposes but not the deeds, mortgages, and other paper evidences of their ownership. They are railroads, factories, mines, stores, stocks of goods, and live stock, but not the stocks and bonds which measure the equities of their holders in the properties mentioned. They are the products of agriculture, manufactures, mines, forests, and fisheries, held as raw material for manufacture or as food, clothing and ornament, or as implements and machinery, but not the warehouse receipts issued to their owners.

The statisticians of the United States Census and many others have made appraisals of the national wealth and their state-

ments thereof are the exhibits of assets which would be used in a balance sheet such as has been mentioned in the opening paragraph. These appraisals are as follows for 1904 and 1900:

CENSUS ESTIMATES OF WEALTH FOR 1904 AND 1900

Forms of Wealth	1904	1900
Total.....	\$107,104,211,917	\$88,517,306,775
Real property and improvements taxed....	55,510,247,564	46,324,839,234
Real property and improvements exempt....	6,831,244,570	6,212,788,930
Railroads and their equipment.....	11,244,752,000	9,035,732,000
Street railways.....	2,219,966,000	1,576,197,160
Telegraph systems.....	227,400,000	211,650,000
Telephone systems.....	585,840,000	400,324,000
Pullman and private cars.....	123,000,000	98,836,600
Shipping and canals.....	846,489,804	537,849,478
Privately owned waterworks.....	275,000,000	267,752,468
Privately owned central electric light and power stations.....	562,851,105	402,618,653
Live stock.....	4,073,791,736	3,306,473,278
Farm implements and machinery.....	844,989,863	749,775,970
Agricultural products.....	1,899,379,652	1,455,069,323
Manufacturing machinery, tools, and implements.....	3,297,754,180	2,541,046,639
Manufactured products.....	7,409,291,668	6,087,151,108
Imported merchandise.....	495,543,685	424,970,592
Mining products.....	408,066,787	326,851,517
Gold and silver coin and bullion.....	1,998,603,303	1,677,379,825
Clothing and personal adornment.....	2,500,000,000	2,000,000,000
Furniture, carriages, and kindred property.	5,750,000,000	4,880,000,000

The appraisal for 1904 was much in excess of one hundred billion dollars and, if correct, sustains the claims of vast actual possessions to which reference has already been made. Are these appraisals exaggerated or do they represent such valuations as would be accepted by any conservatively managed corporation in preparing its annual balance sheet? The data supplied by the Bureau of the Census and by various national, state, and municipal records enable the student of the subject to obtain a fairly correct answer to these inquiries.

The appraisals here given may be tested by similar ones prepared by the Census Office in previous years when different methods were employed by other officials in estimating national wealth. Such estimates have been prepared for each census year since 1850. In 1850 the national wealth was estimated as \$7,135,780,228; in 1860 as \$16,159,616,068; in 1870 the estimate made

on a currency basis of the time when reduced to a gold basis was \$24,054,814,806; in 1880 that value on the same basis was \$43,642,000,000; in 1890, \$65,037,091,197; in 1900, \$88,517,306,775; and in 1904, \$107,104,211,917. From 1850 to 1860 the average family in the United States according to the foregoing estimates was instrumental in adding \$180 per annum to our national wealth. The corresponding additions in the next ten years with the waste and destruction of the Civil War was \$120. For the twenty years from 1870 to 1890 the average annual additions per family was \$184, and from 1890 to 1904, \$182. According to these appraisals the average annual additions made to our national wealth have been quite uniform for the last half-century. These additions reflect three very important factors: (1) the creation of new forms of wealth as the result of human labor; (2) the appreciation in value of all property as the result of the world-wide influence of the increased and increasing supply of gold and silver which began to be felt immediately after the discovery of gold in Australia and California just prior to 1850; and (3) the appreciation of property in cities and towns due to the growth of population. The latter is generally spoken of as the unearned increment of real property. The uniformity in the figures for additions due to these three factors during fifty years is evidence that if the census appraisals of 1904 are incorrect the error is one which has affected all the previous national appraisals; which have been accepted by economists the world over without question.

The census appraisals are based upon data which are accessible to all statisticians and economists. On the basis of those data a number of statisticians prior to the publications of the census figures prepared estimates of the national wealth for 1898 and 1900. Of such estimates mention is made of those prepared by the English statistician, Michael G. Mulhall, and the leading American statistician, Carroll D. Wright, for many years Commissioner of Labor. These as well as all similar estimates were larger than the census appraisal of 1900. The facts mentioned in the preceding paragraph indicate that the census appraisals of 1900 and 1904 were in harmony with the earlier

census estimates and the fact here mentioned indicates that if in error the census figures, when judged by the conclusion of other current statisticians, are too small rather than too large.

The most important item of wealth which must enter into the appraisals of national wealth is that of real property. In its estimate of the value of this property the census excludes that portion used by railroads and a number of other industries. Exclusive of this realty the census estimated the value of real property at \$39,541,544,333 in 1890; \$52,537,628,164 in 1900; and \$62,341,492,134 in 1904. The above-mentioned real property as appraised constitutes 60.2 per cent. of all estimated wealth in 1890. This percentage in 1900 was 59.3, and in 1904, 58.2. Of this real property a portion consists of lands and buildings used for governmental purposes by the United States, states, and municipalities, and lands and buildings owned by churches, hospitals, and other private charities. This property was exempt from taxation. The remaining real property subject to taxation had an appraised value in 1890 of \$35,711,209,108; in 1900 of \$46,324,839,239; and in 1904, \$55,510,247,564. These valuations may well be compared with those of the tax lists. Those lists assigned the same property the valuation of \$18,956,556,675 in 1890; \$23,376,840,587 in 1900; and \$30,089,818,672 in 1904. The tax-list valuation was 53.1 per cent. of the census appraisal of 1890. The corresponding percentage in 1900 was 50.4 per cent., and in 1904, 54.2. Expressed in other words, these percentages indicate that the census appraisal of real property was nearly twice the nominal valuation of the same property appearing on the tax list of the several states and territories. But the nominal valuation there given is not in all states the valuation which the local assessor made of such property. In Iowa the assessors are directed by the statutes to appraise property at its real value and to enter one-fourth of that value on the tax list. If the law is observed the tax-list valuation would be 25 per cent. of the true value. But the custom of the local assessor is to make the first appraisal 80 per cent. of the selling value and the tax-list valuation is thus only 20 per cent. of the true value. Similar variations exist in all states between

the true value of real property and the valuation of the same entered on the tax list. In some states the variation is small and in others it is very marked. Before making its appraisal the census ascertained the ratio between the tax-list valuation and the true value of the real property in each one of the 2,800 counties and in all the principal cities of the United States. Based on the information thus obtained, and on the valuation of the tax lists of the several counties, the census made its appraisal of real property. The correctness of that appraisal is measured by the accuracy of figures used for the several counties and states as a ratio between the tax-list valuation and the true value. Did the census use correct or incorrect ratios, and by using the latter assign to real property a greater value than its worth, or in other words, greater than it could be sold for under average conditions? Upon the answer to this inquiry will depend in large measure the answer to the inquiry stated in the opening paragraph of this paper.

Of the taxable real property of the United States about 60 per cent. is located in cities, villages, and places, and consists of city and town lots and the structures thereupon, and 40 per cent. is located outside the cities, towns, and places, and consists of farms and other land assessed as acre property. For each of the 5,700,000 farms whose lands constitute the major portion of this acre property the census enumerators secured statements of the value of lands and buildings. As in all preceding censuses, in this work each farmer was his own appraiser. All the available information obtained in the last fifty years indicates that this appraisal, like all which preceded it, while doubtless faulty in individual cases is on the whole very exact and thus trustworthy. Comparing that data with the tax lists, it is possible to compute the ratio of true value to tax-list valuation of all acre property in the United States. Further, that ratio is approximately the true ratio between the value of all real property and the tax-list valuation in 2,500 of the 2,800 counties. It was on the basis of this appraisal of the farms and buildings of the farms that the census predicated the greater portion of its

appraisal of all real property. The general accuracy of this appraisal may be noted by the following facts:

The state authorities of Ohio and Iowa in 1900 collected information concerning the selling price and assessed valuation of all real property sold in the year mentioned. In Ohio the information collected indicated that the tax-list valuation of acre property was 57.3 per cent. of the selling price of the land sold. The census computations of true value of all acre property based upon the farmers' appraisals of this land indicated that the assessed valuation of all lands in the state constitute 56.5 per cent. of the true value of these lands. The corresponding per cents. in Iowa were 20.1 and 20.2, respectively. These records of land sales indicated that the census methods of estimating the value of acre property was correct within a very narrow limit and if in error it was by being too small rather than too large. The same test confirms in a general way the census estimates of real property other than acre in 2,500 of the 2,800 counties. In the other counties the method of appraisal above described had to be modified by one of a number of other methods.

The United States Department of Agriculture in 1905 made very extensive inquiries concerning the value of agricultural real property in the various states. The results of that investigation indicated (1) that farm lands had a greater average value in 1900 and 1904 than was assigned them by the census returns, and (2) that all real property increased in selling value more between 1900 and 1904 than was reflected in the excess valuation of the census in the latter years over that in the former. This investigation concerning the value of agricultural land in all states confirms in a general way the deductions made from the records of land sales in Ohio and Iowa and from the estimates of other statisticians that, if in error, the census appraisals are too small rather than too large.

The same conclusion is reached by comparing the census estimates of real property with the tax-list valuations in states such as Massachusetts, in which there is an excellent administration of tax laws and an honest effort is made to assess real property at its true value. In this state the census

appraisal exceeds the assessors' valuation by only 10 per cent. and if the assessors' valuation is a true statement of the value of realty, the census estimate is excessive by a small margin of 10 per cent. But the bankers and business men of Massachusetts in stating their judgment of the assessment of property for financial journals report substantially the same margin between true value and assessed valuation as is shown by the census estimates. Further, it is well known that the great majority of assessors regard as the true value of property for assessment purposes the amount at which it could be sold at a forced sale and there is more than 10 per cent. difference between this amount and the valuation at which the average man holds his lands and buildings. An analysis of the known facts concerning the methods of assessment and the assessed valuation in the other states and a comparison of the valuation mentioned with the census appraisal leads to substantially the same deduction as in the case of Massachusetts. If excessive, the census estimates cannot be in error to exceed 5 or 10 per cent. but the mass of facts available point to an error in the opposite direction. This last statement is most applicable to the census appraisal of 1904 as is evidenced by a fact already mentioned. In 1900 the tax-list valuation was 50.4 per cent. and in 1904 it was 54.2 per cent. of the census value. In the intervening years the tax-list valuations increased 29.3 per cent. while the census valuation for 1904 was only 19.8 per cent. greater than in the year previously mentioned.

The value of railroads, street railways, telegraph and telephone systems, Pullman and private cars, and privately owned electric light and power stations was estimated upon the basis of the selling price of bonds and stocks in the years 1900 and 1904, after making provision for the securities of some companies held by others. The census appraisals of railroads may be compared with the par value of the stocks and bonds upon the railroad company's books as the same was reported by the Interstate Commerce Commission. The census appraisals of the value of railroads and their equipment in 1900 and 1904 were \$9,035,732,000 and \$11,244,752,000, respectively. The railway capital

reported the same years by the Interstate Commerce Commission was \$11,491,034,960 and \$13,213,124,679. Further, the books of the railroad company in 1904 showed \$13,583,276,128 of assets exclusive of stocks and bonds. Judged by these figures the census estimates were at least not excessive. Similar exhibits for the other industries for which estimates were made and of which the figures are given in the earlier part of this paper will disclose the same general situation. The combined stock and bond issues or the aggregate of assets other than those of allied corporations held by them are in each case materially in excess of the census appraisals.

The census figures for live stock, farm implements and machinery, manufacturing machinery, tools and implements were in 1900 obtained directly from the owners. The same is true of the manufacturing machinery, tools and implements for 1905. The values given are the appraisals of the owners of the property mentioned. The method employed for securing statements of this value was the same as has been used since 1850 and which has provided data which have always been accepted as substantially correct. The manufacturing figures for 1904 were based upon returns for 1905 and included four-fifths of the increase recorded by the census of 1905 over that of 1900. The value of gold and silver coin and bullion included in the census total is that which is furnished the country by the Director of the Mint from the data in his possession.

The agricultural crops of a preceding year on hand and the value of growing but unharvested crops were estimated at 20 per cent. of the value of the preceding year's crops not fed to live stock. The manufacturing and mining products and imported merchandise on hand were estimated at one-half of those produced or imported during a single year. The clothing and personal adornment in the possession of the people was assigned a value equal to the value of similar articles produced and sold in one year and the value of furniture, carriages, and kindred property was equal to that manufactured and sold in three years. Results obtained from estimates prepared on the basis mentioned were checked by those secured from other

methods, such as have been employed in previous census investigations.

The aggregate of all the wealth of the nation may be tested by the statements found from time to time in the daily papers and magazines concerning the number of our millionaires and the aggregate of their possessions. If the statements referred to are trustworthy and the census has given a correct estimate of wealth, then the deductions usually made from such statements are correct. There is an intense concentration of wealth in the hands of a few. The millionaires own nearly as much wealth as the census shows to exist in the country. If, on the other hand, we start with the value of farms and other homes which are known to be owned by men of small possessions, the savings bank deposits and other known possessions of those of moderate means and then add the lowest popular estimates of the possessions of our millionaires, we have an aggregate far in excess of the census appraisal of national wealth and the conclusion under such circumstances is irresistible either that the census estimates of national wealth are ridiculously small or the popular estimates of the wealth of our millionaires are greatly exaggerated.

The writer does not find any evidence that would justify either statement that our national wealth is grossly understated or that our millionaires own so large a share of that wealth as to leave the great majority without property. But the facts passed in review when considered in connection with the many studies that have been made by our journalists and economists make it certain that the census appraisals of our national wealth are not excessive and if in error these appraisals are too small rather than too large. These appraisals when arranged so as to disregard the transient depressing effect of the hard times of 1893 to 1897 and the opposite influence of the boom years of 1903 to 1906 give evidence that our annual increment of national wealth is not less than two and one-half and not over three billion dollars. On the basis of the smaller figures and the assumption of the general correctness of the census appraisals the national wealth of the United States in 1908 is at least 117

billion dollars, while the corresponding value on the basis of the large figures is approximately 120 billion dollars.

In comparing its estimates of the value of the lands, buildings, and other material possessions of the United States, the Bureau of the Census takes no account of private or public indebtedness. It assumes that mortgages and other private debts do not add to or lessen the aggregate value of farms, shops, railways, and other forms of wealth, although they do determine the equitable ownership of such wealth. In like manner it assumes that public indebtedness need not be considered in estimating the amount of material wealth. The assumption mentioned with reference to private debts has not been questioned, so far as the writer has knowledge, but it has been questioned with reference to public debts. One class of critics has claimed that the estimate of national wealth as prepared by the census should be increased and the other class that it should be decreased by the amount of national, state, and local governmental indebtedness. The importance of this difference of opinion may be noted from the fact that in 1902 the total indebtedness of the United States was \$2,789,990,120. Of this aggregate, the national debt was \$925,011,637; the state debt, \$234,908,873; county debt, \$196,564,619; and the debt of cities, towns, and other minor civil divisions, including school districts, was \$1,433,504,991. The aggregate of this indebtedness in 1900 was probably not far from \$2,600,000,000; in 1904, \$3,000,000,000; and in 1908, \$3,300,000,000. If this indebtedness is considered in appraising the national wealth and its amount added to the census figures, the totals for such wealth previously given must be increased by the foregoing stated amount, while if it should be deducted, those totals would be correspondingly decreased.

Those who criticize the census for preparing too small estimates urge that public indebtedness acts upon the selling value of private property as a mortgage debt does upon the value of the equitable interest of a property owner, and, hence, the true value of property is ascertained only when the private selling value is added to the equity of the bond holders. This addition not having been made by the census, its estimates of national wealth are

according to one class of critics too small by the amount of the public indebtedness.

The facts on which the other class of critics base their assertion that the census estimates are exaggerated all relate to proprietorship, a subject quite apart from that which was investigated by the census. That subject is, however, an important one and as a whole well worthy of consideration. Prior to 1890 the American public securities and the stocks and bonds of private American corporations were held in large amounts abroad and but few foreign securities were held in this country. A change in this respect has been taking place in the past twenty years and the amount of foreign securities held in the United States cannot fall short of that of American securities held abroad by more than one or two billion dollars and the wealth of the country probably exceeds the wealth owned by its citizens by one of the amounts last mentioned. Allowance should be made for this difference in estimating the wealth of the citizens of the United States but not in preparing such estimates as those of the census of the value of property located in the country.

THE PROBLEM OF POVERTY AND PENSIONS IN OLD AGE

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The problem of the aged poor is world-wide. In every civilized nation a demand has arisen for a more intelligent policy of the state in dealing with a class which in any event is entitled to humane treatment and sympathetic consideration. It matters not whether they are poor because of shortcomings of their own, or because of social ills over which they had no control. They are helpless in the vast majority of individual instances and something must be done for them either through private charity or the state. The problem which confronts society is whether what is to be done for the aged poor should rest upon a sound economic basis, rather than that the circumstances should be governed by irrational and precarious sentiment. Even the poor themselves agree that a guaranteed minimum of existence would be preferable to constantly changing conditions, from a fair degree of comfort to absolute want. It is a curious commentary upon social conditions in America that the problem of the aged poor should demand consideration at a time which is usually considered the most prosperous period which this country has ever known.

The subject of state pensions in old age has a literature of its own and its various aspects preclude adequate treatment with brevity. It is attracting a considerable amount of attention in the United States and a special commission has been appointed in Massachusetts to examine into its practicability for that state. In Wisconsin, Illinois, Florida, and other states, attention is being given to the subject of state insurance upon a voluntary or compulsory basis, chiefly for the protection of wage-earners against the financial consequences of ills resulting from industrial accidents and diseases, and the inevitable physical disabilities in old

age. A vast amount of valuable information has been brought together in *English Parliamentary Reports*, which are more useful in a consideration of the subject of state pensions in this country than the experience of a paternal state like Germany, with conditions wholly unlike those prevailing in the United States. The English investigations and reports, which extend over a period of years, find their most radical embodiment in the scheme of Mr. Charles Booth for free and universal old-age pensions, beginning with the age of sixty-five, for an amount of \$1.20 a week. This is upon the usual basis of 5s., which, it would seem, is the irreducible minimum to serve a useful purpose in ameliorating the condition of the aged poor.

A large variety of other schemes have been proposed under which the beneficiaries would have to contribute, wholly or in part, a sum necessary, which by gradual accumulation of money at interest, would, at the age of sixty or sixty-five, be sufficient to purchase an immediate annuity of from \$1.25 or upward. The objections which have been raised against these so-called contributory schemes may be summed up in the statement that it is held to be the duty of the nation as a whole to provide for adequate support in old age, irrespective of the character, merits, or mode of life of the person to be provided for. From this point of view old age is likened to infancy as a state of helplessness during which, if from no other than humane considerations, adequate support must be extended by those in a position to do so. Illustrations of the two extremes of these propositions are the systems of old-age pensions in Germany and New Zealand. The German system is compulsory and very complex, providing for practically every contingency resulting from accident, sickness, or infirmity and old age, and technically it is the most perfect protection for wage-earners which has been devised. In practice the results have not been as satisfactory as expected, if for no other reason than that the beneficiaries under a minimum rate of support will never rest content, but agitate for a higher rate.

In New Zealand a pension of \$1.68 a week is granted to all persons sixty-five years of age and over, not in possession of an income of more than \$5.00 a week and \$1,600 clear property.

There are certain qualifications as to the exclusion of criminals, imbeciles, Asiatics, certain qualifications of character, etc., but, in a general way, the system is universal and the number not eligible is small. The pension system of New South Wales is much the same, except that the pensions are somewhat higher, and that the amounts discriminate as to married persons, who receive \$1.80 each person a week, and for unmarried persons, or widows, who receive \$2.40 per week. The colony of Victoria provides a state pension not exceeding \$1.92 a week at the age of sixty-five, or any age upon evidence of permanent disability. The qualification for a pension is that the person must be without means of support, unable to maintain himself, and without near relatives able to provide for him, and that he must not have an annual income of more than \$100, or clear property exceeding \$1,175.

Propositions for state pensions in the United States have been advanced among others by the Reverend Edward Everett Hale, whose plan would provide free and universal pensions in the state of Massachusetts at the age of seventy, amounting to \$1.92 a week for each man or woman, paid out of state funds and raised by a poll tax. Since the estimated population of Massachusetts aged seventy and over is 97,906, the annual cost would be about \$9,790,600. Mr. S. Woods, of England, has proposed a scheme of state pensions beginning at the age of sixty-five with a minimum of \$1.20 a week and a maximum of \$1.80, the funds to be derived from compulsory contributions of wage-earners paying two cents a week and employers of labor to pay two cents a week for each workman, the state to pay four cents as a general contribution. To raise the funds necessary a graduated tax of all private or other incomes is proposed, of 1 per cent. on \$1,500, 2 per cent. on \$2,000, and increasing 1 per cent. for every additional \$500, up to \$6,000, and at the same rate for all incomes above. The Danish scheme provides pensions at the age of sixty after ten years' residence in Denmark; the beneficiary must not have been in prison and must not have had poor relief, one-half of the pension being paid by the state and one-half by the counties or localities.

Perhaps the most simple proposition upon the basis of joint contributions is that of Mr. Woods, but its difficulty lies in the enforcement, except in the case of permanently employed wage-earners. Of course, the two cents a week would have to be deducted from wages, and perhaps a stamp system, such as is used by the German government, would have to be adopted to reduce the expense of administration to a minimum. The great difficulty with all such plans is that they do not provide effectively for the class which is most in need of pensions in old age, that is the common day laborer or casual workman, on the one hand, and the preponderating number of poor women, on the other. Any plan, however, which does not provide for contributions from the beneficiaries is likely to prove an enormous burden upon the taxpayers and a decided detriment to the general welfare. Any system of state pensions which does not require pro rata contributions from the beneficiaries in some form or other is likely to repeat the never-to-be-forgotten lesson of the old English Poor Law, which brought the English nation to the verge of bankruptcy, both moral and financial, by 1834, and the evil results of which are still present and will continue to be present in establishing a permanent pauper class. Upon this point I cannot do better than quote the words of Mr. Arthur H. D. Acland, an English authority on old-age pensions, to the effect that:

Until there is a reasonable consensus of opinion as to what is to be the principle underlying any national scheme, should such a scheme be desirable, it will be necessary to exercise the greatest caution before embarking on any kind of legislation. . . . Pension schemes are more irrevocable than any ordinary kind of legislation. The additional and constantly accumulating liability which they involve is especially difficult to revoke or readjust to new conditions.

It is this difficulty which most of the advocates of a universal state pension scheme ignore or make light of, but which threatens the solvency of the state which engages upon such an undertaking, on the one hand, and which imperils the moral fabric of the nation, on the other.

As Professor W. G. Sumner has well said, it is not sympathy

with suffering that is needed, but sympathy with hard struggling, but, unhappily, most of the kindly thought of the world is wasted upon those who least deserve it. When we consider that any scheme, or plan, of universal old-age pensions, or even of pensions limited to the deserving poor, must of necessity be paid out of the general revenue raised by taxation, the financial question itself assumes very serious proportions, even in a country as wealthy as ours. If, because of ill-arranged social conditions, burdens fall upon those least able to bear them, the remedy would seem to lie in a different direction from that of old-age pensions granted by the state. If, because of sickness resulting from industrial employment, large numbers of wage-earners are wholly, or in part, a public burden, the more effective remedy will be found in a modified employers' liability law, and not in the direction of a state pension scheme. Those who fondly believe that the latter would remedy the ills which now surround the poor in their old age, would find in their disappointment that they had neither eliminated the poorhouse, on the one hand, nor the pauper's grave, on the other. Before any such action is taken there is imperative need in a free democracy that the subject shall be carefully considered in all its phases, impartially, with as painstaking a consideration of those who work and save and live useful lives, as of those who live an existence opposed to the best interests of society.

At the outset of any serious consideration of the problem of the adequate provision for the aged poor it is necessary to define the class to be affected and the extent to which relief is to be granted. In most of the propositions the pension period is made to begin with age sixty-five, but some place the age as low as sixty, while others have suggested the age of seventy. Necessarily, the financial difficulties of the problem vary in exact proportion to the age at entry, since to every one hundred living at age sixty, by the Massachusetts life table, only eighty-five would be living at age sixty-five, and only sixty-seven at age seventy. Upon the basis of a careful estimate for January 1, 1908, the population of the United States aged sixty and over was 5,512,704, aged sixty-five and over, 3,531,576, and aged

seventy and over, 1,981,128. The corresponding numbers for the state of New Jersey were, at age sixty and over, 155,794, at age sixty-five and over, 96,433, and at age seventy and over, 55,267. Adopting the estimate of a British departmental committee, that at ages sixty-five and over 32.4 per cent. would be entitled to pensions, the numbers pensionable in the United States at that age would be 1,144,230, and in the state of New Jersey 31,244. Assuming as a minimum a pension of \$5.00 a week, as the lowest amount at which support could be obtained, in conformity to the American standard of living, the annual cost to provide a pension of this amount for the probable number of aged poor at ages sixty-five and over throughout the country would be \$297,499,800, and for the state of New Jersey \$8,123,440. If the age, however, were reduced to sixty, the corresponding amounts would be \$464,390,160 per annum for the United States, and \$13,124,020 for the state of New Jersey. If the pension age were placed at age seventy, the amounts would be \$166,890,100 per annum for the United States, and \$4,655,560 for the state of New Jersey. Of course, in practice it might very easily be found that the proportion of pensionable persons would be much larger. The English estimate is based upon an original investigation in certain localities and a similar investigation would have to be made in this country before an exact basis of fact would be available. The conditions in the two countries might necessarily differ materially.

Advocates of a state pension system are emphatic in their belief that there would be a material reduction in the cost of charitable relief, both as regards the indoor poor and those receiving outdoor poor relief. In a special report on old-age pensions, published by the Mass. State Bureau of Labor Statistics, the opinion is advanced that:

If it were possible to inaugurate a system of old-age pensions, the poor-houses, almshouses, and those institutions caring for the poor would be needed no longer. Only those special institutions would be required which care for the insane, dipsomaniacs, and those whose physical condition is such that it would not be advisable for them to live at home or in private families.

This view is not warranted by any facts to be derived from the experience of the countries where old-age pension systems are in operation. It is a pure assumption, which is likely to work serious mischief among those who may consider the subject only from a sentimental point of view. This matter has been very carefully considered in nearly all of the various investigations into the advisability of a state pension scheme, especially in England, and there would appear to be a general agreement to the effect that "the cost of indoor relief would be practically unaffected by the operation of a pension scheme." Indoor relief, or almshouse support, however, affects a very large proportion of pensionable persons aged sixty-five years and over, and I cannot do better than quote the conclusions of one of the committees (Mr. Chamberlain's) to the effect that "the evidence is clear that the majority of the inmates of the (alms) house are in that position because of sickness or infirmity, which obliges them to accept the shelter of such an institution." A special investigation was made as to the physical condition of the inmates of institutions for the aged poor, sixty years of age and over, and it was ascertained that 61 per cent. were, in the opinion of the medical officers, unable, owing to physical or mental infirmity, to satisfactorily take care of themselves. It was further ascertained that only 14 per cent. of the total number of inmates sixty-five years of age and over could live on a pension outside the workhouse, with relatives having suitable accommodations for them, and only 10 per cent. were willing to do so. The Aged Pensions Committee of 1903 reported thereupon that

The reduction of Poor Law expenditure (as the result of a state system of pensions) will be considerably less than has often been represented, inasmuch as the proportion of the aged poor who are now, or may in future be, in the workhouses, who could, with advantage to themselves, live outside with the aid of the pension, will probably be found to be very small.

In the state of New Jersey, at the present time, there are, approximately, one thousand persons in almshouses aged sixty-five and over. It is very doubtful if more than a small fraction of this number would be affected by any state pension scheme,

or that, in return for a minimum pension of \$5.00 a week, they would be placed in a better position to support themselves individually than they are now taken care of in the aggregate.

There, no doubt, would be a saving in outdoor relief, but most of this would merely be a shifting of the tax burden, which would continue under another name. The facts are not known as to the proportion of persons in this state, or throughout the United States, who are now in receipt of outdoor relief, in some form or another, and who have attained to the age of sixty-five and over. The vast majority of the aged poor, as distinct from the pauper class, are in part supported by relatives and friends, which, under any circumstances, must be the most satisfactory solution of a social problem of serious importance. Once a system of state pensions is adopted, this support will largely fail, and it is more than likely that the effect will be progressively downward, and affect the development of thrift and mutual self-help of other classes than those who would be the immediate beneficiaries under a state pension fund.

The state should only as a last resort attempt to do that which can possibly be done by private agencies, or by individual forethought and forbearance and nothing should be done which is likely to discourage voluntary thrift in whatever direction that thrift may be exercised. It was brought out in the evidence before the Royal Commission on Old-Age Pensions of the Commonwealth of Australia that "The amounts voted for charities by the governments of New South Wales and Victoria, where old-age pension acts are in existence, have not been appreciably reduced in consequence of the passing of those acts. It is stated by witnesses that *the acts have provided almost entirely for a different class of persons.*" The same report points out that "It has been shown that in numerous cases the granting of pensions, with the consequent removal of inmates from asylums (or almshouses), has been exceedingly harmful in that many of them have drifted into most undesirable quarters and suffered neglect and privation." The commission, therefore, suggests that, where there are no relatives or friends, pensioners should be boarded out in public institutions, where they would receive

the attention necessary in the helplessness of advanced age. In such cases, they recommend that the pension should be paid to the institutions in behalf of the pensioners. This, in other words, is a straightforward admission that the system of state pensions would not do away with the necessity for indoor support in old age, which, under such circumstances, would merely be considered a right instead of a charity, while furthermore, a state pension system would probably not very materially diminish outdoor relief, in that the pensions would chiefly benefit a class which is not now within the scope of poor law administration or private charitable aid.

It is this class, however, which is of the utmost importance from a social and an economic point of view. It is this class which at present, in some way or another, by self-help, manages to avoid the more or less humiliating reliance upon public support. It is this class which has, by voluntary effort, established throughout this country, and elsewhere, voluntary thrift agencies in the form of savings banks, fraternal relief societies, insurance, or other means of providing self-support in old age. To a large extent this class relies upon the help of those who have been helped by them in past years, or, in other words, the old expect to be helped by the young, just as the young have been helped by the old. This is not charity, but mutual aid of the right kind, based upon mutual obligations for service rendered, for which a state system of pensions can never be a substitute. It is this class which forms the backbone of the nation, earning weekly wages not much more than sufficient for the support of the family for the time being, but from which small deductions are made by self-sacrifice and self-denial, which by gradual accumulation, and invested at compound interest, provide a sum more or less sufficient for a modest support in old age. The amount which is thus saved is of almost incredible proportions, but much greater is the amount of self-sacrifice and self-denial necessary to produce it. There is nothing more creditable to the wage-earners as a class than the annual amounts placed in savings banks, or with insurance institutions of various kinds. In addition vast sums are saved and invested, but often with

less security and to less advantage than when placed with savings or insurance institutions, specifically designed to meet the needs of those who live on weekly wages.

Already much is being done by wage-earners to provide for support in old age, as is made evident by the aggregation of savings banks deposits and insurance funds. Last year the amount on deposit in savings banks¹ was \$3,482,137,198, and the amount of increase in deposits was \$220,901,079. Even granting that only half of this sum represents wage-earners' savings, the result is very decidedly to the credit of those who make a brave effort to so live that they shall not be a burden upon others. Another evidence is to be found in the ever-increasing amount of industrial and fraternal insurance, both of which aid materially in the struggle for economic independence and by degrees educate the masses in the principle of systematic savings and insurance on other plans. Much remains to be done toward the better education of the masses in sound principles of savings, investment, and insurance. Immense sums are now wasted in foolish expenditures which ought to be saved to provide for the future, while other and perhaps equally great sums are saved, but foolishly invested and lost. Radical legislation only can stamp out fraudulent enterprises, principally designed to attract small savings upon the plea of large returns. One of the most satisfactory steps in this direction was the suppression of the Louisiana lottery, but many similar enterprises still flourish and the poor continue to be robbed of millions saved by self-denial for a worthy purpose. *Security* should be the first consideration, so that whatever is saved and set aside may serve the intended purpose. With this idea as a beginning the problem of self-support in old age assumes a very different and far less serious aspect. In other words, at the prevailing rate of wages it is possible for the masses of our wage-earners to provide the support necessary in their old age, at their own cost and in their own way, granted that they use judgment in their family expenditures, save with intelligence, and place the money where it has a reasonable security of not being lost or stolen.

¹ From the reports of the Comptroller of the Currency.

Insurance could do much, if not most, to provide the necessary means of self-support in old age. The rational expenditure of the weekly income of American wage-earners should leave a sufficient margin to pay the premiums for an annuity beginning with age sixty or sixty-five, according to circumstances and conditions, sufficient to meet reasonable needs in old age. If but 5 per cent. of the average income is paid out for insurance premiums, a sufficient sum can be secured which will provide as much, if not more, than the state can ever pay even under the most liberal system of old-age pensions. Let us take, for illustration, an income of \$900 per annum, 5 per cent. of which is \$45; commencing with age thirty and continuing to age sixty-five, this sum paid to a responsible insurance company will purchase an annuity of \$454.09 per annum for a man, and of \$375.63 per annum for a woman. Or, to put the matter in another way, let a man begin at the age of thirty to pay annually \$42.65 and he will be entitled to receive an annuity of \$250 per annum for the remainder of his life, beginning at age sixty; or, if he prefers, it will cost him only \$24.78 per annum to secure such an annuity, beginning with age sixty-five. In the case of women the cost is somewhat greater on account of the superior expectation of life of women in old age. Let us suppose that the man is not able to commence at age thirty, but that he begins to make his periodical payments at age forty, and continues for twenty-five years, then the cost of an annuity of \$250 per annum will be \$45.50 a year, or 6.50 per cent. of an income of \$700, or 5.05 per cent. of an income of \$900, or 3.79 per cent. of an income of \$1,200 per annum. These calculations are upon the usual plan of selling deferred annuities, and, of course, if death should occur during the intervening period the payments made would be forfeited, and accrue to the benefit of surviving contributors to the fund. Of course, the earlier in life the periodical payments begin, the smaller will be the annual amount required to be paid. Many other plans have been devised by which joint annuities can be purchased. A continuous instalment policy, for illustration, provides for the surviving wife in the event of the husband's death for the remainder of her life, or for the needs of

children for a period of twenty years. The fact, however, must be kept in mind that, insurance being conditional upon the duration of life, the cost is in proportion to the age at which the payments commence, and the best plan, in the long run, is to commence to make these periodical payments at as early an age as possible.

Further than this I cannot go into the details of the subject. In brief, I hold that the agitation for state pensions in the United States is ill advised, in that the problem of poverty in old age, as generally met with, is primarily the result of ill-spent years, or ill-spent earnings, or ill-spent savings. What is needed most is rational education in household economics. Poverty is a relative term and its actual extent is much less than generally assumed. Of real pauperism there is, as yet, very little in this country and the economic condition precludes the growth of a permanent pauper class. The agitation for old-age pensions in truth and in fact has not come from those who would be the beneficiaries under the proposed measures or plans, but rather from those who feel strongly, but reason badly, upon the facts in the case. The vast majority of wage-earners are fully able to provide for their own old age out of savings deducted from present earnings, amply sufficient to meet a reasonable standard of living. It requires no very extended knowledge of the life of the poor to know that among them exists, in spite of poverty, the highest possible ideals of a true family life. As it has been said, "Parents who have done well by their children seldom come to grief in their old age, except by very special misfortune, or unless someone intervenes to weaken the bond." The chief safeguard against poverty and dependence in old age is a thoroughly sound and well-conducted family life, such as prevails in the preponderating majority of American homes. In this truly lies the strength of the people, and not in the money in banks, nor for that matter, in policies of insurance, or in contracts of annuities. All these are means to an end, but at the root of the problem of poverty and old age lies the proper conception of individual responsibility, and this, no doubt, would be weakened and partly destroyed by reliance upon state support

in old age. It is one of the most unfortunate tendencies of modern times to misuse the English language and to adopt forms of expression to cloak the insidious character of certain acts and certain traits. In a problem of this kind, it is of the utmost importance that there should be no misunderstanding and it is an imperative duty to use words in their right meaning. Any system of state pensions is charity in another form, in that the funds have been derived from others than those who will benefit by its distribution. The specious argument is sometimes made that the poor have spent their lives in the service of the nation and that in return they are entitled, by right, to adequate support. In fact, the recommendations of the Royal Commission of Australia on Old Age Pensions distinctly concede this point by holding that it should be laid down in the proposed legislation that "Old-age pensions are to be granted, as a right, and not as an act of charity." Wage-earners do not spend their lives for the benefit of the state, but they seek their own ends in their own way and sell their services at a given price. They may be entitled to remedial legislation in the way of more stringent employers' liability acts for industrial diseases and accidents which may incapacitate them for work, or materially shorten their lives, but besides this there is no duty under which the state, and under which the people, as a whole, are toward the individual, and it is absurd to speak of a right to pension out of funds which have been derived by the forced contributions of those who are most likely not to be the beneficiaries. It is well to keep in mind the fundamental fact, as pointed out years ago by Professor W. G. Sumner, that the man who has not done his duty can never be the equal of the man who has, and the man who has wilfully, or in ignorance, squandered his earnings, should not be treated with superior consideration to the one who has lived his life rightly, saved his money, and provided for the needs of his own old age. It would be far better if the duty in such cases were more emphatically emphasized, and if the consequences of wrong living were permitted to fall upon those who have been a hindrance, rather than a help, to the social progress of the times.

The interest in the subject of pensions for the aged poor, however, is world-wide, and it is certainly desirable that the facts in the case should be thoroughly understood. As a primary basis for any practical discussion the facts of poverty in old age should be ascertained by means of a thorough investigation, somewhat along the lines of Rowntree's *Study of Poverty*, and Mrs. Louise B. More's *Investigation into Wage-Earners' Expenditures in New York City*. A valuable work on the subject is Helen Bosanquet's *Strength of the People*, which contains a chapter on the aged poor, and Mackay's *Essays on the English Poor, The State and Charity, Savings and Insurance, and Methods of Social Reform*. The last-named work contains a valuable chapter on old-age pensions and the state. Among other works of value are Spender's *Treatise on the State and Pensions in Old Age, a Collection of Essays on Old-Age Pensions*, published by Macmillan in 1903, a well-known work of Geoffrey Drage on the *Problem of the Aged Poor*, Metcalf's work on *Universal Old-Age Pensions*, with an introduction by Charles Booth, and Booth's own work on *Pauperism and the Endowment of Old Age*, published in 1892. A summary of the more important *British Parliamentary Reports on Old-Age Pensions* will be found in a statement prepared by the secretary of the Local Government Board, published under date of July, 1907, supplementing a series of documents which commence with the investigations of the Royal Commission on the Aged Poor, which sat during the years 1893-95, continued with the Committee on Old-Age Pensions known as Lord Rothschild's Committee, and the Select Committee of the House of Commons known as Mr. Chaplain's Committee of 1899. A further report was prepared by the Departmental Committee on Aged Deserving Poor in 1900, and another report by a Select Committee on the Aged Pensioners' Bill in 1903. Very useful for an extended inquiry will be found the *Report from the Royal Commission on Old-Age Pensions* published by the government of the Commonwealth of Australia in 1906, also the speeches delivered in the Canadian Senate on Old-Age Annuities during the third session of the Tenth Parliament, Ottawa, 1907. A convenient

summary of the various pension systems will be found in the Report on Old-Age Pensions, published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of Massachusetts in 1905. The most recent work on the subject is *Old-Age Pensions in Theory and Practice*, by William Sutherland.

These few bibliographic references will indicate the wide scope of the subject and the necessity for a thorough consideration of the facts in the case previous to any recommendation for legislative action in this direction.

INDUSTRIAL INSURANCE

XI

PROTECTIVE LEGISLATION

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The employers' liability law, which has already been discussed, has been pressed as far as possible on the ground that it would tend to compel the employers to use devices for protecting workmen from accident by inflicting on them heavy damages in cases where injury could be traced to their negligence. Probably this law has had some influence in this direction, but how much it would be impossible to estimate. Such legal measures have limited influence for several reasons: (1) In the absence of a definite protective code the courts have no exact standard for measuring and fixing the degree of neglect of employers and the employees themselves have no clear statement of their rights. Without factory inspection and particular requirements of law, there is no public record and publicity of injuries and fatal casualties in mines, mills, and factories; and in the absence of specific codes even inspectors have no power to order specific changes in the equipment and machinery of work places. (2) Employers imagine and seem to believe, not without some ground in experience, that it is cheaper to pay indemnities occasionally or evade them by delay and litigation, than to introduce protective devices which have proved to be effective but which cost money. (3) When the employers have paid the premiums to casualty companies for insuring themselves against costs in damage suits they imagine they have no further financial reason for going to expense to prevent accidents beyond what is absolutely necessary; the insurance company carries the risk. (4) The employers' liability law does not cover occupational diseases but only accidents.

In the purely agricultural occupations, especially before the general introduction of farm machinery, there was no demand for protective legislation. The employer shared all risks with his employees, if he had any wage-workers to assist him, and the employers' liability law was rarely invoked. The dangers of the mines very early called for the attention of legislators in the states where deposits of coal and minerals were found; and the railroads became so destructive of limb and life that state and federal legislation was called for at the demand of employees and the public. The federal Congress has no power to make laws except for the District of Columbia and for interstate commerce, with modified control of territorial affairs. Hence we cannot expect to find uniform and consistent protective laws for all the states. Naturally the states in which manufacturing and mining industries developed earliest were the first to discover the need of public control and regulation of the conditions of labor. Massachusetts has been and still is one of the leading states in this field; for there were happily combined a rapid development of industry and invention, an organization of trade-unions composed of intelligent and aggressive work people, and a general spirit of enlightened philanthropy. There also the British laws met with quick response and had great influence. Nearly in the same rank came New York and Pennsylvania. But recently some of the states of the Middle West have come into the front rank.

The chief difficulties in the way of the extension of protective legislation even in industrial states are: the traditional dislike of employers to have any kind of interference with their own absolute control of their business; intense dislike of state intervention with individual activity; the constant assertion, often honestly made, that employers do not require the spur of law to make them care for the welfare of their employees; the fear that legislation will lay burdens on manufacturers of a certain state which will cripple them in competition with manufacturers of other states; perhaps some greed for profits and dividends which dulls conscience and humanity in presence of preventable suffering and death; the dread of political corruption in the office of factory inspector if he is armed with power to order expensive

changes and impose fines. Whatever be the causes the fact remains that associations of employers invade legislatures when protective bills are offered, flood legislators with circulars calculated to bring the bills into contempt, use those devices which have effect with committees but which are very difficult for the public to discover, and by all arts finally defeat or mutilate the proposed legislation. In spite of these corrupt, selfish, or misguided attempts to hinder or prevent progress many of the employers actually do introduce many of the best protective devices and new laws are gradually coming to enactment. When the trade-unions and the public have worked out a consistent and complete social policy of protection and insurance it will be easy to secure further laws. At present in states where industry has been chiefly rural there is no educated public opinion on the subject and the conscience of the people is not directed against the abuses of our newer forms of economic life. If there were a careful and scientific code of labor legislation, drawn by experts, it would have a better chance in the legislatures.

In this chapter we shall give a brief analysis of the chief measures already in use and indicate by illustrations the direction of the movement at this time. Protective legislation is an essential part of that social policy in which industrial insurance has a large place. The tendency of protective devices is to lower the cost of insurance, while the tendency of insurance is to offer a constant and ever-present motive to avoid injuries and diseases as well as to provide indemnity when injury is inevitable. The principle underlying both movements is the social interest and duty to care for the welfare of citizens exposed through general conditions to suffering, loss, and death.

I. THE PROTECTION OF ADULT WORKMEN

1. *Hours of labor.*—The duration of labor affects the health of workmen and their liability to accident, and so industrial efficiency, earning power, longevity, and culture. Up to this time legislation has not attempted to fix the length of the working day for men and women, except of late in specific employments where it is necessary to limit the strain of toil for the sake of

health. The prevalent opinion still is that the rate of wages and the hours of labor of adults should be left to free contract between employers and employees, and to the play of competitive forces. At this point the trade-union helps nature by introducing collective bargaining and threats of strikes, and it is by the unions that reductions of the duration of labor have thus far been gained, aside from the working of interest and humanity in the minds of employers. Massachusetts found a way to shorten the working day of women within the limits of her rather liberal constitution; but the Supreme Court of Illinois voided a similar law on the ground of its unconstitutionality.

In the year 1898 the federal Supreme Court settled the principle that a state legislature may constitutionally enact a law limiting the hours of labor for adults when such limitation is necessary to preserve the health of the workmen in any particular occupation. This important decision has the effect to leave the state legislature free to diminish the day of toil when the form of labor is obviously injurious to health if too long continued (Supreme Court of the United States, February 28, 1898, Case of Holden vs. Hardy. Cf. F. Kelley, *Some Ethical Gains through Legislation*, 1905, pp. 145, 280). The decision of the Supreme Court of the United States (February, 1908), in the case of Curt Muller vs. State of Oregon, settles the principle beyond further dispute. The case involves a law prohibiting long hours of labor for adult women in laundry work, and the counsel, Mr. Brandeis, based his argument on facts showing that long hours are dangerous to the health of women and injurious to their offspring and to the race; that the only way to prevent these evils was to require shorter hours by law; that this shortening of hours was a benefit to all members of society; that no economic disadvantages would arise from the working of the law; that uniformity of law was essential to the efficient working of the measure and to justice to all employees in competition; that a ten-hour day was reasonable. Henceforth the right of a state legislature to restrict working hours of adult women cannot be denied.

The hours of labor per day for miners have been restricted by law as follows: Arizona, 8 hours; Colorado, 8 hours in

mines, smelters, or "other branches of industry or labor that the general assembly may consider injurious or dangerous to health, life, or limb" (constitution of state, adopted in 1902); Maryland, 10 hours, but contracting out is permitted; Missouri, in mines and smelting works, 8 hours, no contracting out; Montana, mines and smelting works, 8 hours, no contracting out; Nevada, mines and smelting works, 8 hours, no contracting out; Utah, mines and smelting works, 8 hours (held to be constitutional: 14 U. Rep. 71, 96; 18 Sup. Ct. Rep. 383; 57 Pac. Rep. 720); Wyoming, 8 hours.

The hours of the labor day for employees of railroads and street railways have been restricted by laws of several states: Arizona, after 16 hours the workmen must have 9 hours' rest; Arkansas, 8 hours' rest after 16 hours' service; California, street railway employees cannot contract to work over 12 hours; Colorado, 10 hours' rest after 16 hours' service; Florida, 8 hours' rest after 13 hours' work; Georgia, 10 hours' rest after 13 hours' run; Indiana, 8 hours' rest after 16 hours' work; Louisiana, 10 hours within 12 hours, except in emergency, and no contracting out; Maryland, street railways, 12 hours, no contracting out; Massachusetts, street railways, 10 hours, except on holidays; Michigan, railroads, 8 hours' rest after 24 hours' work; Minnesota, 10 hours, contract for longer hours permitted; Montana, 10 hours; Nebraska, 8 hours after 18 of service; New Jersey, street railways, 12 hours, except in emergency; New York, street railways, 10 hours, including one-half hour for dinner; in brick making, 10 hours with right to contract for longer day; railroads, 10 hours, with 8 hours' rest after 15 hours' work; Ohio, railroads, 8 hours' rest after 15 hours' work; Pennsylvania, street railways, 12 hours; Rhode Island, street railways, 10 hours within 12, contracting out permitted; Texas, 8 hours' rest after 16 of work; Washington, street railways, 10 hours, no contracting out.

The following states have fixed the length of day for work on roads and other public works: 8 hours in Arkansas, California, Colorado, Delaware, Hawaii, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Maryland, Massachusetts (8 or 9 in cities), Minnesota,

Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Mexico, New York, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Porto Rico, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Wyoming. In South Carolina 10 hours is a legal day. In textile mills Georgia has made a legal day of 11 hours, with no contracting out except in emergencies. South Carolina has fixed 11 hours a day or 66 a week, except for engineers, and no contracting out.

In the absence of a contract the laws sometimes specify the hours of a day's work but leave the parties free to contract for a longer day. Thus the "legal day" is 8 hours in California, Connecticut, Illinois, Missouri, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin; it is 10 hours in Florida, Maine, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Maryland. In New Jersey it is 55 hours in a week, between 7-12 forenoon and 1-6 afternoon; Saturday, 7-12 in factories and shops and 60 hours in bakeries. Agricultural laborers and domestic servants are not protected by these laws. The employees of the federal government, in the public printing office, laborers on public works, and letter carriers have an 8-hour day. Apparently the tendency is generally toward an 8-hour day.

2. *Weekly day of rest.*—Legislation is no doubt much influenced by traditional religious beliefs and customs, as well as by the desire for culture, recreation, and sociable converse; but the primary and decisive legal ground is the conservation of the health of the workmen. The laws are monotonously uniform in the states, although some of them are notoriously dead letters, as those governing barbers and amusements in the large cities. The general formula is that all labor and trade are forbidden on Sunday, works of necessity and charity excepted: thus Alabama, Arkansas, Connecticut, Delaware, Alaska, District of Columbia, Florida (newspapers excepted), Georgia, Hawaii, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Nebraska, Mexico, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota (games and sports included), Ohio, Oklahoma (games included), Oregon, Pennsylvania (games included), Porto Rico, Rhode Island (games included), South Carolina, South Dakota (games in-

cluded), Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Wyoming. It is expressly provided in some states and generally understood, that Jews, Adventists, and others whose religious beliefs require them to observe Saturday as a day of rest are permitted to work on Sunday; as in Arkansas, Connecticut. California, Missouri, and Pennsylvania have laws securing a weekly day of rest even if it cannot fall on Sunday. Special laws forbid the barbers to keep their places open all or part of Sunday; as in Colorado, Delaware, Illinois, Kentucky, Maryland, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Tennessee; but these laws are rarely enforced. Railroads are restricted to necessary trains, sometimes under regulations of commissioners: Connecticut, Georgia, Massachusetts, North Carolina, South Carolina, Vermont.

3. *Protection against accident and disease.*—The law of Massachusetts requires all poles of electric light companies to be insulated and the inspector of wires enforces the law. In the building industry, which with steel construction and “sky scrapers” becomes ever more dangerous, the laws of a few states provide some protection by prescribing the kinds of scaffolding, protecting floors, shafting, hoisting apparatus, etc.: California, Indiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Missouri, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, and a recent law of 1907, in Illinois. The law of New York is elaborate and carefully drawn. Employees on street railways are protected by regulations prescribing the inclosure of platforms for drivers and motor men to shield them from rain and snow and cold in winter months: Colorado, Connecticut, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin. The very language of all these laws is uniform, probably showing that the national union of street railway employees has secured the enactment of this desirable protection by a concerted movement, and that the national convention of factory inspectors has promoted uniformity.

The following states have enacted laws prescribing the use of fire escapes in connection with workshops and providing agencies for enforcing the law: Connecticut, Delaware, District of Columbia, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, New Jersey, New York, North Dakota, Ohio. The requirements include iron ladders on the outside of the wall, doors to open outward, red lights to direct to exits, and fire extinguishers at convenient places. The laws of New York, Ohio, and Wisconsin are examples of carefully drawn statutes. Even when the law is good much will depend on its enforcement by a sufficient corps of competent and faithful inspectors.

Railroad safety appliances.—The number of employees injured and killed on trains and tracks is so great as to excite general interest and secure legislation. In the case of railroads which transport passengers and goods from state to state the federal Congress has used its constitutional right to make laws, and the code of interstate traffic is a model for the several states. The chief matters thus brought under regulation are: power brakes, automatic couplers, grab irons, draw bars, blocking of frogs to prevent catching the feet between rails, tell-tales or warning signals before bridges. The following states have enacted laws making regulations for local roads: Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New York, Ohio, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Texas, Vermont, Virginia, Washington, Wisconsin.

Reports and investigation of accidents.—Publicity of accidents is desirable to promote wise legislation and awaken public sentiment against negligence of employers and corporations. This is provided for by the federal law which requires all common carriers to report to the Interstate Commerce Commission each month all casualties. Various states require reports, coroners' inquests of fatal accidents, and careful investigation of the causes of injuries; as Alabama, Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York,

South Carolina, Vermont. Recent legislation in Wisconsin and Illinois gives promise of favorable results in this field.

Protection of agricultural laborers.—Apparently only three states (Illinois, Iowa, and Wisconsin) have begun to make laws on this subject, in spite of the fact that dangerous machinery is used on a vast scale in the rural occupations. In the states named the law requires the owners of threshing and shelling machines which are run by horse or steam power to provide for them proper protective guards.

Inspection of steam boilers.—The laws on this subject are of unequal value. The inspection is sometimes committed to state officials and sometimes to local authorities. The legal regulations in the better laws give minute directions for testing the boilers by hydrostatic pressure, the tension required, gauge cocks, safety valves, fusible plugs, qualifications of engineers, etc. The following states have made laws on this subject: Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Indiana, Iowa, Maine, Missouri, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Vermont.

Mine regulations.—The principal points guarded in these laws are ventilation of mines, testing the air, provisions of stretchers and blankets, bandages, etc., in case of injuries, exits in the walls, supporting timbers for the roof, safety lamps, escape shafts, maps of mines, secure cages and elevators, and signals. It is a general principle that accidents must be reported and investigated. The following states, besides the federal government, have enacted codes of mine regulations: Alabama, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maryland, Michigan, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Washington, West Virginia, Wyoming. The law of Pennsylvania is quite elaborate, since the conditions of the anthracite and the bituminous mines are quite different. The laws of New York, Illinois, and Indiana may be studied as types of carefully drawn regulations.

II. THE EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN

The general doctrine governing the employment of adult women is that sex is no disqualification for occupation; a woman is free to make a contract for work and wages equally with a man. This principle is distinctly affirmed in the laws of California, Illinois, and Washington. Thus the constitution of California (Art. 20, sec. 18) says: "No person shall, on account of sex, be disqualified from entering upon or pursuing any lawful business, vocation, or profession." This principle does not carry with it the duty of serving on police or jury or in the army, nor the right of suffrage or holding public office, unless there is express legal provision. But this doctrine must be further modified when health, decency, and morality are in danger; and so we have specific limitations and prohibitions of the occupations of women. Some employments are entirely closed to women. Thus women and girls are prohibited from employment where intoxicating liquors are sold: in Alaska (Act of Congress), Iowa, Louisiana, Maryland, Michigan, Missouri, New Hampshire, New York, Vermont, Washington. Sometimes the wife or daughter of the barkeeper may be excepted from the prohibitory rule. The employment of women and girls in and about mines, except in offices, is generally forbidden, as in Pennsylvania and Alabama.

Various laws, apparently passed in consequence of a general movement of women's clubs throughout the country, uniform in language, are designed to insure suitable surroundings and conveniences for women workers. Thirty-two states have laws requiring seats for female employees in mercantile establishments and factories, and their use must be permitted for rest when the women are not actively engaged in an occupation which prevents them from sitting down. Separate washing and dressing rooms and water closets must be provided. Rooms must be kept comfortably warm in cold weather. Abusive, profane, and indecent language and all improper treatment are forbidden (laws of Delaware, Indiana, Louisiana, Ohio, Tennessee, Nebraska, Oregon, Washington).¹

¹ Case of *Curt Muller vs. Oregon*.

Massachusetts, with its enlightened social policy and liberal constitution, provides that no woman can be employed in a mercantile establishment more than 58 hours per week, except in emergencies, nor in a manufacturing establishment more than 10 hours a day, or 58 hours a week, with similar exceptions. The supreme court of the state has approved this law (120 Massachusetts 383). Illinois passed a similar law, but it was made void by its supreme court. The law of Colorado forbids the employment of women of 16 years of age or more during more than 8 hours in 24, when the occupation requires her to stand on her feet. The limit is fixed at 10 hours in North Dakota, Oklahoma, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Virginia, Louisiana, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Oregon, Washington, Nebraska; at 8 hours in Wisconsin. In New York women between 16 and 21 years may not work over 60 hours in a week; in Pennsylvania, 12 hours a day, but not over 60 hours in a week.

Indiana forbids women to work in factories between 10 P. M. and 6 A. M. Massachusetts and Nebraska have the same rule. In New York the prohibited hours are between 9 P. M. and 6 A. M.

III. CHILDREN

While legislatures and courts in the United States have been slow to interfere with the right of contract and the control of work places by employers so long as adults only are concerned, they have been led to take a different view of the duty of the state in relation to children and minors. Here the failure of the *laissez-faire* policy is too obvious to ignore, and even the ancient English law regarded children as objects of particular concern of certain courts.

Very generally there are statutory prohibitions, supported by penalties and enforced by inspectors, against the employment of children in public exhibitions and in occupations dangerous to health and morals, as mendicancy, acrobatic and immoral employments. Such laws have been enacted in California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Georgia, District of Columbia, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, New Hamp-

shire, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Porto Rico, Rhode Island, Virginia, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Wyoming. Employment of children in barrooms and other places where intoxicants are sold is forbidden by law in Connecticut, Alaska (Act of Congress), Georgia, Missouri, Massachusetts, South Dakota. Work in mines is universally known to be dangerous to children and the laws of the following states prohibit work of boys (as well as of females) in mines; the age being fixed at 12 or 14 years: Alabama, Arkansas, Colorado, Illinois, Indiana, Missouri, Pennsylvania (16 years in mines, 14 outside), Utah, Washington, West Virginia, Wyoming. There is a marked tendency to regard it as improper to permit the employment of children and youth in factories and mercantile establishments at the sacrifice of elementary education. The most advanced position is taken by those states which positively prohibit the work of children under a certain age and require their parents and guardians to keep them in school if the public schools are in session. Thus in Massachusetts children must attend school from the seventh to the fourteenth year. In Montana children must attend school from the eighth to the fourteenth year, not less than 16 weeks in the year. In the enforcement of these laws a difficulty has been met: there are families so poor that the earnings of the children seem to be required to supply the wants of the family. This difficulty has been met in some states in a way which seems disgraceful by giving poor widows and incapable fathers permission to keep their children out of school and take their earnings. This is the law in Texas for children 12 to 14 years of age. Other states find the same difficulty but overcome it in more honorable fashion—they provide material relief for the family and do not permit the child to bear the sacrifice; thus Indiana and Ohio. Private charity sometimes intervenes.

Even after school age, usually 14 to 16, if the young person is still unable to read and write English, he must in some states either attend the evening schools, or attend the day schools until he acquires a certificate of proficiency; thus Washington, New Hampshire, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, Connecticut, Maine.

Permitted child labor is subject to regulation to prevent abuses. Thus in New York there is a carefully devised code (*Labor Laws*, p. 825) which prescribes that annual licenses must be given to children who are permitted to engage in street trades.

Age limit.—Rather slowly but with sure step legislation moves forward in the direction of preventing the exploitation of the vitality of young children by premature labor. There is a gradation in the prohibitions; for young children work in factories and mercantile establishments is usually altogether forbidden; for young persons it is permitted with various restrictions. The children under 12 years are simply forbidden to work in factories and mills; as in California, Maine, Maryland, New Hampshire, North Carolina, Wisconsin. Children under 12 are forbidden to work unless their parents are very poor, as in Alabama, Texas, Arkansas; but even there children under 10 cannot be excepted. In Minnesota the age is 14 years, but children of dependent parents may be licensed to work. In Rhode Island all labor under 12 is forbidden. In South Carolina 12 years is the limit. In Louisiana boys cannot work under 12 nor girls under 14 years; in Pennsylvania, 13 years; in Massachusetts, Indiana, New York, Michigan, New Jersey, Ohio, Oregon it is 14 years. Children are forbidden to work while public schools are in session in Illinois, South Dakota (8–14 years), Vermont (15 years), Washington (15 years), Wisconsin (12–14 years). Young persons from 12–16 years may work under regulations, as in California, if they have certificate of age and education. In Massachusetts those between 14–16 years must be certificated.

The hours of labor are restricted by law: in Alabama, under 12 years, 66 hours a week; Arkansas, under 14 years, 60 hours a week; California, under 18 years, 54 hours a week; Illinois, under 14 years, 8 hours a day—under 16 years, 48 hours a week; Indiana, under 16 years, 60 hours a week; Louisiana, under 18 years, 10 hours a day; Maine, females under 18, male under 16, 10 hours a day; Minnesota, under 14 years, 10 hours a day; New York, under 16 years, 9 hours a day; under 18 years, 60 hours a week; North Carolina, under 18 years, 66 hours a week;

Oregon, under 16, 10 hours a day, 6 days; Wisconsin, under 18 years, 8 hours a day.

Night work of children.—Children of 13–15 years are not to work between 7 P. M. and 6 A. M. in Alabama, Arkansas, Illinois, Massachusetts, Michigan, Ohio, Oregon. In New York the law forbids children under 16 years from working between 9 P. M. and 6 A. M.; in South Carolina children under 12 may not work between 8 P. M. and 6 A. M. In Texas children 12–14 years may not work between 6 P. M. and 6 A. M. Minnesota requires a certificate of physical fitness for work—a principle which is influential in the discussion and legislation of other states. The inadequacy of the age test alone is generally recognized.

IV. FACTORY INSPECTION

No protective law is self-enforcing, and it is evidence of moral insincerity or ignorance in a legislature to pass a code of regulations without providing money and organization for competent inspection of work places. The majority of employers in all countries, as a rule, will not voluntarily execute a law which casts on them a financial burden and trouble, and employees are everywhere afraid to complain for fear of discharge from employment. As might be expected from what has already been said, there is no general system of regulation and inspection common to all the states. Yet one can discover considerable similarity and even identity of language in the laws. The older states copied many provisions from the British laws and the newer states imitated these. In the volume of *Labor Laws* which is here used for data we observe the greatest differences in extent of provisions, from the elaborate codes of New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, down to the statute of Nevada whose sole contribution seems to be the requirement that set screws must be countersunk! Sometimes the statute makes a rigid requirement and leaves it to benevolent employers to interpret and apply at their discretion, and sometimes the office of inspector is created without giving the partisan appointee any serious duties to perform. Probably it is expected in such cases that the "County Chairman" will keep him busy at patriotic tasks! In the purely agricultural states,

rapidly diminishing in number, the need for regulations is not widely felt; but factories are rapidly springing up everywhere and control becomes imperative. Factory inspectors are appointed in the following states: California, Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin. Mine inspectors are appointed in Alabama, Arkansas, Colorado, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Michigan, Missouri, Montana, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, Tennessee, Utah, Washington, West Virginia, Wyoming, United States (federal laws). There are railroad inspectors in Massachusetts, Michigan, Ohio, Washington.

Since it is impossible to describe in this place all the forms of organization, we may select New York as one of the most highly developed and specialized. By law a department of labor was created, over which is placed a commissioner of labor appointed by the governor by and with the advice of the senate. The commissioner of labor has the powers and duties belonging to the offices of factory inspector, labor statistics, and mediation and arbitration, and three bureaus exist for these three objects. The immediate direction of the bureau of labor statistics is lodged with a deputy commissioner, while another deputy commissioner has charge of the bureau of factory inspection. The commissioner of labor, with the aid of the deputy named, is required to collect, assort, systematize and present in annual reports to the legislature statistical details in relation to commercial, industrial, social, and sanitary conditions of workingmen and productive industries in the state. Employers are required by law to furnish information desired. A free public employment bureau is under the charge of the commissioner of labor in several cities of the state. The factory inspector may appoint not more than fifty persons as deputy factory inspectors, not more than ten of whom shall be women, and these may be removed by him at any time. The salary of the deputy factory inspector is \$1,200. Special deputies are appointed to inspect bakeries and mines. It is the

duty of the inspectors to visit factories as often as practicable and to enforce the laws. Any lawful municipal ordinance relating to factories shall be enforced by the state inspectors. The salary of the commissioner is \$3,000 and of his two deputies \$2,500 each; but the positions may change with party or factional changes and there is little prospect for a professional career. If an employer violates the law the inspector lays complaint before the county attorney, with all the proofs, and it is the duty of the attorney to prosecute. In certain cases the inspector is authorized to accept arrangements which he regards as equivalent to those named in the law; for example, the fire escape in a factory may be of any kind which in the judgment of the inspector is reliable and sufficient for its purpose. The inspector of a bakery may determine the method of drainage and ventilation in a building. The department can make regulations for the security of miners in coal mines and quarries. An employer who tries to hinder an inspector is liable to punishment. Supervision of home industries in making clothing belongs to boards of health, while workmen on railroads are under the care of railroad commissioners. The inspection of steam boilers in the city of Greater New York is under the charge of the police authorities. This board is empowered to appoint inspectors and make regulations.

Similar provisions were recommended to the legislature of Illinois at the last session in 1907 but rejected, for the most part, chiefly on the ground that the law gave too much authority to the factory inspector. In America, where the "spoils system" is still at work with corrupting influence, the factory inspector is feared by employers not only because he is tempted to enforce the law too rigidly but because custom makes bribes and blackmail only too frequent.

THE MINNESOTA SYSTEM IN THE MANAGEMENT OF PUBLIC CHARITABLE AND CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTIONS

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In the beginning the new state of Minnesota adopted the traditional policy of separate board of trustees for each of the institutions as they were created from time to time by act of the legislature. In process of time each town in which an institution was located demanded and secured a member of the controlling board of trustees. When the state had three hospitals for the insane the local member became practically the autocrat of the institution, and in every other case the local member had a large share of control. During this time it was not unusual for heads of state institutions to be removed by successive governors and others appointed for no other reason than that the new men were friends of the appointing power.

In 1863 a Board of State Charities was established in Massachusetts and proved so useful that twenty other states followed the example and the legislature of Minnesota in 1883 organized such a board with strictly supervisory powers. The board was, in effect, the charity cabinet of the governor for the examination of institutions and for suggestions leading to their improvement. The board consisted of six members, was made non-political, and so grew in public favor that executive functions were gradually added to its duties. In 1889 the legislature provided that no county should change its system of caring for the poor without consulting this board. In 1893 the Children's Home Society was required to report to the board. In the same year county commissioners were required to present plans for new jails. In 1895 a similar law was passed in regard to village lockups. In a law passed for the incorporation of chattel-mortgage banks to make loans to indigent persons, it was pro-

vided that one director must be a member of the Board of Charities. In 1897 the board was authorized to deport non-resident dependents. In 1899 the board was authorized to approve the establishment of district poorhouses; to give oversight to the deportation of dependent children; and to nominate probation officers for the care of children in three counties of the state, and to employ a clerk for the analysis of public accounts. It is suggestive that at the meeting of every legislature after the board had been established four years an increase of its powers and duties was provided, and in 1899 it was given the largest expansion that it had received.

In his report to the legislature in 1899 the auditor of the state recommended the appointment of a committee to investigate the subject of the management of state institutions by a single board of control. The legislature did not accept the suggestion. Governor Lind in his message at the time summed up the dangers of the board of control plan as follows:

The appointments are as likely to take political complexion as in the make-up of the separate boards. If inefficiency or lack of probity finds place the resulting danger is greater because of the greater power; there is also greater danger of stagnation and that a demoralizing and bureaucratic spirit may gain ascendancy.

Governor Lind recommended the adoption of a system of analyzed accounts with uniform bookkeeping in the institutions under the Board of Charities and Correction. In 1901 the auditor renewed his recommendation for a board of control and the new governor, Mr. Van Sant, also recommended it in his annual message. There was one dominating argument, both in the message and in the discussion following, and that was that a central agency would accomplish great saving in the purchase of supplies. There had been no prior discussion throughout the state but very large appropriations were asked that year. The argument for economy was invincible, the separate boards of trustees and the Board of Charities and Correction were abolished and a Board of Control consisting of three members was established to take all the functions that had before devolved upon the separate bodies. At the end of two years under this

system the Board of Control issued a report in which they showed a considerable saving effected by their management. The statistics, however, were attacked as not showing changes in prices and in wages, which, fortunately for the board, were considerably less during this first biennial period. In subsequent years it was necessary largely to increase the expenses in the management of state institutions and Hon. L. A. Rosing, one of the most influential men who has been upon the Board of Control and who is a present member, said before the National Conference of Charities and Correction of 1907:

In the matter of dollars and cents for the immediate supervision and management of these various institutions the Board of Control system will not show any immediate economy, but by buying for them as a whole, rather than for each institution separately, a central board can do better work than can scattered organizations. The work will be more thoroughly articulated as a result of central management.

Some immediate results of the organization of the Board of Control other than financial are to be observed. The presence of the impudent local lobby in behalf of appropriations for special institutions has passed away. There is comparatively little at least of the old system of pooling issues between institutions and securing a majority control of appropriation committees and both branches of the legislature. The superintendents of the various state institutions have, on the whole, secured larger freedom, greater dignity, and a position for greater efficiency in service. While they formerly had much more power than they now possess with respect to the purchase of supplies and other financial and mechanical details, they now have greater responsibility in the real management of their institutions. Under the present law the Board of Control has the power to appoint the superintendent, but the superintendent appoints all the staff of subordinates. A board of control consisting of three men having the entire charge of the financial management, not alone of current expense, but in the erection of new buildings, has little time or strength to take part in the inside management of the institutions. It seems probable that the appointment of the subordinates by the superintendent has

largely relieved the pressure that used to be exercised in behalf of special friends to secure such places. On the whole the Board of Control system has worked well. The men who have been appointed to it have been men of sufficient ability, and no one of them has been accused of a lack of honesty.

Meantime, at each meeting of the legislature since the establishment of the Board of Control effort has been made to re-establish the Board of Charities and Correction. The fact that the Board of Charities has certain executive functions clouded the issue and the Board of Control actively opposed any division of function in this matter. The people of the state came to feel that the interests of the wards of the state would be safeguarded by supervision and inspection. In March, 1907, there was published in the *Saint Paul Dispatch* an open letter to the governor and to the legislature of Minnesota recommending the appointment of a board of visitors to state institutions in which it was declared that—

there is no other country in civilization where the administration of public charitable institutions has no regular and official inspection, but in the state of Minnesota there is no official inspection of the spending of millions of dollars and the care of thousands of helpless wards of the state. The remedy for this situation is the establishment of a State Board of Visitors, non-partisan in character, composed of six representative citizens serving without salary, of which the Governor shall ex officio be a member. . . .

The superintendents of the state institutions should be glad to have such a board for they have nothing to conceal and the fact of possible and unannounced visits at any time would keep up the discipline and make their task easier. The Board of Control should favor this plan for they have the right to the approval of competent authority and should be by this time a little tired of examining themselves and finding everything all right. The relatives and friends of the wards of the state will favor this new guaranty of the splendid service which has been rendered them by the bountiful philanthropy of this state.

In the same issue in an editorial the *Dispatch* said:

Such a board would do much to allay the irritations that have arisen against the Board of Control on account of its political activity. Its recommendations would be a guaranty to the public that progress is being made which will keep our public institutions in the front rank among the best

states of the Union. The *Dispatch* has been from the first the stout defender of the board of control system as a great advance upon the parochial methods of the old local boards of trustees, but the plan of a state board of visitors suggested as a completion of the system, is worthy of careful consideration by the legislature.

Governor John A. Johnson, in a very brief interview, stated that he saw no objection to the proposed plan. The Board of Control decided to let the legislature take its course upon the matter and to make no active opposition. A bill was drawn which embodied all the supervisory functions of the old Board of Charities and Correction, but which eliminated its executive functions. The bill was introduced in the senate and in the house on the same day, and though late in the session, without lobbying or organization or any other effort than has been described, was passed with substantial unanimity. It was approved by the governor and the members of the board were appointed.

The Minnesota system then differs from those states which have local boards of trustees and a state board of charities and correction in having abolished the local boards and replaced them by a central board of control of three members who give their entire time to the work at a fixed salary and expenses. It differs from such board of control states as Iowa and Wisconsin in having supplemented its board of control by a state board of visitors, but the state of Minnesota differs from many other states in its insistent demand for high standards of public honor and for economy and efficiency in the use of public funds.

The experience of Minnesota is especially illuminating in showing the exact place of the Board of Control. It is only a substitute for separate boards of trustees. Its function is chiefly financial. The men who secure appointments as members of boards of control have nearly always been men of business rather than philanthropic experience. If the separate boards of trustees need the assistance of a state board of charities, even more does the board of control need the assistance of a state board of visitors.

There is not a single superintendent of any public institu-

tion in the state of Minnesota who has received his appointment as a political reward. There is no superintendent who was ever active in either local or party politics. The public does not know and does not care what the political affiliations of these men are. It is the habit of the special advocates of the Board of Control to assume that this state of affairs has been brought about by a body which has had the management for the past six years. Nothing could be farther from the fact. There has been but one new appointment to the superintendence of any institution since that board came into existence, and the men who have charge of the institutions were men brought up under the influence of the State Board of Charities and Correction. The spirit of the institutions still retains the influence of those days. It would be equally wrong to say that the State Board of Charities deserves all the credit for the freedom of Minnesota institutions from the baleful influence of party politics. It is rather the result of that rising tide of public virtue which was manifest in 1883 in the establishment of the Board of Charities and which is represented throughout the state by the large body of public-spirited men and women educated through state conferences of charities and otherwise, who regard the duties of a state as a philanthropic person too sacred to be invaded by the hands of the spoiler. So firmly entrenched in the judgment and affection of the leaders of the people in both parties is the Minnesota system of regarding efficiency as the paramount virtue in superintendents, that it is hardly conceivable that any administration, however drunk with the pride of power or however ambitious for partisan gain, would dare to attempt to set it aside.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL WARRANT FOR VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

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There are several sufficient and important reasons why sociologists, and the whole group of social scientists, should interest themselves and participate in the present movement for the socialization of education. First, the subject-matter which is to form a very large part of school programmes must come out of the realms of the social sciences. This is becoming more and more evident. Not only history and civics have entered the schools, but various forms of material from the other social sciences. In order to select the best and richest of social matter for introduction some criterion of value must be formulated and used. It is the business of social scientists to become guides in this selection and particularly in the formulation of the criterion of value.

Second, not only must the social scientists be active in pronouncing what particular material from their realms of knowledge shall be incorporated in the schools, but they should have a large voice in determining what the general content of the lower reaches of education should be. The world is profoundly rich in knowledge. But a minimum of this infinitude can be presented to youths in our schools. It is evident that certain ranges of facts are more useful in life than others. The criterion of usefulness must arise out of social considerations. This criterion can only be found in the range of values. Values are social products and their relative rank must be established by scientific procedure. This function must be taken up by sociologists, who view society in its total aspects and so make a ranking of values.

Third, this consideration of the general subject-matter introduces the fundamental reason for active participation in educational matters by sociologists of all ranges of labor. The content

of education, especially of the common schools, can be determined scientifically and therefore rightly only with reference to the exact nature and constitution of organized society. Education is a social institution. It is part of a whole set of interdependent institutions or organizations. It is the character of institutions to perform some particular service for total society on the principle of the division of labor. These functions must conserve or advance the social process, welfare, progress. A social philosophy determines the scope and function of each range of institutions. Only when this is done may it be seen when a given institution or set of organizations is performing just that service total society demands. Those who make their life-work the consideration of society as a scientific object, who understand its constitution and laws, who know the place and function of institutions and hence of individuals through these agencies relative to total society should be depended on to mark out the place and function of education. The scope of this paper chiefly falls within the limits prescribed by the last reason.

Already in the present movement toward the "socialization of education" we observe the influence of the social sciences in the character of the phrase which has come to denote present educational development as well as in the character of the movement. The phrase is well chosen to reveal the significance of the task set themselves by those interested in transforming education. For educational reformers have set out to perform no less a task than to recast the schools so that they shall not only temporarily reflect the spirit and ideals of their community and age but that they shall be organized in curricula and methods to definitely train and differentiate individuals in view of a fundamentally specialized society in its structural and functional demands. To socialize total education, therefore, would be to reconstruct and reorganize the public-school system for realizing the fundamental interests of society, for which the state assumes responsibility in the training of its citizens, and to give to each interest just that amount of recognition in time and scope its rank among the interests in actual society warrants. To socialize a given school would be to discover the dominant

interest or interests of the community in which it is located and so to organize the training activities of the school that those trained shall be qualified to carry out the social services demanded by the community in terms of its interests.

It is the business of the sociologist to make an exposition of society in terms of its fundamental interests and to give them their ranking in the order of their relative importance in the development of society. These interests become a guide for determining what education shall do and where the emphasis shall be placed in its programme.

It is evident, to the sociologist at least, that the social environment is the dominant factor for determining what educational training shall be. Hardly any builders of educational systems at any time have wholly disregarded the world the educated being is to live in. At best, however, the close dependence of the person on the nature of the social world has been seldom appreciated. Pestalozzi saw it vividly, viewing education as he did as a means of reforming human society, but the accretions of formal pedagogy later buried his insight. More recently, the psychology of the individual has offered the basis and determining factor. But general or individual psychology gives as false a view of the person as the geocentric theory did that of the solar system.

It may be worth while to indicate the close relationship between the individual and his environment and how the social apparatus is the mediating agency between him and the ends of all his wants and activities, even conditioning his dealing with the physical environment.

A little reflection shows us that man's most immediate dependence for realizing the satisfaction of his wants is on social agencies rather than on physical conditions. It is true that ultimately the raw materials of food, clothing, shelter, permanent forms of wealth, etc., have to be extracted from nature. But two things at least are to be observed in his connection. First, social evolution has consisted in building up a network of agencies, structures, on the basis of division of labor and of occupation, which have rendered individual man the more independent of

particular local and physical conditions the farther civilization has proceeded. Three-fifths of the population of the advanced civilizations, such as England and Germany, live in cities and even one-half of the population of a new country like the United States dwell in urban communities of two thousand or more inhabitants. The poorest of these inhabitants consume hundreds of kinds of articles they do not and cannot produce. They actually produce nothing directly from physical nature. All they have are social products borne to them and retailed to them by social agencies. Even the atmosphere and climate, the freest of nature's goods outside of meteorological conditions, are affected by social agencies. Therefore, to get at the original supply of materials for life purposes which nature furnishes man depends on and gets the use of a vast array of intermediary social machinery. Social organizations of all sorts exist to cut him off from and to connect him with nature. He can no longer exploit nature as a free individual. Political organizations in the shape of government exist to limit his attack. Originally "free goods" have become "property." Police courts and jails testify to this. Only supreme exploiters, talented and lucky individuals may now make onslaughts on mines, forests, and lands, and this is done by getting control of great social organizations. Individuals independent of social agencies do not exist in society.

Second, the dominance of the social factor is seen in the fact that by means of social agencies, improvements in the way of inventions and technique, the actual supply of material products in given areas to support life has been increased. The economic stages of society, such as the "hunting and fishing," the "pastoral," "agricultural," "commercial," "industrial," are only names to denote improved social means of getting a greater abundance of food from the earth. The "industrial revolution" together with the opening up of America almost doubled the population of Europe in the nineteenth century. England's inhabitants increased from 12 to 18 per cent. each decade, or from 8,000,000 in 1800, to 30,000,000 in 1900 (Fetter, *Principles of Economics*, p. 194). There is no visible limit to population. When raising food by agriculture fails of further

increase, direct and rapid production by chemical processes promises to continue it (*Arena*, Vol XXXI, p. 173; *Popular Science*, March, 1907).

A further consideration would demonstrate that this same social environment is the depository of the influences which determine the peculiar personal nature of the individual and that it mediates to him, in the same manner as it does the material, the finer or spiritual goods of life. Baldwin has shown in detail how human personality is built up out of the material resident in his social group and through interplay with his colleagues. Thomas has demonstrated that the superiority of the civilized over the uncivilized man is due not to greater brain and inherent mind development but to "social heredity," to the more complex and technological social environment or medium in which he is reared.

If it is true that the individual is absolutely dependent on the social organization for the satisfaction of his material interests and that his personality is likewise dependent for its character on the spirit and reason resident in the fundamental technique of society, it becomes evident that education is unscientific and incomplete in so far as it is not organized in view of the exact nature and pointings of society.

In order to get at the place education should hold relative to society it will be necessary to discover the essential relation of the individual to organized social life. I shall seek to show that the individual's chief business is to participate in the process total society carries on by means of functioning, in a more or less specialized way, dependent on his ability and training, through the specialized agencies of society, and that the cue to his life-functioning is the line of his dominant or life-interest in terms of the social structure. I shall use interest in the objective, social sense so admirably designated by Professor Small (*American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. VI, pp. 64, 65; *General Sociology*, chap. xiv), and think of the special organization of society as the outcome of interests at work as he does (*General Sociology*, p. 233).

It appears to me that the best way to get the correct idea of the relation of the individual to organized society is to fall back

on the historical aspect. A review of the development of human society impresses on us the valuable perception that present social structures are, in origin, occupation groups, and fundamentally so in fact, which have grown up out of the persistent attempts of men to adjust themselves to each other for the purpose of satisfying diverging human wants and primarily to realize their own life-necessities.

When we trace the development of society from a simple group or groups into a great social organization we see that it has occurred by the growing differentiation of one group into diverse parts through division of functions, or by the consolidation of various natural groups primarily and then the differentiation of the consolidated mass into separate parts, classes, or businesses. We perceive that all of this, however brought about, has been established in order that the life and welfare of one and all might be better realized. With primitive men there were few wants, and hence few vocations. The matter of adjustment was simple. To follow custom and tradition was the essential. But in developing to higher stages wants multiplied, no one individual could obtain the skill or facilities for supplying all of his wants, hence separate vocations arose in which one set of individuals prosecuted one line of business, another, another line, and so on. Each vocation disposed of its surplus goods to others of other vocations to obtain the things no longer made by themselves. Classes likewise arose to supply functions and activities not productive of material goods but needful to serving, regulating, and inspiring producers.

These groups or divisions of businesses, each almost infinitely differentiated today, constitute the social structures. They form the framework of society. They are the social organization. They are interdependent groups because no one is complete in itself any more than the nerves or muscles of a physical organism can exist as independent entities. Each individual who has a function to perform for society must use some one or various of these structures in order so to function.

A necessary perception comes by observing the growing differentiation of dominant interests of individuals to keep pace with

the evolving structures of society and the reciprocal dependence of these interests and structures on each other. In savage society all members had about the same interests in about the same intensity. Both knowledge and economic activities were little divided and developed. Later, with the refinement of social functions, the vocational interests emerged. There appeared leaders and governors, men to charm the spirits and to be the custodians of group traditions, those who should provide food and those who should fight. In time there emerged the fundamental lines of human interests, namely, the political, the religious, the cultural and the economic.

In this development lie two important transformations. First, interests, with their corresponding occupation, become distinctly separated, so that certain persons express their dominant interests in a definite specialized vocation or profession, and by it they minister to the general social necessities or interests in this direction. Second, when society has expanded into national scope, and modern science and methods of industry have been introduced, each fundamental line of organization becomes so differentiated under the push of new demands, that individual interests may realize themselves vocationally in any one of its many phases, and hence there are many kinds of specialized servitors ministering to each of the dominant line of wants of a national society. While we have the fundamental human interests still, and each interest expresses itself by means of special institutions or organizations, society has developed for that purpose, yet each kind of institution is constituted of subordinate organizations.

Thus today we may say that everyone in society is interested in political activities, some more, some less. To meet the social interest and demands of this type there exist the political institutions and organizations. They are a group, not merely one. They are complex, not simple as formerly. In this group we have all the complicated machinery of governmental administration, legislation, and justice; political parties with their complicated organizations and agencies; constitutions, codes, and customs of law. Some men are fundamentally interested in political institutions and devote themselves to some phase of political life voca-

tionally. All members of our society are interested in our political institutions, secondarily, in that a certain and definite range of their social needs finds satisfaction through them, and their wants are ministered to by the professionals in politics.

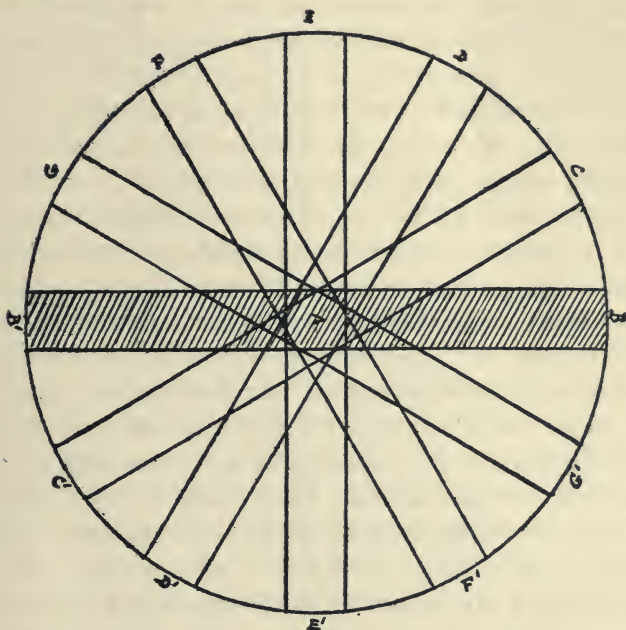
In the same manner the economic line of activities has become highly diversified. It is no longer merely food-getting and preparation and that immediately. It is now extraction from soil, forests, mines, and waters, of not only foods, but of all sorts of material to be worked up into thousands of forms to meet man's expanded diversification of wants. It is the skilled and specialized preparation of all this raw material for final economic consumption in multitudes of varieties of factories and manufactories. It is the transportation of all this raw and formed material to and from mine and farm and factory and forest and thence to wholesalers and retailers. It is the wholesaling and retailing of this produce, raw and formed, to all buyers and consumers. It is the clerical, the financial, and the managerial activities which go along with these various lines of business and make them possible. Anyone who makes a business of life in any phase of this complicated industrial field and labors to produce to the satisfaction of the economic wants of the rest of society is professionalized, specialized, and vocationally economic. All other members of society are secondarily interested in his vocation to the extent that their wants are to be satisfied through him.

The cultural line of activities today is no longer simple as it was in traditionary times. It comprises in its organized scope, not only all systematic educative endeavors, but also all informational agencies represented in press and platform, clubs, societies, chautauquas, etc., and all aesthetic agencies. The religious phase is likewise differentiated into ecclesiastical denominations and sects, societies, organizations, and clubs.

In order that it may be clear what is the relation of the individual to the whole of society by means of these groups of social organizations the diagram is presented.

Let the circle represent the circumference which incloses the total society. *A* is an individual so placed that he is shown to

be in relation to each institutional area. The spaces between the parallel lines *B* ending in *B'*, *C* ending in *C'*, *D* ending in *D'*, etc., represent the great groups of organizations through which the dominant interests are realized. *A* has his vocationally dominant interest in *B-B'*, and works through it chiefly. But at times he acts or may act through the others, his relation to them and his use of them being subordinate to the relation and use of his vocational line.



Several things are apparent at this point. First, society is a unity of specialized structures, each with a particular line of functions to perform which is necessary to its integral life, that is to say, the life of all the participative members. The perfection of this organic body, this unity of interdependent, co-operating structures, depends on the completeness and validity of each of the fundamental structures and subordinate organisms or groups. Should any one line become defective, or too large or too small relative to the other lines of activity, the equilibrium of the whole would be disturbed and its life impaired. This means the

impairment of all other structures, and this in turn means the impairment of the lives of the individuals constituting these structures.

Second, the trend of society is toward more vocations. Society is a very definite affair instead of being as many suppose a great hazy, inchoate, lumbering lump of human protoplasm which may be butted into and attacked in any ill-considered and unspecialized manner. The significance of social evolution is that society becomes more and more specialized, breaks up into more vocations and divisions of labor, demands an increasing number of specialists to perform its functions. And, looking to the future, we must expect that this tendency is to continue and even to become more intense as scientific and business methods and organization expand and penetrate the mass.

Third, in order to be able to adjust himself, that is to be efficient, the individual must be specialized. Since society has developed into a great organization of specialties, it insists that its members shall be specialized that they may take part in the integral social process. Just as the physical organism finds no use for the cell which is not specialized to act as muscle, nerve, blood, or tissue cell, but attempt to rid itself of non-specialized cells when they appear in it, so society demands that each of its constituent members shall be skilled and trained into fruitful contributors in some group of its special structures. The least specialized, such as unskilled laborers, tramps, hoboes, and idle rich, are either not prepared to participate in the vital processes of society by reason of being little specialized or else refuse to take part according to their training. Ability to adjust oneself means just the possession of the technique of a certain structure or certain structures. These we have seen are occupational lines. Of course this does not mean that everyone must be a social philosopher or scientist or entrepreneur. Specialization means skill and technical ability in a given line. To have a trade or a profession is to be in possession of this specialization.

The bearing of the foregoing on education must have become apparent. If education as a process is training for society, then we know what it should be and do. For we have shown that

training for society can have no other meaning than fitting to participate in the actual social process. And this participating in the social process means the social adjustment of the individual through and by means of the actual agencies and structures society has developed. Only those possessing the technique of vocational lines are fitted to make this adjustment.

The assumption of state education is that its training is necessary for citizenship, that is to be a valid member of society. But since one can be such only as he is able to function in society, that is work in society, according to its fundamental nature, and since society is essentially specialized and vocational in constitution, it follows that to make citizens in the best sense is to vocationalize them, to make them able to further some dominant social interest. To be unspecialized is really to be socially functionless, to be without a serviceable articulating position in the social organization. Logically, all ranks of those trained at the hands of the state are imperatively adjured so to fit themselves. Otherwise the state taxes those functioning, those who are productive socially, to give a general education, which means an unspecializing, decentralizing, distracting period of diffused cultivation, to those who will be floaters and parasites until by experience or further training they obtain a real working connection with society. When nine out of every ten children in the common schools of the United States are leaving school before the close of the period of elementary training it is evident that the state must insist that its future citizens shall be given just that specific culture which will most directly and effectively make them able to sustain a working, productive, self-supporting connection with itself.

The further question will arise about how the state or the individual shall decide what vocational lines to emphasize. Some answer should be given to this troublesome interrogation. There is good ground for thinking that the community interest affords the only rational guide to show what shall be taught.

The only practical criterion and therefore rational one at present to determine what sort of training a school in a given

community should give is that of the dominant local interest or interests. A rational plan if practicable would be to establish a clearing-house of callings to give facts relative to the various vocational lines as to their supply of members. With such facts in hand, educational experts could advise those old enough to begin their vocational training what line to take up. This would suppose a diversity of training-courses in each school which, of course, could not be sustained, in rural regions at least, nor have we hardly the beginning of such a clearing-house of information.

Already we have seen the absurdity and destructiveness of maintaining educational plants in communities with well defined interests without recognition in the school being given toward preparing for those interests. Advanced nations, states, and communities are rapidly turning from this blind attitude.

The objection is heard against making the interest or interests of the community the criterion of what most to emphasize in its schools that our population is so migratory as to undermine the usefulness of the criterion. Why emphasize agriculture in an agricultural community if the pupils are to remove to urban communities to spend their days? And if our population were as migratory as the objectors suppose the criterion would be empty. To demonstrate that the criterion is valid and useful the following facts showing the relative stability of our population are given.

First, the population of the United States relative to the states is quite stable.

The total native-born population in 1900 was 65,767,451 (including Alaska and Hawaii, but excluding 75,851 native-born enumerated at military and naval stations abroad). Of this number 51,979,651 or 79 per cent. were born in the state or territory in which they were found by the census enumerators. The remaining 13,787,800, constituting 21 per cent. of the entire native-born element, had migrated from the state or territory in which they were born and were found in the other states and territories. The proportion living in the state or territory of birth was slightly larger in 1900 than it was in 1890 (*U. S. Statistical Atlas*, 1900, p. 43).

With reference to the kind of communities the migrants settle in, that is the 21 per cent., anyone familiar with the history of settling

the West and who has lived in various parts of the West knows that easterners move west and that they are mostly from rural regions. That is, farmers take up the new farming lands of the West more largely than any other class.

Second, the growth of cities touches the stability of the population relatively lightly and is largely accounted for by immigration. The growth of urban relative to rural population was only about 12 per cent. in a generation, or from 20.9 per cent. to 33.1 per cent. between 1870 and 1900 (*ibid.*, p. 40). The largest increase is in commercial and industrial regions. Massachusetts has increased its urban population from 56 to 76 per cent.; Illinois, from 32 to 47 per cent.; Kansas, from 12 to 28 per cent., from 1870 to 1900. Southern and newer western states and territories have increased their city inhabitants relative to rural little in that time (*ibid.*, plate 20).

Immigrants from abroad throng the cities and largely make their excess growth. There are living in cities of 25,000 inhabitants and over, about 75 per cent. of Russians; 63 per cent. each of Poles, Italians, and Irish; nearly 60 per cent. each of Bohemians, Austrians, and Hungarians. These, except the Irish, are the foreign races which now most come to America (*ibid.*, plate 73). A large part of those and other races settle in smaller industrial communities. Germans and Scandinavians mostly congregate in the northwesterly states as agriculturists and will likely remain such (*ibid.*, plates 65, 69).

On the basis of these facts it is safe to state that probably somewhere near 90 per cent. of our citizens will remain in the original community, or that if they migrate it will be to a social group with similar interests to the old.

It is taken as a valid argument in education today that since over 90 per cent. of our youth will not remain in school beyond the elementary grades, our education in those grades should be made more vocational in nature. It would seem to be an equally valid argument to hold that since we can locate the future vocational interests of perhaps quite as large a portion of the youth the dominant interests of any community should serve as the guide in the kind of training the children of that community

should have. This interest or the interests will determine the vocational element to place in the center of the training programme, the phases of the informational studies which are most needed for illuminants and supports of the vocational, and in connection with the ethical demands arising out of every community will form the cue to the kind of work to be done.

THE REDEMPTION OF THE UNFIT

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The supreme concern of man is the welfare and perfection of society. This is the larger whole in which all subordinate parts find their place and their meaning. This is the larger end which gives validity and value to all other ends. In view of this end we may accept the thesis of the sociologist: "That is good, for me or for the world around me, which promotes the on-going of the social process. That is bad, for me or for the world around me, which retards the on-going of the social process."¹ And in view of this process we may well question some of the processes of modern society and inquire whether they make for social progress or for social decay. Since the social process is the ultimate end that gives value to all conduct we want to know what is the value of each and every mode of associated activity considered as a positive or negative means to this end.² "If anything is certain in morals, it is that every man is under obligations to know all that he can about what he has to do."³ And if anything is certain in sociology, it is that men are on a wrong course when they follow methods that tend directly or indirectly to weaken and hinder society.

1. The history of progress, it has been said, is the gradual diminution of waste. In all the lower stages of life the amount of waste is enormous, and comparatively few living creatures ever reach maturity. As we rise in the scale of life we find that the amount of waste is diminishing and fewer creatures perish in what is called the struggle of life. In the higher stages, among civilized men, this waste is reduced to the minimum and life has a higher value. In a large sense it may be said that

¹ Small, *General Sociology*, p. 676.

² Small, *ibid.*, p. 683.

³ Henderson, *American Journal of Sociology*, January, 1901.

degrees on the scale of life are measured by the amount of this waste, and the efforts conscious or unconscious to prevent it. Probably not one young codfish in a million reaches mature life and lives to perpetuate his kind. Among civilized men less than one-half of the number of children born die before the age of ten years.

This struggle for existence is severe all along the line of life, but it is not by any means the meaningless confusion that it may at first sight appear. For one thing, this struggle is Nature's way of detecting fitness; it is Nature's way of declaring what are the worthwhile qualities in life. In the jungle where life is a free fight only those creatures that are possessed of full vitality and alert senses have any chances of surviving; the weak, the crippled, the dull-eyed and heavy-footed are doomed from the start and invariably perish. In a savage society where the struggle is little modified by intelligent and moral action the number who fail to survive is still large; the weak and defective, being uncared for, perish without exception. Not only so, but the various diseases that prevail mean a high death rate; and added to all this we find the factor of occasional famine and almost chronic warfare. But in a civilized society where the more humane and altruistic factors are in operation the severity of this struggle is greatly lessened; the person is more protected on all sides, and through the steady elimination of the factors of famine and war the average age of man is increased.

All through this process we see that two great principles are in full operation and are producing marked results. On the one hand, we see the principle of the struggle for life which is Nature's way of detecting superiority and approving it. This principle provides that none but the well endowed and fully qualified shall be allowed to survive and perpetuate their kind. In a large sense it may be said that those who perish are those least fitted to survive. On the other hand, we see another principle, the struggle for life of others, which in a no less signal way is Nature's way of detecting superiority, and approving it. This principle discloses the nature of fitness, and makes us know that the worthwhile qualities are those that have relation to the life and

welfare of the flock or herd or tribe. Through the full operation and co-operation of these two principles some remarkable results are obtained. For one thing, we find that the creatures that are proved the fittest are not the strongest, the fiercest, the most individual, and self-regarding; on the contrary, they are rather the gentlest and friendliest, the most altruistic and other-regarding. And on the other hand, we learn that the worth of the individual is measured by his worth to the flock or tribe; in fact "actions are judged to be good or bad, and individuals to be praiseworthy or blameworthy, according as they tend to promote or to impede the existence and the welfare of the tribe."⁴ The more we know of Nature's methods the more clearly do we see this double meaning of the process. The fittest in Nature are not by any means those who are continually at war with others, but those who aid one another. The sociable and friendly creatures, those that practice mutual aid and live for one another, as Kropotkin and Sutherland show, are the most numerous and the most intelligent in the world. They survive in great numbers because they are altruistic and intelligent, and they are intelligent and altruistic because they practice mutual aid and live for the common good. The history of creation, as Professor Huxley assures us, is the record of the attempts which the human race has made to escape the unchecked sway of this principle of the struggle for existence with the extinction of the unfittest; it is the history of the attempt which man has made to mitigate the severity of the struggle which means the extinction of so many by the introduction of the principles of altruism and social co-operation.

In human and civilized society an increasing emphasis is being thrown upon this second factor of altruism and social service, and with some noteworthy results. In a natural and uncivilized society the weak and the defective, the mal-endowed and diseased are left to the unhindered action of natural selection and are ruthlessly exterminated. By this process the blood of the race is kept comparatively pure and the highest efficiency of the tribe is maintained. In such a society the weak in body

⁴ Mackenzie, *Manual of Ethics*, Bk. I, chap. v.

and mind are sometimes left to perish on the mountains or in the forest; more often they are simply allowed to shift for themselves which means the same result. In a savage tribe there are no mental and physical weaklings; the diseased and mal-endowed receive no care and unfailingly perish. The savage tribe has no pauper class, no dependent and defective elements. The struggle is severe and the results are tragic; but none the less they are beneficent in the main, for it is thus that the efficiency of the tribe is maintained. It is easy for one to condemn all this as a mark of human depravity, and, judged by the standards of a higher society, it is indefensible, but behind it all there is the effort on the part of men to insure the existence of the tribe and to achieve the highest efficiency. The struggle for existence was so hard that the tribe cannot carry any superfluous impediments without endangering its own life. And so in the name of the tribe and its welfare the weaklings were left to perish and the fittest alone were kept alive.

In our modern civilized and Christian society an attempt is made to modify all the harsher features of this natural process and to mitigate the severer tests of life. On the one hand, society now sternly forbids all such things as the exposure of the diseased infant and the abandonment of the idiotic child; and on the other side society carefully takes thought for every child and seeks to shield it from all needless hardship. The Christian spirit is here and this spirit is moving men to all kinds of effort in behalf of the less-qualified and poorly endowed members of society. This Christian spirit has also created many types of eleemosynary institutions, and has thus made it possible for society to keep the helpless and diseased alive. Not only so, but in the progress of science there have been evolved various methods of medical practice which result in lessening disease and lengthening human life. The weaklings and defectives, the mal-formed and diseased, the outcasts and the child of tainted blood are cared for and kept alive. In a cruder and harsher society it comes about, partly consciously and partly unconsciously, that an effort is made to keep alive only those persons who have some worth to society and can contribute to the com-

mon welfare. In a civilized and Christian society the effort is made consciously and scientifically, to keep every person alive and to give him some place in society. Today modern society, motivated by the spirit of Christ, and possessing a developed system of medical science, is declaring that no single life in the community shall live uncared for or shall die if its life can be prolonged. All this is right and proper, and every lover of his kind must rejoice in this triumph of love and science over disease and death.

2. But is all this a real benefit to the race, or is it a fatal injury? We may grant for the moment that the principle of the struggle for existence is ruthless so far as its results are concerned, but it must be admitted that this principle is of great service in that it detects the unfit and eliminates them. To set aside this principle and to carry the other principle, the struggle for the life of others, to its full conclusion, we are told, will produce results that are disastrous and fatal; in fact to do this, we are assured, will mean the steady weakening and inevitable deterioration of the human race. This, the scientist and the sociologist tell us in solemn language, is a mistaken and suicidal policy, for it means the poisoning of the blood of the race, and it will result in the retardation of human progress rather than in its acceleration. In course of time these persons who are kept alive by artificial means, having reached maturity, will marry and will beget offspring after their own likeness. In this way it will come about that the less fit members of the race in a civilized and artificial society are enabled to survive in the struggle and to pass on their defects to coming generations.

Thus Mr. Spencer finds fault with modern governmental and social organizations on the ground that they are interfering with the beneficent operation of the natural law of human struggle.

Inconvenience, suffering, and death are the penalties attached by Nature to ignorance, as well as to incompetence—are also the means of remedying these. Partly by weeding out those of lowest development, and partly by subjecting those who remain to the never-ceasing discipline of experience, Nature secures the growth of a race who shall both understand the con-

ditions of existence and shall act up to them. . . . It is best to let the foolish man suffer the penalty of his foolishness. . . . A sad population of imbeciles would our schemers fill the world with, could their plans last. Why, the whole effort of Nature is to get rid of such—to clear the world of them and make room for better.⁵

He assumes all through that in the woods, under the unchecked and beneficent sway of the struggle for existence, the fittest survive and multiply, making the race vigorous and viable; in a civilized society, where the struggle for existence is modified, the unfittest are enabled to survive and the race is thereby weakened and poisoned. "Will any one contend that no mischief will result," he asks, "if the lowly endowed are enabled to thrive and multiply, as much as, or more than, the richly endowed?" Professor Sumner is of the same mind and speaks to the same thesis: "Nature has no system for handicapping superiorities. On the contrary, she gives them full operation." And Professor Ross is of the same mind: "The shortest way to make this world a heaven is to let those so inclined hurry hellward at their own pace." Hence he deduces the social canon: "Social interference should not be so paternal as to check the self-extinction of the morally ill-constituted."⁶ He maintains that many of our so-called charitable and philanthropic efforts and methods are simply preserving the unfit and are thus poisoning the blood of the race. And so in the name of the social welfare he protests against these things and demands that we pursue a more intelligent policy.

Thus also another informed scientist, Dr. G. Archdale Reid, is even more pronounced in his views. He declares that "it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that races are adapted and maintained in their adaptation to the environment by the elimination of the unfit. The moment this elimination ceases the race tends to retrogression." This being so we must not meddle with Nature's methods and must not seek to keep the unfit alive. Nay, more, we should not even seek to eliminate from society those factors which destroy the unfit. Civilized man,

⁵ *Social Statics: Sanitary Supervision.*

⁶ Ross, *Social Control*, p. 425.

by the very nature of the case, must live under different conditions from his uncivilized brothers; and in this process of acclimatization many members of the race will necessarily be destroyed. Savage races may be adapted to savage conditions, but comparatively few of them are adapted to civilized conditions. The various diseases that are in a way characteristic of civilized society are Nature's means of detecting those who are unfit for civilized society. "Racial capacity to become civilized is physical not mental." Thus consumption, or the great white plague, is what may be called a crowd-disease, and is one of Nature's agents for eliminating those who, from the point of view of true progress, are unfit for civilized society. In passing from one condition of life to another man is subjected to great stress and strain, and not every person, it is found, is able to endure the pressure. Thus insanity is another of Nature's agents for detecting those who are too weak in mental fiber to endure the strain of civilized life. Not only so, but there are certain vices that are in a way characteristic of civilized society, and these may be regarded as Nature's means for detecting the unfit and eliminating them. Thus the use of alcohol, which is common to all civilized peoples, is found to be fatal to savage races. These races have not sufficient self-control to drink such beverages in moderation, and so intoxicants play havoc among them. Only those races that have become immune to alcohol, that is have learned to use it in moderation, can have much prospect of surviving. Civilized society means self-control, and the man or the people that cannot learn self-control cannot live in civilized society. This is not all, but to abolish alcohol, if that were possible, is to eliminate one of Nature's agents for removing the unfit and for securing the efficiency of the race. We are led to the inevitable conclusion that successful legislation against the liquor traffic, that is legislation which practically ended the use of alcohol, would of course be followed by increased survival of the unfit; and we cannot guarantee immortal permanence to a mortal law.

If then we could abolish the special evils of civilization, crowd-diseases, alcohol, and slum conditions, the result would be an unmixed benefit. Our

meddling with Nature's methods is seen in the enormous and ever-increasing number of insane and mal-endowed in all civilized land. In earlier times people of unsound mind were treated with such harshness that in practically every case death ensued. At the present day the greatest care and skill are lavished on the weak minded and the insane, and as a result many people who are weak minded or subject to temporary outbursts of insanity, are kept alive and are permitted to perpetuate their kind. Our modern methods of philanthropy, which are little else than a foolish meddling with Nature, are keeping the unfit and mal-endowed alive and are thus ensuring the swift and inevitable decay of the race.⁷

In natural society everything makes for efficiency and fitness, and they who are not found efficient are adjudged unfit. The lamb that is sickly and weak and is unable to keep up with the flock has not one chance in ten million of ever reaching maturity and perpetuating its kind. The lion's cub that is lame or dull-eyed is sure to go down in the struggle for existence that rages in the jungle. In a civilized society where what are called artificial methods are in operation, it is found that many things make for the survival of the weak and inefficient. The sickly and diseased child is kept alive, and is permitted to beget offspring. The mal-endowed and ill constituted are cared for by society, and pass on their disqualifications to other generations. The race is always progressing, Emerson reminds us; and man, though in brothels, or in jails or on gibbets, is on his way to all that is good and true. These doctrines of the scientist and the sociologist seem to mean that the saloon and the brothel, the phthisis microbe and the opium pipe, the pestilence that walks in darkness and the famine that wastes at noonday, are all agents of civilization and factors in race improvement.

It is easy of course for one to denounce all this as brutal indifference and scientific hard-heartedness; in fact one is not surprised to find such conclusions denounced in the most unmeasured terms. Such views are just what might be expected, we are told by some theologians; such conclusions are the natural and fitting outcome of this false doctrine of evolution and this modern medley called sociology. Such views and conclusions only show the wide difference between religion and

⁷ G. Archdale Reid, *The Independent*, February 15, 1906.

science; they make it clear that man is here not to follow Nature but to mend Nature. According to these people Nature and religion are in deadly and direct conflict; it may be that Nature teaches the above doctrine; but this is no reason why men should follow that teaching; in fact it is rather a reason why he should take an opposite course. In this dualistic conception it is assumed that there are two separate and distinct worlds in the one world and these worlds are in open and avowed antagonism. The laws of the one are not the laws of the other, and the methods of the one must be counteracted in the other. Since this is so let the scientist and the sociologist dream as they will and tell their frightful dreams; the people of light who follow the teachings of Christ will go their way as of old and will not be disturbed by these hard-hearted warnings. It is needless here to point out the fallacies in all of these objections, and to show that they rest upon a view of the universe that has become impossible to the modern Christian. There is one other objection that we must note, coming from a different school, and yet leading to practically the same conclusion. Thus Professor Huxley finds an antagonism between the cosmic process and the principles of ethics:

The ethical process is in opposition to the principle of the cosmic process; social progress means a checking of the cosmic process at every step and the substitution for it of another, which may be called the ethical process; let it be understood, once for all, that the ethical progress of society depends, not on imitating the cosmic process, still less in running away from it, but in combating it.*

Since this is so the processes of Nature in the lower stages can teach us nothing concerning our duty in the human and ethical stages; in fact it might even seem that the more ethical we are the more openly we will disregard the methods of Nature; at any rate the warnings of the scientist and the sociologist are idle tales which we must not consider seriously. It is needless here to point out the utter fallacy of this reasoning of the scientist, for this has been done most effectually by Herbert Spencer and Professor Drummond. It is simply sufficient to

* *Evolution and Ethics*, pp. 31, 81, 83.

say that the time has gone by forever when the modern thinking man can hold this dualistic conception of things and thus pit one part of the universe against the other. The universe is one, and it is both unscientific and irreligious to introduce a dualism of this sort. Ethics we must believe is the nature of things; the cosmic process from start to finish has an ethical significance.

But none the less there does seem to be an antagonism between the natural cosmic process, with the struggle for existence and the elimination of the unfit, and the modern ethical spirit with its concern for the unfit and its effort to keep them alive. None the less, also there are grave dangers in this modern philanthropic effort to care for the unfit, dangers that must be recognized and avoided or the race will pay the forfeit. The universe sets a premium upon efficiency and fitness, and any method that enables the unfit and the defective to survive and perpetuate their kind is a gross and flagrant violation of the order of things. But just here we come face to face with one of the antinomies of modern life which cannot be evaded or denied. Modern society being more and more motivated by the spirit of Christianity will never again allow the unfit and defective to live uncared for or to die unpitied. In fact as time goes by the Christian spirit will call to its aid scientific knowledge and medical skill to keep the weakest and unfittest from perishing in the struggle. And, on the other hand, modern society, having an intelligent concern for its own interests and striving for the progress and perfection of the race, will not be willing to allow the unfit and defective to survive and perpetuate their kind to the disadvantage and detriment of society. Is there any way out of this dilemma? Or must the Christian spirit and the scientific mind work at cross-purposes?

3. There is one way, only one way out of this difficulty. Modern society, motivated by the Christian spirit, and working in a scientific way, must declare that there shall be no unfit and defective members in the state.

This means several things that are worthy of careful consideration. For one thing it means that the time has come for men to raise some serious and disturbing questions concerning

this phenomenon that we call "the unfit." How does it come about that there is such a large class of persons in modern civilized society to whom this term applies? Is it necessary that there be any such class at all? Does the answer to these questions lie wholly beyond the range of human inquiry and thought? Must we conclude that the explanation of this phenomenon is to be found in the will of God and so it cannot be understood by man? Must we fold our hands in the presence of these tragic facts, deploring them as we may, and say that they are inevitable and so must be accepted as a matter of course? That the modern man has even begun to ask such questions is a hopeful sign; that the modern man is increasingly unwilling to accept these things as a matter of course must be charged up to the credit both of his intelligence and his religion.

From time to time various attempts have been made to account for some of these phenomena, but these explanations may be briefly noted. In all the earlier times men accepted these differences in men as a matter of course, and consequently they felt little responsibility for their removal. Thus in practically every nation in the ancient world it was believed that mankind was composed of several varieties of human beings, made of different kinds of clay; the best things in life were for the few elect ones, while the great mass of the people were made to be underlings and servants, hewers of wood and drawers of water, and wholly unfitted for culture and progress. At different times, in the name of theology, men have defended the existing inequalities of society as a part of the decree of God; and consequently these differences among men were neither to be questioned nor changed. Thus it has been taught that some men are created and ordained to be vessels unto honor and opportunity while others are no less created and decreed to be vessels unto dishonor and waste. It is a matter of record that an English bishop has actually defended poverty on the ground that it is necessary that there be a certain amount of misery in the world in order that good people may have some objects on which to exercise the grace of charity. Hence, since God has declared that there shall be poor in the land it is both impious and irra-

tional to expect the abolition or the diminution of poverty. So long as the theologians felt, with or without reason, that they were vessels unto honor they were little inclined to question the theory that others were made for dishonor. In modern times, further, it has been said that society is like a garden, and as in the garden the American Beauty Rose is developed by pinching off all the other buds that the whole strength of the plant may be concentrated in one magnificent and surpassing flower; so is it in society where many must be pinched off and beaten back that a few successful and outstanding lives may be possible. These views it may be said belong to the Dark Ages of the mind and can no longer be tolerated; in fact some of them would have seemed primitive to Moses, and Socrates would have been stoned on the streets of Athens as a corrupter of the youth for teaching such doctrines. It is a matter of common knowledge, as we have seen, that there are some sociologists, even in the most enlightened lands, who regard such distressful phenomena as poverty and drink shops as more or less necessary and inevitable. For the relentless suppression of the weak and unfit through such means, we are told, is Nature's method of eliminating the unfit and improving the human breed. In later times, with many people, the impression has gained currency that the law of nature is struggle for existence with the survival of the fittest, with the corollary law that those who do not survive are the unfittest and deserve to perish. And it is common notoriety also that a large class of persons profess the Nietzsche doctrine, that the great mass of mankind are here "simply as instruments of the great; for the rest let them go to the devil and statistics;" and nothing in our unsound modernism, we are told, is unsouder than Christian sympathy. The formal criticism of these views is here impossible, and after all it is not necessary. There are, however, three things which may be noted in passing.

The modern man, for one thing, who believes in God at all is not willing to believe that these things are here in the will of the Heavenly Father. In the Christian conception of things the will of God is the brightest and best thing for all mankind; and

within the purpose of the Father there is no discrimination and no partiality. It lies within the purpose of God that every life born into the world should grow up tall and straight and should be clean and pure. The law giver of old dreamed of a time when there should be no poor in the land⁹ and to the best of his ability he sought to hasten that day. The prophet foresaw the time when all men should dwell in peace and contentment, each under his own vine and fig tree,¹⁰ when the land produces in abundance and there is enough for all. The Son of man utters a heavy woe upon those who cast a stumbling-block before the little child, and declares that it is not the will of the Father who is in heaven that one of his little ones should perish.¹¹ The Seer of Patmos cherished the vision of a city where there are no disinherited and unfit, but where all have equal access to the Tree of life.¹² The fact is the Father's bounties are for all of his children, and it is his purpose that every member of the race shall have a fair inheritance in these bounties.

Nor will the modern man believe, for another thing, that there is any reason for these differences and inequalities in the nature of things. In these times men are finding it increasingly difficult to rest in any of the old views of aristocratism and privilege that have so long held sway and have been preached with such fervor, that the many are for the benefit of the few and the welfare of the few is the end of all. They are beginning to inquire whether all the existing disparity in society is necessary and right, and whether it is grounded in human nature itself or whether it is not due rather to the action of human society. They are beginning to believe, moreover, that human nature in itself and of itself possesses no such differences as we see among men; and so they are beginning to inquire whether it may not be possible to discover the causes that are more or less within the control of man and the direction of society.

The deeper we go into life the more clear becomes the conviction that these things are not here in the will of God or in

⁹ Deut. 15 : 4, R. V.

¹¹ Matt. 18 : 6-14.

¹⁰ Micah 4 : 4.

¹² Rev. 21 : 22.

the necessary order of Nature, but they are here rather simply and solely through the ignorance or the stupidity or the fault of man. According to the Christian conception of things man is the offspring of God, a partaker of God's own life, an outplanting of the divine in the human. According to this conception the life of every person is sacred and possesses some worth; it has a meaning and a value in the total meaning and value of society; and this meaning society must recognize and this value society must develop. This means that all men, being the offspring of God, are partakers of a common human nature, and this human nature is a constant quantity and of uniform texture. This means, further, that the wide differences that exist are due not to any inherent and necessary differences in the quality of human life itself, but are due rather to external and accidental causes, that is, to causes which are more or less within the control of society and for which society itself is responsible. This means that human nature in itself and of itself possesses no differences and deformities that are inherent and essential, that the deformities and differences that appear are due to accidental and human causes. This means, also, that this human nature which is given to man is subject to the molding influences of man and of society, and that the factors that may be called heredity and environment do much to determine the form and status of each life. The doctrine that it is the will of God and the decree of nature that all of these differences should exist and that a few men should be pre-eminently gifted by nature with talents and opportunities while the great mass of mankind shall possess no such capacities and opportunities, and that such diversities are natural and necessary; the doctrine that there are differences in human nature which lie wholly within its essence and thus are wholly beyond the reach of any human and social factors, and that it is a part of the divine order that these inequalities should exist and that they cannot be either foreseen or prevented; all this is a doctrine which the believer in the Christianity of Christ will find it wholly impossible to accept and the believer in democracy will find it increasingly difficult to reconcile with his creed. The corollary doctrine that it is a part of the will of God and the

decree of Nature that there shall be deformed and broken lives, and that we must have slaves and outcasts, slums and sweat shops, saloons and brothels, child labor and poverty, criminals and gallows, on the one side of society, and culture and beauty, conservatories and palaces, churches and libraries on the other side, and that such disparity of condition and such differences of opportunity can never be reduced and that such deformed lives must be expected and accepted as a matter of course—all this belongs to the Dark Ages of the human mind and is as contrary to the spirit of Christ as it is impossible to those who profess the democratic faith.

The fact remains, however, that even in the most advanced and Christian society there is an enormous waste of life and its possibilities through the large number of deformed and defective lives. These things have a double significance, a personal and a social, and each is deserving of careful consideration. In its personal aspects the saddest thing about all this poverty and failure is not the ignorance and suffering, though these are often sad enough; the most tragic thing about it all is the waste of human life, the fact that the possibilities of many lives are never unfolded and the buds of promise are nipped before they have developed. Here and there we find a few outstanding and successful lives who have risen into the upper air and have shown us some of the higher possibilities of our human nature. But in the most favored modern society the number of such persons is small and a large fraction still struggle in the swamps and shallows of the social abyss. The vast majority of our fellows go to their graves with their powers all undeveloped and with all the higher regions of their nature unexplored. In its social aspects the most tragic fact about it all is this, that in every generation there is a loss of so much social possibility; that is, so few persons make any real and adequate contribution to the total wealth of society. The number of persons born in any generation may represent the total latent resources of that generation. But thus far no generation in any land has as yet succeeded in developing and garnering for the use of society more than one-fifth of the total resources and possibilities of

mankind. And this means that four-fifths of the total latent possibility of every generation that should have enriched the world is lost and wasted.¹³ Could the handicaps that are upon these lives be removed, could their innate possibilities be developed, there is reason to believe that they would grow up tall and straight and might make a valuable contribution to the wealth of society. The people who make up this disinherited and unfit class, the people of the slums and the victims of poverty, the people who are mal-endowed and whose opportunities in life are few, are made of the same human clay as their inheriting and successful brothers, who possess opportunities and reach the upper heights of character. These defective and unfit men and women are human souls with normal minds, "susceptible, if surrounded by the same influences, of becoming as capable and intelligent people as any."¹⁴ But from one cause and another it comes about that many of these people are under a heavy handicap all their life through, and hence are unable to compete with their more fortunate fellows on terms of fair equality. And yet these people possess the same human nature as their more fortunate brothers—they are made of the same clay and not foredoomed in the decree of God—and under different circumstances they also might stand upon their feet and become agents of civilization and contribute their share to human achievement.

The time is coming, and now is, when men will no longer refuse to accept these things as a matter of course and to charge them up against some mysterious providence. The time is coming, and now is, when men must search into the causes of these things and must resolutely refuse to be frightened off in this inquiry. The time has already come when men are prepared to say that it is not necessary, either in the will of God or in the nature of things, that there should be so many mal-endowed and deformed lives who are unfitted for any large and worthy place in society. The time has arrived when it is no longer possible to charge up these things to the sovereign and inscrutable decree of

¹³ Ward, *Applied Sociology*, Part II, chap. x.

¹⁴ Ward, *ibid.*, Part III, chap. xiii.

God or to the mysterious and haphazard operations of Nature. There remains only one other cause and influence to be investigated and this is the human cause and the social influence. The time has come when society itself must be investigated, that we may know how far society is responsible for the burdens that society has to bear. The time has come when man himself must be placed upon the witness stand that we may know how far he has contributed toward these tragic results.

4. The moment we begin to deal with life in its human causes and conditions we find that there are three factors that enter into the making of every life, heredity, environment, and individual initiative. The time is coming when these factors should be fully considered, each by itself, and all in their relation to one another, that we may know their bearing upon the life of man. This much is evident to every observer, that this third factor, while it may be the most potent in its operation, is yet the last to appear in life. The other two factors have done their work, in part at least, before the third factor appears and have settled forever a thousand things in every man's life. Through the factor of heredity the life has already received a definite impress, and five hundred things are determined beyond hope of change. Through the other factor of environment five hundred other things are settled beyond the power of individual choice to touch. It is too early in the day for anyone to explain the whole meaning and potency of these factors, but already some things are becoming clear. It is evident, for one thing, that this factor of heredity is a kind of environment and does much to determine the form of the life before its birth into the world. The fact is also this factor of heredity performs a kind of transmissive function, so far as life is concerned, and not an origina-tive function; human life in virtue of the fact that it is human life is a pretty constant quantity and of uniform texture; the marked differences that appear in the life are due, first, to the factor of heredity which receives the life at its incipient prenatal stages and gives it a certain quality and bent; later, these differences are due to environment which molds the life at its post-natal human stages and determines its direction and condition.

It is not the will of God that so many lives should come into the world—damned into it, in the strong phrase of Robert South—foredoomed from birth to be broken and disinherited. It is not necessary in the nature of things that so many lives should be blighted before their innate possibilities have had time to unfold. This means that the unfortunate results that we find in society must be charged up against the factors through which the life is made and shaped; that is, both man and society are responsible, through the factors of heredity and environment, all along the line of life, for the disfigured and deformed lives that exist. This brings us face to face with these factors of heredity and environment and lays upon society the obligation of understanding their significance and of subsidizing them in the interests of race progress.

In the prosecution of its task of preventing the multiplication of the unfit and of promoting human progress society must give great attention to this factor of heredity, far greater attention, in fact, than has yet been given to it. In the light of the warnings of the scientist and the sociologist society must safeguard its interests and must guarantee that the mal-endowed and unfit shall not be allowed to remain the unfit and to perpetuate after their kind. And in the light of the new methods of science and sociology which go back of results to causes themselves, we must deal with the factors that enter into the making of life and determine the form which it shall assume. A most encouraging beginning has been made in this direction and some suggested inquiries have been started. Thus this factor of heredity has been investigated and some valuable books on the subject have been written. But recently it has been considered in its relation to social welfare, and a new science has been born, that of eugenics. In the words of its most distinguished exponent:

Eugenics deals with what is more valuable than money or lands, namely, the heritage of a high character, capable brains, fine physique and vigor; in short, with all that is most desirable for a family to possess as a birth right. It aims at the evolution and preservation of high races of men, and it as well deserves to be strictly enforced as a religious duty.¹⁵

¹⁵ Galton, *American Journal of Sociology*, July, 1905.

There are several lines along which man and society may move in the fulfilment of this duty of multiplying the proportion of qualified lives. It is too early to discuss these things in detail, but some valuable suggestions will be found in the paper of Francis Galton himself, and in the discussion by members of the Sociological Society. The improvement of the race can be brought about, for one thing, by encouraging the reproduction of the fit. Various causes, as Galton has shown in his various writings, have contributed to hinder the multiplication of the fit, and among these may be named war, sacerdotal celibacy, and a false social sentiment with respect to the number of children. The lessening of the number of the unfit may be brought about by segregation—to some extent carried on at present—which in some measure shall check the reproduction of the unfit. Society must insist upon a more intelligent and rigorous segregation of the mal-endowed and defective, and must provide that where the parties to a marriage are unfit for the parental responsibility and the begetting of normally endowed children that no such union shall be permitted. In a small way society recognizes its duty in this direction today, and in every civilized land homes and asylums are provided for the feeble minded and the insane. Here these persons are cared for and an effort is made to help them and to prepare them for claiming and resuming their place in society. But society must be more rigid in its paternal care, and must provide “that where both stocks are heavily tainted,” says Havelock Ellis, “and both tainted in the same direction, it ought to be generally felt that union for purposes of procreation is out of the question.” “I think that the doctor ought to have a voice in every marriage which is contracted,” says Dr. Westermarck.¹⁶

But beyond this society can do much by the creation of an enlightened and militant public opinion. Thus far in the history of man, as Dr. Westermarck says, little attention has been given to the creation of a moral sentiment with reference to marriage. There is hardly any point in which the moral consciousness of civilized man stands in greater need of intellectual

¹⁶ *American Journal of Sociology*, September, 1905.

training than in the judgments which men pass upon the want of foresight or care in the selection of a life partner. "Much progress has been made in this respect in the course of evolution, and it would be absurd to believe that we have yet reached the end of this process. It would be absurd to believe that men would forever leave to individual caprice the performance of the most important, and in its consequences the most far reaching function which has fallen to the lot of mankind." "There ought to be a social conscience in such matters," says Havelock Ellis. This public opinion will strongly condemn the output of children by diseased and intemperate men and women, and will make them bear the shame of their misdeeds. We may not agree with Dr. G. Archdale Reid, in all of his conclusions, but he is unquestionably right in the conviction that "there can be no hope of amendment except through an enlightened public opinion, which will forbid the output of children from families in which any taint of mental unsoundness has appeared."¹⁷ Public opinion can do much in other directions in creating a higher sense of parental responsibility which shall hold parents to a rigid account for those whom they bring into the world. The time is coming, and already now is, when we must cease talking of delinquent children and must begin to talk of delinquent parents. The time is coming, and now is, when the man and the woman who would enter the marriage relation must prove that they are mentally and morally and physically fit to be intrusted with the responsibility of marriage and consequent parenthood.

In a word, there are two propositions—axioms they should be called—which men must recognize and apply in all their bearings. Every child has the right to be well born, to have decent, clean, untainted, well-endowed parents. Every child has the right to a good fair start in life, with unpoisoned blood and average endowment. These propositions—they will be accepted as axioms some day—must be followed out to their ultimate conclusions, and religion and science, public opinion and social

¹⁷ *The Independent*, February 15, 1906.

customs, medical science and civil law must contribute their quota of motive and compulsion to make effective.

5. Further, in the prosecution of this task of preventing the multiplication of the unfit and promoting the progress of society, much more attention must be given to the other factor of environment. It is not possible here to consider this factor in detail; for we are giving only a few suggestions of the task before men; and, after all, it is not necessary after the many illuminating studies of Darwin and Ward and many others. In the most real sense man is a social product; in the conditions into which he is born and amid which he lives is to be found the explanation of nine-tenths of his life. From the very first moments of being the power of environment is decisive and the life is given a bent and color and quality which never can be wholly changed. Suppose Abraham Lincoln had been born and reared in Mississippi, and Jefferson Davis had likewise been born and reared in Massachusetts; does any one suppose that their lives would have been precisely as they were? Suppose the child of the slums and the child of the parsonage had been changelings in infancy; does any one suppose that the factor of heredity would work out its results unchanged?

In *Applied Sociology* Professor Lester F. Ward has given the most recent and thorough consideration to this factor of environment, and his conclusions are most suggestive. His book in a way is a development of the thesis that nurture is more potent than Nature, that environment is the chief factor in the making of man, and that the superlative duty of society is to provide favorable conditions for the development of good qualities in human lives. The relative potency of these two factors, by way of illustration, is seen in the development of two well-known plants. Thus the *Zea Mays*, or Indian corn, in its natural state, uncultivated by man, is a monoecious grass attaining a height of about two feet and bearing at its summit a handsome pannicle of male flowers, and on the culm below one or two fertile spikes three inches long and half an inch in diameter, having the seeds arranged around the elongated rachis. This plant man has taken and transplanted, removing competition,

creating favorable conditions, destroying enemies, giving an opportunity to progress, and out of this native grass he has developed the well-known Indian corn, with stalks often fifteen feet in height, loaded with three or four ears, each nearly a foot in length, and two or three inches in diameter, the king plant of the Middle West. On the other hand, as illustrating the hindering effects of environment, he gives the history of another well-known plant. Along the roadside he found a strange grass which seemed wholly unfamiliar. After the most careful analysis he compelled the unknown plant to announce its name as *Triticum aestivum*, or common wheat; and then the secret was out. This poor depauperized grass had sprung from a few grains of wheat that had by some unexplained accident fallen on the roadside in the midst of native vegetation; there it had sprouted and grown and sought to rise into the majesty and beauty that are seen in a field of waving grain. But alas, it could not; for the environment was unfavorable; and at every step it felt the combined resistance of its conditions. And this is but a parable of all life. Some years ago Mr. Charles Loring Brace in an address gave an outline of the work of the Children's Aid Society of New York. In forty-one years some 60,000 children were taken from the streets of that city and homes were found for them in the south and west. Of this number 84 per cent. had turned out well, and had been saved for lives of usefulness. In answer to the question: "Suppose nothing had been done for these children; suppose they had been allowed to remain on the streets in their old condition; how would the proportions stand?" After a moment's careful thought he said with emphasis: "Without doubt the proportions would have been reversed."

It is not necessary to enumerate the various elements that enter into this factor of environment; but they are many and potent, and they range through the whole gamut of life. Some are physical, some are social, others are industrial, still others are moral. Being a little more explicit we may say that defective family life, unsanitary and immoral surroundings, child labor, neglect of proper education, are among the most common ele-

ments. Some years ago a police justice in New York City said: "There are thousands of families in this city—I had almost said a majority—where the rearing of two more children means a girl for the brothel and a boy for the penitentiary." In all of our cities, large or small, there is a slum district which is a kind of social abyss and moral maelstrom, capturing many and sinking them in degradation and ruin. In these slum districts thousands of children are born who by the very circumstances of their lives are doomed from the start. Many of these children grow up ignorant and morally undeveloped; the tender bloom of virtue is rubbed off the soul before the girl has learned the meaning of purity, and the high possibilities of manhood are blighted before the tendrils of hope have unfolded. It is needless here to multiply instances and to define the elements in detail.

The conditions of life, whether good or bad, affect the life, and determine its bent and quality and color to a marked degree. They determine a hundred things in the physical, mental, moral, and social life of the human being; they do much to determine whether the life shall grow up tall and straight or whether it shall become weak and sickly; they do much to determine whether the life shall be moral or immoral, whether it shall be spent in the swamps and shallows of society or whether it shall be lived on the uplands in health and power; in fine, this factor of environment determines a hundred questions for achievement and progress and moral worth, or for failure and poverty and waste. Says Max Nordeau:

The essential thing is not the selection of particular individuals—every individual having probably latent qualities of the best kind—as the creating of favorable conditions for the development of good qualities. Marry Hercules with Juno, and Apollo with Venus, and put them in slums. Their children will be stunted in growth, rickety and consumptive. On the other hand, take the miserable slum dwellers *out* of their noxious surroundings, house, feed, clothe them well, give them plenty of light, air and leisure, and their grandchildren, perhaps already their children, will reproduce the type of fine, tall Saxons and Danes of whom they are the offspring.¹⁸

6. In the new interest which men are taking in the question of

¹⁸ *American Journal of Sociology*, September, 1905.

social progress a new attention is being given to the study of causes and sources. It is too early in the day for anyone to define all the causes that enter into the making of a human life, in and through the factors of heredity, environment, and individual initiative; but already there is a growing conviction that results have causes for which man and society, singly or together, are responsible. We have seen that human nature in itself and of itself, in its essential and necessary quality, possesses no such differences as we found among men. We have found that these differences cannot be charged up against the will of God or be laid to the discredit of Nature. They must, therefore, have human causes; they must in some way be due to the ignorance or the stupidity, the failure or the crime of men. This means that the men who are seeking to promote the progress of the race will turn about and study the causes of such distressful phenomena as the mal-endowed and the defective, the idiotic, the insane, the delinquent, the unfit. In a word they will seek to know the relation between these phenomena and the whole congeries of human causes, such as parentage, surroundings, institutions, social customs, education, labor, and religion.

It is not possible at this stage of human investigation to define all the causes that enter into the making of the unfit. But already some things have become too plain to be misunderstood. We are told, to be sure, that such things as alcohol, the white plague, and city crowds are Nature's means for detecting unfitness and for eliminating the unfit. But suppose we reverse the process, and consider whether these things are not themselves causes and conditions of this very unfitness itself? An illustration is all that space permits, and it is sufficient for our purpose.

In these latter times men have begun to consider the relation of intemperance to crime, pauperism, and insanity, and with some marked results. Thus the *Report of the Massachusetts Bureau on the Statistics of Labor, for 1895* contains some significant figures. Of the total number of paupers, 2,752, it appears that 2,077, or about 75 in every 100, were addicted to the use of liquors. Of the total number of criminal cases, namely 26,672, it appears that in 22,514 instances "the intemperate habits of the

offender led to a condition which induced the crime." Of the number of insane in which the facts could be ascertained, "namely, 697, there were 616, or about 69 in every 100, in which both parents were intemperate."¹⁹ Investigations have been conducted along other lines by other inquirers, and with even more significant results. Thus Professor Forel, of Zurich, declares, as the result of his inquiries, that alcohol increases enormously the number of those who come into the world mal-endowed and weak willed: "Alcohol is the chief producer of Unter-Menschen." Thus Dr. Bezzola has investigated the life history of 9,000 idiots in Swiss asylums. One of the striking facts brought to light is this: Having secured the date of each person's birth he reckoned back nine months to the date of begetting, and found that in the majority of cases this fell at the season when alcohol was used, as at carnival, Christmas, or vintage times. And once more Dr. MacNichol, at the instance of the New York Academy of Medicine, made an examination of some 55,000 school children with special reference to the inherited results of alcoholism, with the following results:

a) Of those free from hereditary alcoholic taint 96 per cent. were proficient; 4 per cent. only were dullards.

b) Of those suffering from hereditary alcoholic taint 23 per cent. were proficient; 7.77 per cent. were dullards.²⁰

The time is coming when the most searching investigation will be made into the causes of such phenomena as the mal-endowed and the unfit; and when men have discovered these causes they will resolutely set to work to remove them.

7. There is one task to which modern society is fairly and fully committed, and that is the programme that there shall be no unfit members of society. This means several things that are worthy of the most careful consideration and the most resolute action. For one thing it means that society must put its resources in pledge in behalf of the weakest and least promising member, that he may be lifted up into strength and fitness. Modern science and Christian philanthropy must direct their

¹⁹ *Report, for 1895*, pp. 406, 408, 412.

²⁰ Ernest Gordon, in *The Watchman*, January 30, 1908.

energies toward the creation of conditions that will prevent the making of the unfit and defective. The unfit must not be allowed to remain unfit but must be transformed into the fit. The race must take precautions against the making of the unfit in any part of society. The science of medicine and the practice of charity have put into our hands certain systems of moral splints and braces, certain remedies and appliances, which enable us to keep the unfit and defective alive, and make it possible for them to perpetuate their kind. But all this, as we have seen, may be no boon to the race; nay, it may rather result in loss to mankind. There is hence one duty which is all important and which nothing must be allowed to becloud. We must safeguard the race against degeneration by guaranteeing that *there shall be no unfit in society*. This is a great undertaking, and it will require long generations for man to reach the goal. But it is a great gain when we have clearly discovered the goal toward which we are to work and have begun to frame a definite programme of action to that end. This is a great task, but it is the task that society must undertake in a brave and hopeful spirit, in the conviction, that though everything may not be done at once, yet something may be done that will bring the race nearer the goal. In the prosecution of this task it is necessary for society to have some definite, scientific, and Christian programme of action. "There is nothing more dreadful," said Goethe, "than active ignorance." Much of our so-called philanthropy illustrates this saying.

For another thing, in the prosecution of this task society must learn that the best way to prevent results is to remove causes. The time has been when the Christian spirit led men to build hospitals and orphanages, and this work was most beautiful and Christian in its time. But the Christian spirit in these times is moving men to inquire into the causes of disease, and idiocy and orphanhood; and it is impelling men to declare that there shall be no defective and deformed and friendless. Already we have learned that one former is worth a hundred reformers. Preformation is cheaper than reformation, and it is more Christian. Prevention is easier and better than recon-

struction. The Good Samaritan has cared for the half-dead traveler on the Jericho road; and now what shall he do? Once men would have said: Let him build a hospital along that road to care for robbed and wounded travelers. We have come to the stage when we declare: No, not at all; let him go up to Jerusalem police and call upon them to clean out that nest of robbers. The time is coming when men will say: Come, let us guarantee that there shall be no men who shall grow up to the life of highwaymen.

For a third thing there must be a more intelligent and sympathetic co-operation on the part of the three great institutions of human life, the family, the church, and the state. The church has a great work before it in creating the social conscience which shall move men to put their profession and lives in pledge in behalf of a better and more Christian type of human society. The church has thus far dealt largely with the problem of saving sinners, and this is right; but the time is coming when its power in the world will be measured by power to save men from sin. The family must be made to understand its divine calling in the world, and must be made to know that it is probably the most important agency in the making of the kingdom of God. And the state, the most inclusive institution of man's life, must learn that not life alone, but good life, is the supreme concern of a state that is truly intelligent.

And last of all, there must be a more general and intelligent interest in the whole programme of race-making. In this modern world there has grown up a science of stock breeding, and the informed stockman knows what are the conditions that must be fulfilled if he would create a fine and profitable breed of cattle. As Mr. Spencer suggests, if Gulliver should visit our modern society and study our interests in cattle and our indifference to children, he would find things that out-Gullivered anything he had found among the Liliputians. And as Professor Shaler complains:

We pride ourselves on the economic successes of our civilization, but give no attention to the fact that, as regards the most precious things with which we have to deal, the lives that are in our care, we are utterly wasteful,

doing our work in a way that would bring a mill owner to disgrace in the estimation of his fellows. We have as yet devised no method whereby these lives may come to us in a wholesome condition. Our means for caring for them after they are with us are entirely inadequate for the needs. The result is that only a small fraction of the value which should be harvested from a generation is really won to use.²¹

However it may have been in the past, it will not be so in the future. Already the great interests of life are falling into some kind of perspective, and men are learning to place first things first. Sometime, in some far off age, as Ruskin suggests, the manufacture of souls of a good quality may at last turn out to be a leadingly lucrative business.²² More and more as men become intelligent and Christian merely financial and commercial questions will fall into the background, and questions of human welfare and social morality will come into the foreground. The scientist and theologian, the sociologist and the philanthropist will more and more co-operate in the making of the world and the transformation of society. Then the race will advance by leaps and bounds, for there will be no unfit and defectives to poison the blood and to hamper the march.

²¹ Shaler, *The Individual*, p. 276.

²² "Unto This Last," *The Veins of Wealth*.

REVIEWS

Mind in the Making, A Study in Mental Development. By

EDGAR JAMES SWIFT, Professor of Psychology and Pedagogy in Washington University, Saint Louis. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908. Pp. 329. \$1.50 net.

Professor Swift's book is an expression of the new spirit in education. It is a protest against the formalism and inertia of the schools, an exposition of the forces which must be reckoned with in laying the foundation of education, and an analysis of the psychological and pedagogical aspects of the educational process. The title—*Mind in the Making*—is well chosen. Professor Swift brings ample evidence to prove that native capacity cannot be determined until the child has had the opportunity for a natural growth. Chapters dealing with this evidence should make a strong appeal to parents, especially in places where strong influence is being exerted to establish trade schools for young children.

As a whole the volume embodies a systematic knowledge of children and sane ideas of their needs. The book is bound to have a wide and a wholesome influence, and largely because of this the reviewer wishes to call attention to what seems to be an unwise emphasis in the chapter entitled, "Criminal Tendencies in Boys." By making use of the vague theory of "psychical reverberations of long past ages" in explaining the instincts and impulses of the child, attention is shifted temporarily from the actual child living under modern conditions to the child as a symbol of savage life in remote ages. And yet the moral and ethical import of the child's actions is judged in the light of our highest ideals. In this way instincts and impulses which are perfectly normal and wholesome are labeled "criminal." Since Professor Swift writes, "Crime is caused mainly by social conditions that are morally and intellectually unhygienic," would it not have been more consistent to have used the term "criminal" with reference to the *act* rather than to the tendency or the impulse, and to have placed emphasis upon the responsibility of the community; for it is the community which decides whether the child shall form social or anti-social habits.

In the chapters "The School and the Individual" and "School-Mastering Education," the evils of traditional methods are pointed out and the way paved for the work which is really constructive. The physical basis of education is laid in three chapters dealing with various phases of the nervous system and in three other chapters there is a clear and forcible presentation of the psychological and pedagogical aspects of the learning process. Such excerpts as the following may give the reader a glimpse of the wisdom, the sanity, the good humor, and the charm to be found on nearly every page:

We set up a psychical operating-table in every school-room, and proceed to cut each child according to our measure . . . until we have made him commonplace enough to fit into the traditional pedagogical mind.

Native tendencies have never counted much in the schools. Principals and superintendents can make better ones in the office.

The books of children should be closed the moment there is any indication of lassitude. Carried beyond this point, study tends to delay progress by starting erratic impulses that end in confusion.

Arrest is quite as likely to be caused by overfeeding as by starvation.

It is rather singular that the experimental method, welcomed in other fields as evidence of progress, has received such scant courtesy in education. Education, no doubt, must be conservative, but when conservatism opposes investigations and comparative trials under controlled conditions previously determined it is inertia.

KATHARINE E. DOPP

A Primer of the Science of Internationalism. With special reference to university debates. By WILBUR E. CRAFTS. Washington: International Reform Bureau, 1908. Pp. 86.

This little book aims to make propaganda for the introduction into the university curriculum by way of the debating societies of "the highest branch of the science of man, which deals with man in his widest relation, the hitherto unclassified science of internationalism." This in the author's view is more than international law. There are ten chapters and an Appendix. On the margin there is a running series of suggestive questions for debate. The aim of the book is in consonance with the general aims of the International Reform Bureau, and may be seen from the various chapters. Chap. i is a résumé of the "Concert of Europe in War," and is a plea for international peace. To this

chapter there is appended a table of treaties of peace made in conferences of three or more European powers during the nineteenth century. Chap. ii is called "Treaties of peace made by the concert of Europe at the end of wars," and is concerned mainly with an application of the golden rule to diplomacy. Chap. iii treats of international arbitration and the Hague Conference. Chap. iv concerns the laws of international commerce. Chap. v is styled international philanthropy of nations. Chaps. vi, vii, viii concern themselves with the moral aspects of international relations in markets, gambling, liquor traffic, and vice, and the last chapter has to do with the morals of international regulation of immigration. The Appendix describes Esperanto. The point of view is the reformer's. The treatment may be found in any elementary textbook on civics, e. g., Hart's *Actual Government*.

HUGO P. J. SELINGER

CHICAGO

Socialists at Work. BY ROBERT HUNTER. New York: The Macmillan Co. Pp. 374. \$1.50.

There have been numberless volumes treating the philosophy of socialism and its relation to almost every phase of social life. This work covers an almost wholly different field. In several countries the Socialist movement has grown to be of sufficient strength to become a factor in the shaping of institutions. In each of these countries it has developed some peculiarities while maintaining a large number of things in common. The German, Italian, French, British, and Belgian Socialist parties are studied. The German Social Democracy has fought its way against repressive legislation of the most rigorous sort until the larger portion of that legislation has been repealed and a whole set of ameliorative social measures have been enacted in response to the pressure of the Social Democrats, now the most powerful political party in the empire, though deprived of a large portion of their representation in the Reichstag by an unjust system of representation.

The Italian Socialist party is still disturbed by internal doctrinal differences. There are Syndicalists, Revolutionists, and Reformists, all within the same organization and each with brilliant leadership, drawn largely from the professional classes.

Out of its previous divisions the French Socialist party has developed a clarity of doctrine and action and a galaxy of leaders scarcely equaled in any other country. These long and painful divisions have also taught them the great importance of united action, so that today the French Socialists present a compact powerful force, with widely differing opinions among its members, but all agreeing on the need of unity in action.

The British Labor Party has had a history that distinguishes it from all the others. With a galaxy of writers and thinkers who helped to found the movement it lacked that power of practical leadership which is so essential in an Anglo-Saxon land. William Morris, H. M. Hyndman, Edward Carpenter, and Walter Crane, however great their intellectual brilliancy, were scarcely the material for a proletarian organization, although it was their work that made such an organization possible. When through their efforts, and of the others associated in the Social Democratic Federation, the Fabian Society, and later the Independent Labor Party, the whole country had become permeated with Socialist thought, all that was needed was the shock of the Taff Vale decision to crystallize that thought into action and send a strong body of Socialists into Parliament, there to give such an electric shock to that sober law-making body as to cause it to enact some of the most advanced socialistic legislation of any government in the world.

The Belgian Labor Party is first of all a class movement, concerning itself little with doctrines. It has built up powerful co-operatives that enter into every phase of the workers' lives, organized a strong trade-union movement, and built up a political party that has exercised great influence upon legislation.

In each of these countries the especial things accomplished by the Socialists are set forth at considerable length, as well as their forms of organization, methods of propaganda, and doctrinal peculiarities. There is a special chapter on "Socialism in the Parliaments" describing the measures that have been introduced by the Socialists or by their enemies to forestall the growth of socialism. He says, "The opposition, who first attack a Socialist measure as criminal and vicious, then as well-intentioned but impracticable, finally, after as much delay as possible, reintroduce the measure in as weak a form as they dare submit it, and pass it as a great and virtuous public act."

There is a brief chapter on "The Program of Socialism," giving a summary of the Socialist philosophy and the working platforms of some of the more important countries. The "International," both the Old and the New, is described with a brief sketch of its history, method of organization, and functions. A supplementary chapter summarizes the Socialist movement in those minor countries not described in the body of the work.

The book is one of the best, if not the best, for reading by anyone who wishes to secure an answer to the questions, "Who are the Socialists? What do they believe? What are they doing? How are they organized?" and these are the important points to know about this movement.

A. M. SIMONS

La philosophie de Taine: Essai Critique. Par PAUL NÈVE. Louvain, Paris, Bruxelles, 1908. Pp. 359.

This essay opens with a biographical sketch in which much attention is given to Taine's strong inclination to absolute privacy with respect to his personal affairs.

The philosophy of Taine is treated in two parts: the first part occupying more than two-thirds of the entire essay, *Les Causes*; the second part, *Les Normes*. The essay is primarily a study in philosophy, not sociology.

The investigation of Taine's theory of causes begins with first or final causes, that is, with metaphysics. While some of Taine's critics, Faguet, for example, have maintained that Taine systematically avoided metaphysics, Nève finds a clear enunciation of metaphysical principles in numerous passages of his work (cf. Nève, pp. 38-39). According to Taine, metaphysics is a search for first causes, that is to say for general laws which in virtue of their generality dominate all the sciences and yet are not treated by any particular science (p. 40). Taine undertook to apply the inductive method to metaphysics to construct a *metaphysique positiviste*. Following this survey of final first causes, there are five chapters dealing successively with subordinate or secondary causes as they express themselves in the world, in society, in man-psychology, in institutions, and in aesthetics.

Taine, a devoted disciple of Spinoza, was a pantheist. According to Bourget, cited by Nève, p. 68, Taine was never anything but

a philosopher; to the reviewer he is always a poet. Nève happily observes, p. 75: "La science aboutit à la poésie; elle engendre une sympathie universelle par la révélation de la communauté de nature qui unit tous les êtres dans vaste harmonie du monde."

The fourth chapter, that on society, is probably the central point of interest for the student of sociology, unless it be the following chapter, that on psychology. In his social philosophy Taine postulates what he calls the law of the primordial factors. These primordial factors are: milieu, race, and moment or time. With respect to the stages and the forces of social evolution and the order of the sequence of the natural and moral sciences the thought of Taine runs closely parallel with that of Auguste Comte, although Nève insists, and no doubt correctly (p. 343), that Taine was never directly influenced by Comte. The conception of a natural sequence of the sciences lies really in the conception of evolution itself and cannot be rated as a great discovery. Taine's sociology and psychology stand together. In each the master faculty plays a great rôle. Everything is but the expression, under subordinate laws, of the one great first cause, absolute and perfect being (cf. p. 41). Nève might have claimed more credit for Taine's originality in psychology as distinguished from philosophy; history of images has attained extraordinary development in experimental psychology.

In his exposition of religion, social organization, and politics, Taine's determinism calls forth a vigorous and telling criticism from Nève who urges that Taine failed to apply the inductive method to the study of religion and that his utterances on religion are merely the deductions from his pantheism. Nève also denies that Taine has successfully applied the inductive method to his study of aesthetics.

But it is in the discussion of *normes*, Taine's theory of morals, logic, politics, and the ideal in art, the closing chapters of the essay, that Nève attacks most vigorously Taine's determinism. He calls particular attention to the change in attitude, though not in principles, which the Franco-Prussian war with its incidents and consequences, effected in Taine. The reader must make something of an effort to find what were Taine's norms in morals. His logic was essentially that of Mill. His ideal in politics may be found in his *Les origines de la France contemporaine*, though after 1870 he tended to be a counselor instead of a mere expositor. His ideal in art was the beauty of nature but subject to correction (le but de

l'art est donc en quelque sorte de corriger la nature, p. 321); he believed in its beneficent reaction on character (cette notion de la bienfaisance du caractère s'accorde, en effet, assez difficilement avec la principe déterministe, p. 333). He laid down rules which should be observed in the production of art (pp. 320 f.).

The essay concludes with some observations on the influence which Taine has exercised on art, literature and science, and on what will probably be durable in his philosophic system. May not the style of Taine be recognized as his most lasting charm?

ISAAC ALTHAUS LOOS

Hampa Afro-Cubana, Los Negros Brujos [*Afro-Cuban Vagabondage, the Negro Witches*]. By FERNANDO ORTIZ. With a Critical Introductory Letter by Dr. C. LOMBROSO. Madrid: Libreria de Fernando Fé, 1906. Pp. xvi+432. 48 illus.

In this volume Doctor Ortiz, a distinguished lawyer and scholar of Havana, has furnished important data for a study in criminal ethnology and social pathology. The weird incantations introduced by the natives of widely different parts of "The Dark Continent" indicate the psycho-sociological characteristics of the colored people of Cuba. The author has spared no pains or expense in inquiring into the dangerous, disgusting, and immoral teachings and practices perpetuated from one generation to the next by the unenlightened and unreclaimed pagans in the island. Their forms and formulas and their disastrous effects are explained "in order that their present evils may be considered in their true magnitude and that the people being aroused may make the effort necessary to effect the moral progress of society by the exaltation of noble ideals, the restraint of selfishness, and the promotion of altruism—the sentiment of love and universal co-operation, which is not yet so widely extended as our human pride would lead us to believe.

ALBERT J. STEELMAN

JOLIET, ILL.

The Religion of a Democrat. By CHARLES ZUEBLIN. New York: B. W. Nuebsch. Pp. 192.

The six chapters of this small volume contain the confession of faith of a very manly and sincere mind in full sympathy with the

main tendencies of the modern mind. Although Mr. Zueblin has had a theological training, his treatment of religion is that of a social reformer and his spirit is thoroughly human and humane. The subjects of the chapters are "temperament and personality, the constraint of orthodoxy, the decay of authority, religion and the church, religion and the state, an impersonal immortality." Each person must have his own religion, his "expression of man's relation to the universal, ultimate, and infinite." "Religion is to be less dogmatic, more spontaneous, more genuine, more personal, and at the same time more social. It is good to live for others; it is better to live for all the others. That is the religion of a democrat." "The measure of both religion and morality is social efficiency." "In a deep and real sense, democracy is the only morality, but democracy must mean the sovereignty of the people in all human relationships." "Democracy means nothing less than the life of all, by the co-operation of all for the welfare of all." "So the state is far more important to religion than the church, as to the future of religion." Positivism has had its day: ethical culture still illumines the way, but the future seems to belong to some form of socialism." In the closing chapter "impersonal immortality" (evidently the belief of the author, though not held dogmatically) is defined as "the perpetuation of oneself through the individuals, the institutions, and the ideals of the years to come."

The few sentences quoted will give an indication of the independence, ethical fervor, and general sobriety of Mr. Zueblin's book. One should not expect here the precise definition and the exact analysis of an elaborate treatise. Still, somewhat more pains might well have been spent on such points as the statement of the six great wants of man (p. 175, and elsewhere): "sociability" and "taste," surely, are not what the writer intends, but much rather "society" and "beauty" for two of these wants—wealth, health, knowledge, and righteousness being the four others. The reader cannot fail to be quickened and profited by so thoughtful, unconventional, and earnest a discussion of the great religious realities.

N. P. GILMAN

Essais sur le régime des castes. Par C. BOUGLÉ. Paris: Felix Alcan, 1908. Pp. 278.

This essay forms one of a series of volumes published by *L'Année Sociologique* under the direction of Emile Durkheim. In

an introductory note addressed to the readers of *L'Année* Durkheim explains that those who have been responsible for its publication during the last ten years propose to issue a series of monographs in book form supplementary to the composite and somewhat discursive character of *L'Année*.

Bouglé fixes upon three essential characteristics of caste: "Répulsion, hiérarchie, specialization héréditaire; l'esprit de caste réunit ces trois tendances. Il faut les retenir toutes trois si l'on veut obtenir une définition complète du régime des castes" (p. 4).

Where caste reigns these three characteristics are found by law as well as by custom. These fundamental tendencies exert their influence in society everywhere, but only in a few places and periods of the world's history have they been actually established as a régime of social order. In ancient Egypt, for example, caste was established by custom, but not by law. There is no definite evidence that the transposition of classes in Egypt was interdicted by law; promotion to high office for men of low station by birth was possible. Even in India, pre-eminently the land of caste, castes are not absolutely immobile, but such mobility as exists is collective rather than individual (cf. p. 20). Whole families do sometimes pass to new occupations, but it required a death rate of thirty per one hundred before the weavers of Bengal, ruined by English importation, found a new occupation.

Bouglé brushes aside the oft-repeated explanation of castes in India, that they are the invention of Brahminical priests. "L'étude impartiale des institutions a montré que celles qui sont fondées sur le seul charlatanisme sont rares et fragiles" (p. 36).

The early history of India is permeated by the influence of industrial guilds.

Les plus basses sont celles qui conservent les modes d'activité seul connus aux phases primitives de l'histoire humaine: les castes des pêcheurs et de chasseurs. Les castes d'agriculteurs sont déjà plus nobles, et plus nobles encore les castes d'artisans. Celles qui pratiquent les métiers plus simples, connus avant l'âge de la métallurgie, comme les castes de vanniers, de potiers, de fabricants d'huile, occupent les rangs inférieurs; celles qui usent des métaux travaillés ont plus de prestige. Il semble ainsi que la dignité d'une caste se mesure tant à l'utilité qu'à la difficulté du métier qu'elle exerce (p. 39).

Bouglé recognizes that the stages of the Hindu hierarchy correspond, in a general way, to the phases of industrial evolution and that economic phenomena explain the superposition of castes as well as their differentiation (cf. p. 40). The explanation of caste

as a natural and secular institution derived from the guild shows at the same time that in the civilization which is most profoundly dominated by religion, it is industry which has fashioned in its own way the dominant social form.

But Bouglé is far from insisting on an exclusive economic interpretation of the history of India. In a chapter on the opposition of caste to the family and another on the hierarchy of caste and the priesthood, he recognizes other roots of the régime of caste than those which are essentially of industrial origin.

Having discussed in the first part of his essay the origin of the régime of caste, he devotes a second part to the study of the vitality of the régime of caste in two chapters, one on caste and the Buddhist revolution, the other on caste under the English administration. The essay concludes with a third part devoted to the consideration of the effects of the régime of caste on races in India and their distribution, on Hindu law, on the economic life of India in the twofold aspect of consumption and production, and on the literature of India.

ISAAC ALTHAUS LOOS

STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

Factory Legislation in Maine (Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University, Vol. XXXIII, No. 1). By E. STAGG WHITIN. New York: Columbia University (Longmans, Green & Co., Agents), 1908. Pp. 145. \$1.00.

The first part of this important technological essay is a very comprehensive historical treatment. It traces the conditions of the industrial and the legislative acts from 1821 to 1907. The second part is equally instructive and deals with administration and the factory law of 1908. The critique of the child labor law, pp. 130 ff., is especially apt. A complete index of the labor laws of Maine in force in 1908 is appended to this very valuable little book.

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NOTES AND ABSTRACTS

The Outcome of the Southern Race Question.—The negro has not proven, after forty years of trial, a merely belated white man; he has less self-control, is less affected by ultimate advantages, and is less controlled by family ties and standards of personal morality than the average white person, immigrant or native, with the poorest chance, the least educated and civilized. Another thing counting against the negro is race prejudice. In the South it is very strong. For the race difficulty here, six main remedies have been proposed.

1. *Fusion.*—This is urged by few, but is recognized as having happened to most races dwelling together, and is now, in some degree, in process in the South. Southern whites will not welcome it without a great change in attitude, and having one part of the country occupied by a race of mixed color would only complicate the problem by making it national.

2. *Race separation.*—Transportation fails because of the financial difficulty, the sentimental opposition, and the demand for labor. Replacement by northern and foreign immigration has been unsuccessful because of general dislike for agricultural and rural life. Living in separate communities and race segregation are impossible because of close economic interdependence of the races.

3. *Legislation.*—Enactments against negro dives, laziness, in favor of prohibition and mounted police have been proposed, but meet with the objection that they affect whites also. Besides, legislation does not necessarily raise the character of either racial element and does little to lessen race hostility.

4. *Violence.*—Terrorization is the remedy most widely advocated and applied. Besides shooting, maiming, etc., lynching is a common and well-known method. Much of the evil might be mitigated by the establishment of special courts for aggravated crimes, faithful duty by officials, and quick trial and sure punishment. Negroes should also assist in turning over offenders of their race to justice.

5. *Vassalage.*—Working conditions are much more formal in the South, the negro being valued, not for what he can produce, but for the profit he brings his landlord or employer. This tends toward a condition of peasant labor. More than half the southern negroes are close to the condition of hereditary laborers. Their dependence upon patrons lead them into peonage, which varies from the negative obligation of other employers to not hire a negro in debt to another man to virtual sale of the man's services under the operation of iniquitous lower courts. The worst effect, besides its economic demoralization, is that it discourages and enrages the negroes and brutalizes the whites.

6. *Uplift.*—External constraint is irritating; regeneration of the race must proceed from within. But can the negro come up to the white man's standard and would he be permitted to do so? He has accumulated \$500,000,000 of property, one-fortieth of the South's holdings, and has made good in many skilled trades, has acquired land, and has developed some qualities of leadership. His schools lack efficiency largely from want of white teachers, but much good elementary and industrial training is given. Many white writers and leaders oppose negro education and advancement as an encroachment upon the whites, but more see here the best interests of both.—Albert Bushnell Hart, *North American Review*, July, 1908.

L. L. B.

Enlightened Action the True Basis of Morality.—Morality is a matter of actual conduct or life. Ethics arises as a criticism of standardized action, and seems always present. The true basis of morality is enlightened action. Action for its own sake, without understanding, is not moral, any more than mere enlightenment alone is. Yet, individuals in society cannot be classified, as to their morality, according to their understanding and their action. The heroic

morality arising out of the one attitude and the commonplace morality springing from the other are in everyone, according as habit or ideal is emphasized in consciousness. Ultimately the ideal appears from the commonplace for a new basis of action. Thus true morality is wrapped up in conflict, in the reforming of the characters of people on the basis of more knowledge. Consequently, to be moral is to break the formal law when it conflicts with the higher law of development. "The heroic never has been and never will be a respecter of persons." But no life is so enlightened that it can anticipate all events. Here therefore enters a chance element in experience, the outcome of which must be imagined or taken for better or for worse. It is here that religion finds its connection with morality.—A. H. Lloyd, *Hibbert Journal*, July, 1908.

L. L. B.

[Social Cost of Accident, Ignorance, and Exhaustion.]—The establishment of factories means an industrial revolution from which the child will suffer, unless protected by law. It is an established fact that the delinquent, dependent, neglected child is physically and intellectually inferior, on the average, to the normal school child. This leads us back to the influences which affect the development of the very poor child before birth and in the years of infancy. In this respect our past history has been one chiefly of neglect, the result of a *laissez-faire* philosophy. Insufficient nutrition and excessive toil of factory girls and mothers have for their results either the death of the embryo, or premature birth, and resulting constitutional feebleness of the child. Poor factory women must have sickness insurance if they are to be forced to relinquish work during pregnancy and after confinement. The school, from the sixth to fourteenth years, should be a means for physical and industrial training of the child rather than for its exhaustion. Training should be under medical supervision. Playgrounds, scientifically directed, must also play a part.

Conditions and dangers of child labor are not yet adequately known, but it is certain that the greater physiological awkwardness and inexperience of the child makes him liable to more accidents, while women and children are more susceptible to occupational diseases.

It is estimated that the economic value to society of a healthy normal child of fifteen is \$15,000. Besides this, is the social value, more important and dependent on a multitude of healthy, intelligent, moral, and eager youths.

Not death, but feebleness, degeneration, pauperism, and crime, as results of a bad industrial system, are the greatest burdens upon society. In his early years society spends much in time, energy, and money upon the child, while the mother contributes more than any other one interested. Society and the mothers have a right to expect returns. The chief cause of this loss through premature labor is ignorance of its results, and of what others have done to remove the evil.—C. R. Henderson, *Annals of the American Academy*, July, 1908.

L. L. B.

The Rebellion of Woman.—"Today woman is in rebellion, and her rebellion is the fact of the age." She has always been in rebellion against repression and restriction, but this generation will probably see the culmination of the revolt. Proverb and aphorism have crystallized man's conception of woman, and they have revealed his fear of her unrest and his knowledge of her discontent. She has regarded the home more as a prison than as a shelter, and has needed only contact with the world to bring her to discontent. Man has used all possible means, from bribery and cajolery to punishment, to restrain her. In the East the movement is largely for education. In the West it is for political and economic rights. A special demand is that for equal pay for equal work. The struggle for political rights is as a means to social and industrial recognition. The gravest form of her revolt is that against unwilling and too-frequent motherhood, as the decreasing birth rate shows. She demands the right to determine whether she will be a mother and when, on the ground that only consciously desired motherhood is fair to mother and child and that a few children well and willingly borne would be of greater national value than "a numerous and unwanted progeny."

Woman demands reform and freedom because of her humanhood; they are denied her because she is alleged incapable of using her freedom wisely. That woman is not incapable is shown by the strength of her present fight, and by the fact that children are equal heritors from mother and father. Not so many women are content with present conditions as is sometimes alleged by the opponents of the movement. They lack freedom of expression and have not the technique for rebellion. Even today women are discriminated against before the law and industrially, while they are largely subjected to the license of men.

The whole race suffers from this subjection of one sex to another, and family life is but a mockery of what it might be. The women are not fighting alone, but many men, forgetting their maleness, are helping. "Those who are afraid of the great dangers now in the making, point to the extremists who exist among us. They see the acknowledged man-hater, and they profess to be afraid of a sex-war. They see those who, taking license and refusing responsibility, yet seek to retain the privileges by which woman's subject lot was gilded in the past. These latter women—and they are few—are not the conscious thinking rebels whose claims are based upon principle. They are the unconscious instruments of recoil; they are the product of the very conditions the thinking rebel is striving to abolish." The great problems of sex are at the heart of life. Knitted with them are the problems of race, of morality, of health, of economics. Everywhere the one-sexed solution has produced evil and abnormality. Humanity is dual, and there must be a dual solution. Triumph means a new world.—Tresa Billington-Greig, *Contemporary Review*, July, 1908.
L. L. B.

[**Women and the Franchise.**—The woman's movement, as an expression of the growing sentiment of sex solidarity, is recent. All previous movements were sporadic and non-symptomatic. Greek and Roman philosophers argued equality of the sexes; the moderns have generally opposed it. Subjection cannot be the sole cause of the mental unproductiveness and the political barrenness of women. Until recently the discussion has been quite academic and there has been no general movement on the part of the women themselves to support the claims of individuals. If women are to be allowed the suffrage their legal qualifications must be determined, and these will probably differ from those for men. The question of national expediency will also be raised. Here the result of doubling the suffrage by the addition of the women would necessitate a complete governmental reorganization and damage the credit and power of the national government. Law, from the earliest times in England, has not excluded women from the occupations open to men, but custom and the desire of woman herself have been the great factors. Spencer, commenting on Mill, has remarked that there is also abundance of material for an essay on "the subjection of men." Women are beginning at the wrong end in demanding suffrage before they are willing to assume other political and social responsibilities. Admission of women to vote would probably lead to greater indifference in the choosing of representatives and consequently to the lowering of the dignity and responsibility of legislative bodies. Secondary and extrinsic motives would enter into voting. Already women political organizations have been marked by wirepulling and shameless adulation of rank and money in a conspicuous degree. In the present stage of the movement, it would probably be much better for "female suffragists" to demand the enfranchisement of spinsters and widows only. The putting of all women and all men on the same footing, despite Mill and other theorists, is practically absurd in the highest degree. Men did not get the franchise, all at once. The principle that "taxation and representation go together" has never held in practice. Talk about rights, taxation, tyranny, etc., will count for little with sensible people. It is a question of practicability. The amount of experience in matters and interests of the world of the people enfranchised must also be considered. Mrs. Frederick Harrison contends that women are not a separate class, that they are now citizens, that the interests of the sexes are not antagonistic. She says that for the most part the sexes are endowed in different measure with physical,

moral, and mental characteristics and that this question of suffrage must be settled from the normal or typical woman's standpoint, rather than from that of the Joan of Arc. Although the "suffragettes" evidently take themselves seriously, as shown by their demonstrations, there is evidence that the attention they call to themselves among women will defeat their ends. A very strong objection to the movement is the increased power it would give, if successful, to the Roman Catholic priesthood.—*Edinburgh Review*, July, 1908.

Psychological Factors in Social Transmission.—The comparative psychologist and the ethnologist have recently opened up to us large fields of information regarding organic and social heredity. The historical method has in our day had a completer triumph than that of the physical sciences, but not all social processes can be explained by it alone. The historical series is not a stream but a succession. Yet the possibilities of social variation are not exhausted, despite the fact that great men come in groups. This may even be a hopeful sign. The sociology of mere historical succession is based upon the assumption that man is exclusively a rational creature who receives and transmits and lives in accordance with ideas of varying complexity and importance. But, as a matter of fact, this is the smaller element in social life. The really important things are the primal instincts which make all life akin. Survivals in social custom are not really survivals, but are variant activity adjustments under new conditions to old fundamental instincts. Race and individual alike progress from bare instinct to reason. In both, this progress is mediated; and not by imitation wholly. Transmission is due to both heredity and tradition. How these interact in producing a common social result is our problem. The feelings are organically and not socially transmissible; social transmission involves in each individual a complete new series of adjustments in order to make reception possible. It is largely through the living over in imagination the experiences of the past that present unity of action materializes. Thus institutions obtain a strong compelling power, while progress is attained by interpreting all causation in personal terms. Early, in the case of the individual, and at some time in the race history, control is by mates—by association—rather than by superiors. At this stage imitation is the mean for bringing about a social average and in it an average socius. Many people get little, or not at all, beyond this. As a comparative exception there is developed the period or stage of reason, in which control is exerted by and through ideals. But this can be only a small fraction of the force of control in group life at the present time. The main principle is folk and historical selection tempered to the efficiency of the institution and the individual who are complements.—J. W. Slaughter, *The Sociological Review*, April, 1908. L. L. B.

Civilization in Danger.—"Civilized humanity at the present moment is undergoing profound transformations." Fifty years ago there were well-marked groups and classes. Democratic pressure and material progress are tending to make these disappear. Social leveling is equally apparent from the material, the intellectual, and the moral point of view. The advantages are great. But it also has the danger of resulting in a state of universal mediocrity, which would be the ruin of our civilization.

Outwardly at least, man has become impersonal. All classes dress practically alike, have similar furniture, and a common interest in all amusements. Education is no longer a mark of superiority, and specialization has taken its place as a struggle factor. Culture, as giving men an all-round acquaintance with life, is disappearing. In its place, common ideas and ideals are taken from the daily press. In morality, the men of today are deliberately living in the present. There are no ideals beyond success of the moment, immediate and tangible satisfactions, which can be bought with money. Hence money is the end of action. Higher ideals of intelligence and art are swallowed up in those purely and immediately utilitarian. Morally and intellectually, society is being leveled by the lowering of the *élite* to a uniform level with all the rest. It is self-murder. The consequence is the possible disappearance of every kind of social superiority in which art and culture, which are civilization itself,

will be swallowed up. An age of vulgarity and sordid ugliness is the logical outcome of an age of uniformity.

Such uniformity would be fatal to human happiness, and therefore it must be resisted. Material uniformity is perhaps necessary. But an aristocracy must be preserved, for to suppress inequalities is to revert to lower forms, to become as ants and bees. But the new aristocracy must rest on superiority of talent and of character rather than on the privilege of birth or on money. There is already an aristocracy of intellect, but it fails as yet to see the necessity for organization against universal mediocrity. More than mere intellect—culture, represented by artists and women, must be included in this aristocracy. Woman, as the inspiration of the best in man, as the more idealistic in her aspirations and feelings, has a peculiar interest in the maintenance of culture as a means to civilization. When uniformity comes, individual initiative ends. That is, science ends, is unable to give a new dream. The world is old and cramped in spirit. It is well to keep as much spirit and fire, to ward off inanity, as we can.—Renè-L. Gérard, *Hibbert Journal*, July, 1908.

L. L. B.

The Right to Constrain Men for Their Own Good.—Constraint in the interest of others is the fundamental principle of all government, the corrective to innate selfishness. The right of constraint in the interest of the constrained is a relatively new and unstable principle, but of late there has been an ever-increasing movement to limit the acts of a person or a group, in cases where no external party is concerned; to intervene between a man's intentions and himself; and to become keeper of the conscience to the world in general. There are three degrees of constraint, provisionally, (A) where it clearly seems beneficial; (B) where benefits and disadvantages are about balanced in the long run; (C) where, as applied to various races, it has proved harmful.

Three fallacies must be noted before application to concrete cases: (1) continual confusion is made between ethics of a group and of an individual. What is right for an individual may be wrong for the race as a whole; (2) that our moral sense is an infallible test of right. It is only the basis of action; in its pure form, as absolute principle, it would be Pharisaism raised to an infinite power; (3) the absolute certainty of the accuracy of one's views constitutes in itself a right to interfere with the views of others. This was the basis of the Inquisition.

A. Most cases of the first degree, as the factory acts, acts for shortening hours of labor, abolition of slavery, etc., are for protection against others rather than against self. On the other hand, it is doubtful if there can be found a case in which constraint of the individual from self-injury is certainly beneficial.

B. In the second case: constraint of other peoples in form of government comes mainly from the desire to keep our own governmental organizations intact. Weaker peoples have always been supplanted in the possessions of their lands when in contact with a stronger power, being, in some cases, remunerated easily for their losses because of increased production. The principle, held to by some, that it is best for the land to be possessed by the people who can support the largest population on it, would lead logically to the supplanting of western nations by the Chinese and Japanese. In questions of constraint over the faults and follies of people at home, we should consider (1) the direct immediate benefits for the man; (2) the same for the family; (3) the possible destruction of self-reliance; (4) weakening of character by precluding temptation; (5) growth of deceit and lawlessness; (6) probability of more injurious substitutes; (7) benefits of weeding-out by excess of the worst of the population; (8) difficulty of saying who is to set the standard. Taking the drink question as a concrete case, not prohibition, but enforced openness and condemnation of excessive use, seem the better policy. Practical courses, in this regard, seem to be: (1) to improve the tone and condition of the traffic; (2) to reduce the facilities for getting drink, while not promoting private drinking; (3) to teach bad effects of alcohol; (4) to impose severer penalties for offenses committed when drunk than when sober; (5) to enforce the supply

of clean water in workshops and public places, and to encourage substitutes. However, constraint seems obviously necessary where power of self-control has been lost in connection with drink, drug habits, gambling, sexual vice, etc. In these cases it is a species of insanity, and labor colonies and means for producing habits of continuous and intensive normal activities are needed.

C. Education suffers most from this third type. A wide interest in all things is the best preventive for seeking abnormal excitement in gambling, stimulants, etc. There should be more freedom in development, for teachers, and for schools, the value of growth being greater than the value of mere conformity. Again constraint, as applied to various races, has been blind and harmful, in the large. The conditions of the growth of institutions, and customs, their uses, and the likelihood of the people being able to adapt themselves to others, should be considered before the old are taken away. Generally, the highest characters can be developed and perpetuated by giving freest rein to suffer from mistakes and profit by successes.—W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Hibbert Journal*, July, 1908.
L. L. B.

Is the Christian Necessarily a Socialist?—To identify Christianity with Socialism or Collectivism, despite the tendency of many Christians to become Socialists, is confusing in that it either tends to represent Socialism as an ethical principle or to identify Christianity with a particular programme of social or economic reform. (1) Socialism is only one theory of means of attaining a certain end. There are other theories for reaching this end. In this case the ethical basis or principle is the same for each. Where ends sought are different there must, however, be different ethical bases or motives, either within Christian doctrine or without it. (2) That Christianity cannot be identified with any particular plan of social reforms is shown by the fact that its founder had none and also that socialism aims at its establishment by force. Even considering evolutionary Christianity, the recentness of socialism with its disproportionately rapid growth and the small number of Christians who sanction the identity, oppose the confounding of the two.

Some of those who oppose the present order have argued that it is wholly competitive and hence un-Christian and un-socialistic. To these it may be answered: (1) The present system does not appeal merely to self-interest, for there is interest in family and society under it. (2) While it would be better to have secured a distribution of goods according to contribution, which present radical competition now prevents, this would be by no means reached through altruistic motives alone, but rather through the egoistic. (3) It is only an assumption to imagine that the only possible alternative to the existing social order must be socialism. There are schemes of co-partnership, social regulation, co-operation, etc. Not even socialism could remove all competition, i. e., realize itself. (4) A state of society which appeals exclusively to altruistic motives is impossible. Family and community ties cannot be ignored nor can there be incentive without differential enumeration. The localization of the individual in a particular environment is a fact, and his attachments and cues for action grow out of this. (5) Nor would such a type of human nature be desirable. Even Christianity requires us to love our neighbors no better than ourselves, while all experience indicates that altruism is merely the expansion of egoism. (6) Self-regarding impulses do not necessarily involve competition; nor can competition be done away with without serious ethical and economic loss.

Practically, there should be less division according to names, since the economic and ethical aims are the same. To tag oneself with any particular name is to get out of the sphere of expansion and of greatest usefulness. The plan of union in action for social betterment must be broader than any one social programme.—H. Rashdall, *Economic Review*, July, 1908.

L. L. B.

Three New Books by Professor Bawden.—Three new books, about to be published by Professor H. Heath Bawden, will be of interest to many readers of this *Journal*. These books treat respectively of the basal principles of the new

philosophy called *Pragmatism*; the *Principles of Education*; and the *Principles of Aesthetics*.

Professor Bawden believes that in Pragmatism are to be found the elements of a distinctive American philosophy. Four great constructive ideas unite in this most characteristic product of our Anglo-Saxon civilization—democracy, evolution, energy, and scientific method. Democracy is treated as the organic and functional relationship of the various parts of experience; the idea of evolution, rightly understood, as the only sound basis for a theory of social progress; the concept of energy, which is transforming physics, as supplying in "action" the fundamental category of science; and scientific method, in the "instrumental logic," as transforming philosophy. The *Principles of Pragmatism* will take up in succession the following topics: Philosophy, setting forth the meaning of Pragmatism; experience, the subject-matter with which philosophy deals; consciousness, the transforming phase of experience; feeling, the value consciousness; thinking and knowledge, the mediation of values; truth, and the test of validity; reality, with its baffling problems of objectivity, space, time, causation, mind and matter, origin and destiny. To these problems the pragmatic method is applied with results which cannot fail to be of interest to those who try to "think things together."

The *Principles of Education* exhibit the workings of Pragmatism in the field of education. This book is the result of the author's study and teaching of Professor Dewey's educational philosophy for the past eight years. It is divided into three parts. Part I treats of the "Problem of Education," and contains an exposition of the presuppositions of education, a survey of the contributions of science to education, and an analysis of education as process and as content. Part II treats the "Subject-Matter of Education" on the psychological basis of child development. It discusses successively child psychology, infancy, imitation, the play period, the work period, and adolescence. This part of the volume contains a statement of those important sociological and psychological grounds for a radical reconstruction of the elementary curriculum for which Professor Dewey's educational philosophy stands. Part III discusses the "Method of Education" on the logical basis of adult experience. Educational psychology; experience as action, as feeling, as thinking; and the social significance of the school, constitute the topics which are considered. The various phases of "special method" are treated as corollaries of the great fundamental social and psychical laws brought to light in recent biology and psychology.

The *Principles of Aesthetics* shows the application of the pragmatic philosophy in the field of Beauty. Everywhere in modern science the problem is shifting from the nature of reality and the criteria of knowledge to the appreciation of values. Beauty is the value category *par excellence*. Part I, "Beauty," treats of the general nature of value, beauty as value, and beauty as an absolute. Part II, "Art," discusses art and industry and the art impulse. Part III, "Appreciation," sets forth the psychological theory of aesthetic emotion, aesthetic imagery, stimulation and repose, and their exemplification in the psychology of the comic. Part IV, "Criticism," carries this analysis of aesthetic value into the spheres of art and nature, art and science, art and criticism, and art and life.

Biology and Human Progress.—Without disparaging the other sciences, it must be claimed for biology that, since we are living creatures, it is of the first importance for the understanding of our vital problems, for the cultivation of that foresight which we are bound by our contract with the Almighty to practice. As a means of culture, biology is invaluable for the development of that type of mind which is ready to connect series of facts, and so perceive the danger before it is at the door, the advantage before it has passed by.

All our educational problems may be said to center around questions of "nature and nurture;" in other words, heredity and environment. To what extent can we, by our educational methods, affect the character of the individual? To what extent is it legitimate or desirable to do so? Education may be defined as being the provision of the best means for developing the several

characteristics or abilities of the individual to the best personal and social uses. In this sense it includes adequate nourishment on the one hand, adequate stimuli on the other.

Experiments with the ova of sea-urchins have demonstrated that exposure to a temperature a few degrees above or below the normal at the time of impregnation, or a variation in the salinity of the water, resulted in a decided diminution in the size of the larva. Similarly with higher animals; a doe rabbit was permitted to live and give birth to litters of young in an artificial slum in the basement of a house, where air and light were scant, with the result that many were born dead, and others were so weakly as to be scarcely able to live. Afterward the same mother in healthy surroundings bore vigorous offspring. Biology teaches, then, that living organisms are very easily affected in the earliest stages of their existence.

That the slums of our cities could not be destroyed in a few years, if the people of this country really wished it, is impossible to believe. The trouble is, that we either hold property (if it belongs to us or our associates) to be more valuable than life or health (if they belong to others), or else we do not recognize the true causes of the existing evil. In the latter case science and education should help us, in the former we justify revolution.

To the cry that the world's work must be carried on, cities, factories and mills exist, commercial profit made, regardless of consequences, the biologist can have but one answer: Nothing is right which interferes with the normal healthy life of human beings; nothing so interfering is justifiable if preventable.

Progress in human society may come about in two ways, which in actual fact will be combined. It may result from variation of the germ-plasm, that is to say, actual and fundamental change in the make-up of the individuals; or it may result from the acquired characteristics. By the former method selection of the fit has done something. The elimination of the unfit will be one of the great issues of the future, and it will come to be an axiom that insanity, imbecility, hereditary disease, and the like, shall not be increased by breeding. By the latter method education has done much. The slowness and difficulty of the alteration of our fundamental natures serve to emphasize the importance and value of acquired characteristics. Education, in the hands of man, aided by "social inheritance," has made our modern civilization out of barbarism, and gives us hope for the most backward races.—T. D. A. Cockerell, *Atlantic Monthly*, June, 1908.

G. A. S.

The Social Ideal.—The ideal determines the life. If, then, by taking thought, we could project a social ideal upon which the people could agree, one which, because drawn from facts and existing conditions, and the possibilities of human nature, would force its acceptance on every reflective mind, we should have the most effective means of increasing the rapidity of human advancement.

But a social ideal differs from a social forecast. It is a conception of what society ought to be, not of what it is to become. It is ethical. It implies the categorical imperative. It must, therefore, be a work of synthesis, or, if you please, a product of the constructive imagination. What we need now, and what with our wider knowledge we ought to be able approximately to construct, is an ideal scientifically conceived, in harmony with existing facts and forces, and hence possible of attainment. Such an ideal would not be separable and distinct from society as we now find it, but its highest manifestation—society purified and transformed by the best elements it now contains. Social philosophy cannot describe the daily life of the citizen of an ideal world, but it can answer the questions: Is the coming society to be based on the class spirit or on the spirit of brotherhood? Is it to be competitive or co-operative? Is it to be individualistic or socialistic?

Confining ourselves, then, to "the constituent elements of the highest realizable ideal of human life" (*Autobiography of John Stuart Mill*, p. 189), we may

affirm that they are three in number: (1) social intelligence; (2) social economy, and (3) voluntary co-operation.

Social intelligence has been well defined by Henry George, who calls it "that consensus of individual intelligence which forms a public opinion, a public consciousness, and a public will, and is manifested in law, institutions, and administration" (*Social Problems*, p. 9). According to this definition, social intelligence is to be distinguished from the mere sum of individual intelligences. Intelligent men do not necessarily guarantee an intelligent society. In intelligence there is an element of knowledge—no knowledge, no intelligence. Until the people are socially well informed, until they have knowledge of social conditions, know the lessons of social experience, give earnest thought to methods of social improvement, begin to study the requirements of the general good as they study their own, select public representatives with the same care as private agents, no matter how intelligent they are with respect to individual affairs, there will be no high manifestation of social intelligence. This social knowledge and solicitude are at present rare or wanting.

Some social intelligence now exists. It is formed by the operation of natural causes, and without any special attention on the part of society. It comes as an unintended result of social evolution. But the formation of social intelligence is artificial as well as natural. Having arrived at a stage of development at which we realize the importance of a corporate consciousness, we have already begun to devise methods of promoting it. We are beginning to consider the "social aspect" of our various institutions, the "social function" of the school, the home, the church. This must result in an increase of social knowledge, and an enlarged interest in social affairs.

Intelligence is inconsistent with the employment of greater effort than is necessary to attain a given satisfaction. It adapts means to ends. It avoids wastes. Ideal social intelligence therefore implies ideal social economy, and this is the second element of our ideal. Social economy, as well as social intelligence, is initiated by nature and promoted by art. It must manifest itself in social action, and for social action organization is necessary. The social ideal, then, implies thorough social organization for the performance of social tasks. If we conceive society as a unit, we must recognize that as such it has certain needs—protection, sustenance, knowledge, and the like. Supply of these needs, up to a certain point, is necessary to the life and its normal activity. The matter of supplying the general needs of society is properly a social task.

There are four ways in which social organization may be accomplished: (1) By an autocrat: Suppose him to be ideally intelligent and animated by a desire for the public good. So far as the immediate aspect of the situation is concerned, we should then have ideal economy. But at best we should have only a benevolent despot, with no assurance that his successor would be equally wise and benevolent. But still more important, the people would be deprived of one of the best opportunities for self-development, namely, the opportunity afforded by the organization and management of their own affairs. (2) By the state (in the restricted sense, which means the governing class). The same objections obtain here as to the previous method. If benevolent, it is impermanent; and always it deprives the people of the education derived from doing things for themselves. The results are the same—irresponsible power, organization for selfish purposes, paternalism, and undeveloped popular initiative. (3) By private individuals acting in their own interest. The third method is that under which the organization of our industrial activities is now proceeding. A comparatively few men, whom we call captains of industry, own or control the instruments of production and direct our business enterprises for private profit. This is called capitalism. Like both the other methods, it localizes power and leads to the temptation to use this power for selfish ends. Its object is profits, and profits is not synonymous with public good. Its economy is immediate and cannot be perfected, for the reason that perfect social economy is inconsistent with the existence of individual economics looking to private ends. (4) By society itself, where the people themselves take the initiative, organize

themselves and act in the interest of all. This is democracy. In industry it is production for use and not profit.

A third element constituting the ultimate social aim is voluntary co-operation. Social organization implies that men shall work together for the common good, consciously or unconsciously, under compulsion or voluntarily. If men co-operate, either unconsciously or because they are compelled to do so, there is a lack of knowledge and purpose, or a want of interest. In either case there cannot be the highest effectiveness.

The approximate realization of the social ideal would mean a society in which the atrocities of individuals and national strife could no longer take place, because so obviously inconsistent with social intelligence and the spirit of co-operation and brotherhood; a society in which the repressive function of government, as distinguished from the administrative function, will no longer be exercised because no longer necessary, as it is no longer necessary today with the best elements of our population; a society in which the barriers between nation and nation and race and race will be cleared away; and the true patriot will not be he who loves his country, but he who loves his kind; a society in which there will be no poor, except the poor in spirit; no rich, except those who are rich in goodness, wisdom, and love; a society in which there will be no idle, because all will have opportunity for work and all will have learned that the joy of living is in doing; a society in which there will be no broken down and overworked, because a fair distribution of the work of the world will lighten the labor of each; a society which in truth will mean a new heaven and a new earth where man, untrammelled by want and evil conditions, may press rapidly onward in his development and mount to the utmost possibilities of his being.—Ira W. Howerth, in *International Journal of Ethics*, January, 1908.

G. A. S.

The Color Line in the North.—In almost every important city of the north a distinct race problem exists which must, in a few years, assume serious proportions. Though the birth-rate here is less than the death-rate, the negro element is growing more rapidly, perhaps, than any other single element of urban population on account of the influx of immigrants from the South. Race feeling and discrimination are rapidly increasing. Generally speaking, the more negroes the sharper the prejudice. Two classes of colored people come North: the worthless, ignorant, semi-criminal sort; and the hard-working people really seeking better conditions of life. But the negro has not become adjusted to the competitive struggle of the highly developed industrial system of the North, nor has he found the "promised land." On the part of the better class of white men there is an attitude of hesitation and withdrawal. The race riots of the North are as bad as those of the South. Churches even in Boston draw the color line because they must in order to retain their white membership. A few years ago no hotel or restaurant in Boston refused negro guests; now several hotels, restaurants, and confectionary stores will not serve the best of negroes. Human nature north of the Mason and Dixon is no different from human nature south of the line.—R. S. Baker in the *American Magazine*, February, 1908.

L. W.

Some Tendencies in Social Evolution.—At the present time public attention is focused upon political reform. It is a fallacy to believe that legislative enactment *in itself* will effect the necessary improvement in social life. The means are purely artificial. The mere arrangement of society does not completely overcome the individuality of man. The existence of this higher quality in man constitutes a living protest against the suggestion that a far-reaching improvement in physical environment is all that is needed to usher in the millennium. The general improvement of conditions would do much, but more is needed. The age we live in has become disgracefully artificial. Industrial society is wholly artificial. The bane of advancing civilization is ill-regulated material prosperity. Three distinct movements, advancing simultaneously, give some assurance of human progress toward a higher state of life: (1) the movement toward freedom and clearness of thinking; (2) the movement toward

simplicity of life; and (3) the movement which has for its object the improvement of social environment. These tendencies are gaining ground, though rich and poor alike resist change. There has been a revolt against bad government. The people are bent on some large measures of political reform. But reforms travel slowly and deal with influences that are mental, physical, and social, rather than political.—R. G. Davis, *Westminster Review*, January, 1908.
L. W.

The Functions of Charity in Modern Society.—Charity is broader than mere relief-giving and not so inclusive as friendliness or brotherhood. It originated with the clan and has always been based on the principle that the group, in order to have as many efficient members as possible, must help those in need. It is useless to say that it is better to abolish the need for charity than to practice it, for the most perfect social organization could not prevent natural inequalities among men and their consequences. Charity is to accomplish its work in three ways: (1) by adjustment of the socially weak through individual treatment and the improvement of social conditions; (2) care of those who cannot be reclaimed, both because the feeling of social brotherhood demands it and because the degenerate must be segregated; (3) the furthering of social progress, first, by developing social sympathy and, second, by developing a scientific and preventive philanthropy. The social worker then has to deal both with faults in the individual character and with defects in social conditions. In this light, scientific philanthropy becomes largely constructive social reform, where a knowledge of human society, as well as of human nature, is indispensable. Trained experts are not alone sufficient for this work; there must be a general co-operation of public opinion also.—Charles A. Ellwood, *Charities and the Commons*, January 4, 1908.
L. L. B.

The Growth of Large Fortunes.—We have an age of new and striking characteristics. The economic development is both qualitative and quantitative. The causes of the characteristically great fortunes of the age are economic rather than political, their appearance being probably due to the modern developments in technology and industrial organization. In the term riches there are three especial elements of meaning: (1) the possession of wealth or property in a conspicuously large amount, a relative condition significant of great inequality; (2) the yield of a conspicuously large income, not dependent upon labor; (3) large fortunes are a matter of private law; they constitute power pertaining to particular persons. The causes of their growth are impersonal and economic. Individuals are about as they have always been. If unscrupulousness and unfairness have played an unusually large part in the development of large fortunes it is because of the conditions under which the men operate. These conditions are: (1) a shift from more to less democratic forms of property right: The laborer no longer owns his tools, and prices are regulated in the general stock market; (2) a shift to less democratic forms of production and of gainful occupation, both as to technical requirements and as to organization: Power-driven machinery has displaced tools and the regimental organization of factory hands has hindered the all-round development of men; (3) the valuing of all goods in terms of the market on a money basis has given the man familiar with the dynamics of industry a marked advantage for gain.

The tendency of modern wealth is to become productive wealth; only thus under our social system could great fortunes arise. The rich in barbarous times were so in the possession of consumption goods. In the Middle Ages fortunes came from political power. Now they arise as great functioning elements in production. Technical and managerial developments have played a large part in building great fortunes. Large-scale production has everywhere been the rule and consequent, except in agriculture. Consequently only the very wealthy could enter business, unless under the more impersonal guise of corporations. Along with this growth in capital has come a corresponding evolution in ownership forms. The corporation meets the needs of those who wish a sure investment without the risk of managing their own fortunes. It is also a

response to the demand for wider scale production. This form of ownership has been the most fruitful cause of the growth of large fortunes. With increased capital comes also greater economic inequality, especially with removal of obstacles to concentration evidenced in (1) the increasingly greater material for fortunes, (2) the possibility of concentrating riches without increasing the care, and (3) in the ease with which existing fortunes are kept without reference to ability. It requires only a union of ability and energy with initial advantage in means to accumulate the inequality.

This is a development period. Improvements in technique and new forms of operation together with high-pressure exploitation of resources have put a premium upon place, time, and managerial values. The market is become world-wide, and all credit centers in stocks. This is a contributing factor in the growth of wealth in general and consequently in the development of great fortunes in particular. In fact the growth of large fortunes is the natural result of these three factors canvassed: (1) the development of abstract property; (2) the dominance of large-scale production; (3) the differential gain in increase in values.

Concentration of population has accompanied concentration of wealth. Lately, with further economic improvements, the swing has been away from strict concentration. Modern methods of investment, by the diffusion of income from property among the majority, is helping in this decentralizing movement.

The poor are undoubtedly better off than ever before. The question of the adequacy and the tendency of the income of labor is apart from the question of the growth of large fortunes. However, it is probable that the tendency since the industrial revolution is for an increasingly larger proportion of men to become dependent exclusively on labor for a livelihood, while, on the other hand, there has been a corresponding concentration of wealth. There are also favorable counteracting tendencies appearing. Middle- and lower-class opportunities for income are better than formerly, even as regards property income.

Society's judgment upon great incomes from property should be from the side of use made of them. This use has often shown public spiritedness. It seems, however, that the social (especially the moral and the political) influence of concentration of riches is on the whole evil. Inequality of natural endowment will ordinarily secure sufficient economic inequality. Present concentration of riches threatens that equality of opportunity and that spirit of individuality and self-reliance, which are essential to democracy. A class with great incomes without labor is more dangerous socially than one administering productive wealth, but the urgent economic and political question is how to restrain the unbridled power of the active rich and their corporations. Governmental interference may be necessary in connection with modern large fortunes.

Work is as yet the tradition and habit of Americans. When recently the son of a multi-millionaire wrote "gentleman" for occupation, the fact was remarked as new and interesting. We have not yet developed a family pride in a non-functioning ancestry, though the seed is germinating. Riches are the only form of secure power in the United States. This is an important cause of development of great fortunes.

It is possible that our development may not continue in the same direction as heretofore. The evolution of abstract property may ultimately cure that high degree of economic inequality of which it has so far been the great cause.—G. P. Watkins, *American Economic Association Publication*, November, 1907.

L. L. B.

The Practical Conditions of the Search for Causes in Historical Work.—

This is an attempt to explain the difference between the point of view of the philosopher and that of the historian, and why the historian cannot define "the precise effect in general terms."

The historian must first seek the cause of the particular event; the determination of that cause is valid only for that particular event. When the historian abstracts from particular conditions of time and place in order to seek

constant successions of phenomena, he leaves history and enters the region of sociology.

In order to describe a particular fact by a general term, it is necessary to analyze the fact so precisely as to reduce it to definite abstract elements; the same name can be given to every other fact that contains exactly the same elements. This is possible in the physical and biological sciences, but in history it is impossible because of the lack of documents previous to the nineteenth century, and because of the nature of such categories of phenomena as the religious and artistic. The use of abstract and general terminology would only conceal the fact that the knowledge is empirical.

To find the particular cause, the historian needs to know: (1) the particular historical facts which have preceded the event; these can be found only in documents; (2) the general relations between human phenomena; this is the region of social science. The insufficiency of materials in these regions makes necessary a study of (3) motives, psychological phenomena. The study of conscious representations enables the historian to know the direction of acts. Though unconscious phenomena are important forces, they cannot be known, and appear to the historian merely as a missing link in the chain of causes.—M. C. Seignobos, "Les conditions pratiques de la recherche des causes dans le travail historique," *Bull. de la soc. fr. de phil.*, Vol. VII, p. 263, July, 1907.

E. H. S.

The Coming Generation in France.—The French novelist Marcel Prévost, a sane and shrewd observer, has taken a hand in the discussion of the French nation's future, and has made some suggestions which may prove very significant. The following is translated from a recent article:

Thirty years ago the scene was occupied by a generation that styled itself "decadent." It stooped under the burden of the heavy disasters that had fallen on the country, at the time when the men of that generation were children. Recall the admirable beginning of the *Confessions d'un enfant du siècle* (a book by Alfred de Musset, published in 1836.—TRANSLATOR): "During the wars of the Empire, while the husbands and brothers were in Germany, the anxious mothers had given to the world a pale, serious, nervous generation. . . ."

Alas! the decadent generation came into the world at the moment when the anxious mothers saw Germany at their doors, the brothers and the husbands in the power of the invader. The less energetic of these children were afflicted with a hatred of effort, with a distrust of destiny. The generation as a whole failed of its mission, which was to make armed amends for the defeat of their fathers. And this fact contributed to make them more meditative, more incapable of action, more inclined to take refuge in the subtleties of thought.

We all remember the young men of that time; they were only a few years too old to be my contemporaries. They were distinguished by an extraordinary intellectual culture, by a refined artistic appreciation. They had read everything, at eighteen years, and judged everything. They were serious and disdainful. They had revised for their own behoof all the notions admitted by their elders, and had retained very few of them. They despised muscles, and had little interest in any part of the brain but the circumnutations which were a trifle abnormal. They preferred a certain philosophy and a certain poetry that were incomprehensible to the normal man. They were studious, and yet the mark of this generation was sterility. Their meager remains have only documentary interest. Those among them whose work has endured are they who rebelled early against the discipline of their school and came back to reality, to life. But the influence of the others has not entirely disappeared. Though shut out from literature, it is still evident in certain reactionary spirits. There is decadence in the divagations of a Hervé, who, a Frenchman, finds nothing undesirable in living under a German yoke.

The young brood that sprawls about, nowadays, on the seashore, in the mountains, and in the fields, seems to be just as clearly defined as the other. As far as I am able to observe, it is a thoroughly different and significant variety. It is not in the slightest degree like the curious generation of the decadents, or like the more amorphous generations that followed.

In the first place a common mark strikes the observer in the most of these young men: they are thoroughly childish. This is absolute truth, and you can verify it easily. The portrait of the precociously serious and melancholy young Frenchman must be laid aside or destroyed. Here is a generation which, at sixteen or eighteen years, has very little desire to ape the man of forty. The boy's chief and almost exclusive interest is physical exercise, sport. At the age when our school companions were eagerly buying mauve, yellow, or green reviews, they buy sporting magazines. The result is, first, that they have a genuinely refreshing air of juvenile good health, and second, that their intellectual culture is sensibly feebler than that of their predecessors. At their age, the contemporaries of Jules Lagorgue had devoured libraries; they had reflected; the indigent erudition of their fathers had excited their compassion. The new brood snap their fingers at erudition. All sincere teachers will tell you that the average of scholarship is dropping lower every year. Let us face the naked fact. It is impossible to be a passionate devotee of football and of metaphysics at sixteen years. The joyous ignorance of these children is profoundly significant.

Their robust health, their suppleness in physical exercises, excite their love, naturally, for movement and consequently for action. They are enterprising and courageous. Having come to the age of reason in the day of automobiles and of wireless telegraphy, no distance terrifies them. The world seems small to them. They think of nothing but rapid and sweeping changes. One can safely prophesy that they will not willingly choose sedentary occupations. It should be foreseen, also, that they will not be so easily satisfied as were their elders with the wages allowed by the state to its functionaries. Sport, which, I insist, is their principal preoccupation, demands leisure and money. Every boy of seventeen years takes for granted nowadays that a life without an auto is a cramped existence.

Delight in movement, then, delight in practical activity, desire to win a fortune; I see all this in the boys of today. The moral effect of these tendencies is, first, that they are not pessimistic. Without formulating a doctrine, the boys believe that life is good. Another moral effect is not less important, but requires more delicate handling. Their physical equilibrium and their need of movement, leaving them little opportunity for thinking, render them more puerile, in every sense of the word. The racket and the bicycle are their women, and women enough for the most of them. In this, as in many other respects, they are like their young neighbors on the other side of the Channel. In a school of South Croydon a friend of mine who was teaching French assured me that the pupils *never* spoke of girls. It is likely to be so with boys absorbed in autos, balls, and bicycles.

Shall we salute with joy this manifest transformation of the young Frenchman, less intellectual and more athletic, less sentimental and more healthy? At the present moment, and in view of the menaces of the future, yes, certainly. Such young men will be better fitted than would aesthetes to solve problems where it is more important to act quickly than to theorize learnedly.

In a country like ours, surcharged with history and saturated with civilization, we must have from time to time a generation that cares more for living than for philosophizing. The important question with regard to this new brood of young cocks is undoubtedly whether they have solid spurs.—Marcel Prévost, "Collégiens en vacances," in *Les annales politiques et littéraires*, August 18, 1907; translated by R. T. House, Weatherford, Okla.

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THE CHICAGO EMPLOYMENT AGENCY AND THE IMMIGRANT WORKER

GRACE ABBOTT

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The importance of the employment agency in the industrial or economic adjustment of the immigrant became apparent with the first work undertaken by the recently formed League for the Protection of Immigrants. Ignorant of our language, the country, and the American standard of wages, and compelled by his poverty to accept the first possible work, the immigrant is especially defenseless when he offers himself in the labor market. At no time does he need disinterested guidance and help more than in securing his first work, and yet he is dependent in most cases upon the private employment agent and he becomes, because of his ignorance and necessities, a great temptation to an honest agent and a great opportunity to an unscrupulous one. For this reason an investigation of Chicago agencies was made in order to determine what kinds of work may be obtained by the immigrant man or woman through this means, in what ways they are exploited, and what changes in the laws are necessary to reduce such exploitation to a minimum. According to the statement of the Commissioner of Labor, through whose department agencies are licensed, there were 289 licensed agencies in Chicago in June, 1908. Of this number 178 were investigated and 110 of them were found to make a specialty of placing foreigners. All the agencies in the neighborhood of any of our foreign colonies

were visited and also those in the down-town district so that it is believed that the 110 agencies visited are the only ones in the city which handle immigrants in any large numbers. Of these fifty-six furnished work for men, thirty-three for women, and twenty-one for both men and women. As the conditions and difficulties of the immigrant man and woman are quite different their relation to the employment agent must be separately considered. So far as the women are concerned, the kinds of work offered are few and there is very little financial exploitation as the following table shows:

TABLE SHOWING KIND OF WORK SUPPLIED IMMIGRANT WOMEN
BY CHICAGO EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES

	Agencies Supply- ing Women Only	Agencies Supply- ing both Men and Women	Total
Number of agencies offering housework...	28	..	28
Number of agencies offering hotel or restaurant work.....	18	17	35
Number of agencies offering factory work	4	5	9
	50	22	
Agencies counted twice.....	17	1	
Total number of agencies.....	33	21	54

TABLE SHOWING FEES CHARGED IMMIGRANT WOMEN BY
CHICAGO EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES

No. of agencies charging from \$0.50 to \$1.00	15
No. of agencies charging \$1.50 to \$2.00	25
No. of agencies charging \$3.00	3
No. of agencies charging a per cent. of wages	8
	51
No. of agencies supplying women in which fees were not ascertained . .	3
Total number of agencies	54

The immigrant girl then usually pays the agent less than two dollars in contrast, as will be shown later, with the immigrant man who usually pays from three to fourteen dollars. The work offered her is almost without exception hotel or housework, so the small army of foreign girls at work in the stockyards and at the various clothing trades in the city must secure their posi-

tions through other means. The mistresses of the better homes want girls who can speak English and furnish references, so the best places are not open to the immigrant. German and Scandinavian girls, however, because they are known to be excellent servants and because servants are difficult to secure, can often get good places although they are ignorant of the language. The Norwegian and Swedish National Societies both maintain employment agencies which place to good advantage many of the Scandinavian girls. The German girls are also well looked after by their friends. The Jewess will not go into service and the Italians are not adapted to housekeeping so the largest number placed by the private employment agents are either Poles or Bohemians and for this reason they are usually found in the neighborhood of these colonies. The restaurant or hotel work offered the immigrant girl means dishwashing or cleaning, for which she is paid from sixteen to twenty-five dollars a month and board; for housework she can get from twelve to twenty dollars a month and has board and room furnished her.

No direct evidence of the moral exploitation of the immigrant girl was secured, although there is reason to believe that there is in a few instances actual co-operation between the agent and the keeper of the house of prostitution. Undoubtedly the crusade against the so-called "White Slave Traffic" conducted by the federal authorities last summer, the prosecutions under the new "Pandering Law" which went into effect last July, and a few suits against employment agents for this offence—all of which were given much newspaper notoriety—made the agents cautious. Still we found several that were most suspicious and several more that make a practice of sending girls to cook and wash dishes in saloons and two cases which have come to the attention of the League this summer would indicate that the many forms of vice connected with some of our saloons make them as dangerous to the simple-minded and ignorant foreign girl as a house of prostitution. In most cases the agent who places women is herself a woman; her office is also her kitchen or her parlor¹; the

¹Out of the thirty-three agencies supplying women which were visited, twenty-seven were in family living rooms.

place is usually dirty and almost without exception unbusiness-like. But so far as the agent goes, her commonest offense is a careless disregard of the character of the places to which she sends a girl rather than an active connivance in her ruin. The problem, then, so far as the immigrant girl is concerned, is to secure for her work where she will be morally protected, work which is congenial, and in which she will learn English and become rapidly Americanized. So long as there is the unique situation of an overdemand and undersupply of houseworkers, such as exists nowhere else in the labor market, she always has this work to fall back on.

With the immigrant man the situation is much more difficult. He finds himself much handicapped when he tries to obtain work in the country in which he has been led to believe work is most abundant. In the first place, because of his ignorance of English and consequent inability to give or receive directions he cannot work without an interpreter. Interpreters can be profitably employed only when large groups of immigrants work together. Such groups are employed by the foundries, at the stock yards, in mines, on railroad, car-line and building construction, in the harvest fields, in ice and lumber camps, and other similar kinds of work. Much of this work is seasonal and is located at a great distance from the city. A large number of men are needed for a few months or weeks to harvest Dakota crops, to build a railroad in Wyoming or Arkansas, to harvest ice in Minnesota, to pick Michigan berries, and to work in the oyster beds of Maryland. This work is most undesirable. The pay is not good—during the past summer agencies were offering from \$1.25 to \$2.00, usually \$1.40, a day. Board is expensive and poor in quality and the work lasts usually only a very short time. Worse than this, the men must come back to Chicago to get their next work, so return railroad fare must be counted on. Such work, because of its undesirability, can usually be obtained. The American workman does not want it because it places him at the mercy of contractors and employment agencies and makes of him a homeless wanderer. It is work the immigrant can do and, because in most cases he must have work immediately, he takes it gladly.

This means that whatever his training or experience may be he must serve an apprenticeship in the ranks of the unskilled seasonal laborers. That this is the cause of the existence of the men's immigrant agencies is shown by the following figures as to the kind of work offered by the men's agencies studied:

TABLE SHOWING KIND OF WORK OFFERED IMMIGRANT MEN BY CHICAGO EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES

	Agencies which Supply Men Only	Agencies which Supply Men and Women	Total
Number of agencies offering "gang work"	49	3	52
Number of agencies offering restaurant or hotel work.....	2	15	17
Number of agencies offering factory work	2	6	8
Number of agencies offering "city jobs" ..	8	..	8
	61	24	85
Number of agencies counted twice.....	5	3	8
Total number of agencies.....	56	21	77

"Gang" work during the past summer was construction work outside of Chicago or farm work. The "city jobs" were tearing down buildings and odd jobs on the railroads or in cleaning buildings. It is most significant that the only kind of work offered by 68 per cent. of the agencies handling immigrants is at a distance of from about a hundred to a thousand miles from Chicago and is work which from its very nature is sure to be of short duration. Chicago is apparently a clearing-house for the seasonal laborers of the country and the proper handling of them is a problem which needs much attention. This is not a question that concerns the immigrant alone. Because of their return to Chicago to secure their next work there are always large numbers of unskilled laborers in the city who in prosperous times keep down the price paid this class of workers in and around Chicago and in times of distress and unemployment become a great burden to Chicago's charitable organizations.

Men are employed for this kind of work not as individuals, but in groups of thirty or more, and are sent to parts of the country of which they are entirely ignorant. If the employment agent were honest, philanthropic, and intelligently interested in

the men, the situation would be difficult and discouraging enough for those who are anxious to see the immigrant adjusted to his work with the least possible loss to himself and the community. The state of Illinois maintains free employment agencies. There are three in the city of Chicago. But these are little or no help to the immigrant. The superintendent of the south-side office, who also has charge of the inspection of private agencies, says the state agencies cannot place these groups of seasonal workers because they have no fees to divide with contractors and because the funds at their disposal are inadequate. To handle this kind of work successfully, interpreters are required, someone must accompany the men to the place of work, and often the railroad fare must be advanced. For this, the free employment agencies have no funds, they say.

There are several agencies maintained by philanthropic organizations in Chicago which charge only a nominal fee or none at all—one, a Jewish charity, helps in finding city work; the Scandinavians do this and in addition send a good many out of the city to work for Swedish or Norwegian farmers—but none of them handle seasonal workers. As a result the immigrant is entirely dependent on the private employment agent whose business standards are none too high and who employs as an interpreter a man who has learned a little about our language, and in the school of experience all about our methods of defrauding the foreigner, and believes that he is employed to see that the system is perpetuated. Opposite the Union Station on Canal Street from Adams to Madison and from Canal to Clinton on Madison, there is a succession of employment agencies, saloons, cheap lodging-houses, lunch-rooms, and cheap or second-hand clothing stores. These three blocks are the seasonal labor exchange of Chicago. At any time of the day and until late at night, groups of foreigners may be seen in front of these agencies, and signs offering work in South Dakota, Ohio, or Wyoming are displayed the year round. Most of the other immigrant agencies are along Milwaukee Avenue or in other neighborhoods where our foreign colonies live. The facts of interest connected with their location are shown in the following table:

TABLE SHOWING LOCATION OF CHICAGO EMPLOYMENT OFFICES
WHICH PLACE IMMIGRANT MEN

	Agencies which Supply Men Only	Agencies which Supply both Men and Women	Total
Number of agencies near saloons and cheap lodging houses.....	14	1	15
Number of agencies near saloons only....	9	3	12
Number of agencies in saloons	2	..	2
Number of agencies in family rooms.....	5	3	8
Number of agencies in steamship and banking offices.....	14	..	14
Number of agencies located elsewhere.....	12	14	26
Total number of agencies.....	56	21	77

The employment agent is prohibited by law from conducting his business "in or in connection with any place where intoxicating liquors are sold"² but 45 per cent. of the immigrant men's agencies are either above, below, or next door to a saloon as the table given above shows. The fact that 25 per cent. were managed by steamship agents or foreign banks is also significant of the probable existence of the padrone system. Agents supplying women workers very often make the family kitchen or sitting-room serve as an office, but this is seldom the case with agents supplying men. A few men in the foreign colonies are licensed but have no offices. They work on a commission for an office on Canal or Madison Streets usually and collect "gangs" of their fellow countrymen. Banks and steamship agents are often in the same way neighborhood agents for some down-town office.

Forced to obtain work through the private employment agent the immigrant usually suffers in one of three ways: (1) he is over-charged for the services rendered; (2) the work obtained is not as represented by the agent either in character, permanency or remuneration; (3) he fails to get work or the work lasts only a few days leaving him at an enormous distance from the city labor markets.

The maximum "registration fee" which the employment agent may charge is fixed by statute at two dollars. This term

² Illinois; Law of May 11, 1903, sec. 9.

is not defined by the law but it is interpreted by the Attorney-General,³ as it would undoubtedly be by the courts, as in no way limiting the right of private contract. This means an agent may charge any amount for a particular job and as the registration system is practically never used by agents supplying unskilled workers the statutory provision is no protection to the immigrant. An investigator who represented himself to be a man who collected "gangs" was told frankly, "We charge all we can get."

Fees are higher when the applicant is unable to speak English. In several cases the investigator was offered the same job for two or three dollars less than was demanded of the man who was ignorant of our language. For this reason it is impossible to say with any accuracy what fees are charged, but the following table gives what was asked of our investigators and shows the general range of fees and the higher rates for men:

TABLE SHOWING FEES ASKED OF INVESTIGATORS BY EMPLOYMENT AGENTS

	Men	Women	Total
Number of agencies charging \$0.50 to \$1.00.....	..	15	15
Number of agencies charging \$1.00-\$2.00.....	13	25	38
Number of agencies charging \$2.00-\$3.00.....	..	3	3
Number of agencies charging \$3.00-\$5.00.....	23	..	23
Number of agencies charging \$6.00-\$10.00.....	12	..	12
Number of agencies charging \$11.00-\$14.00.....	3	..	3
Per cent. of wages.....	..	8	8
Number of agencies in which fees were not learned	51 8	51 ..	102 8
Total number of agencies.....	59	51	110

The agent usually promises a "steady job" even when he is speaking of work which from its very nature cannot last more than a few weeks or a month or two. The wage promised in nearly every case was less than two dollars a day. All things considered then, it seems very clear that the service rendered is not worth the price paid, and yet it is the only way by which the men can get work. In many cases the fee includes railroad fare. What this amounts to is difficult to determine. The agent always

³ Opinion given the Commissioners of Labor by the Attorney General on May 13, 1908.

gets reduced rates or, when the work is in connection with a railroad, the men are shipped free. How much is railroad fare and how much the agent's fee never appears on the receipt the men receive. In many cases it is divided between the agent and the contractor. Fourteen agents said they had arrangements of this sort with contractors. An agent who sent fifty Bulgarians to work near Springfield claimed that one-half the six-dollar fee was railroad fare. The men failed to get work and in a hearing before the Commissioners of Labor the fact was brought out that one hundred and fifty dollars had gone, not to the company, but to the company's contractors. We have said the fee was too large even if work which lasts a few weeks or months is secured on the terms promised, but too often this is not the case. Several concrete cases which have come to the attention of the League since its very recent formation will illustrate this. During the past year a railroad has been building from Searcey in north-central Arkansas to Leslie, about ninety miles farther west. Great numbers of men were sent from Chicago to Leslie to work on this road. We found two groups who had been there. One of these was made up of Hungarians. There were fifty-three men and two women—one of these had a baby—who expected to act as cooks for the gang. They were shipped April 14, by a Chicago agent, through a St. Louis agent. They paid the Chicago agent fourteen dollars apiece and were promised steady work at \$1.40 a day. When they reached Leslie this is what happened, according to the story told by the men. They were told that the work was twenty-five miles from there. They walked to this place but the foreman only laughed at them and said he had no work for any such number. He finally put to work fifteen men and the woman who was unencumbered with the baby. The rest were told there would be work for them later on but they were without money or food and so could not stay. They started to walk back to Chicago where more such jobs are always to be had! At the end of the third day the woman gave out and the men pooled their money and sent her home on the railroad. Then they scattered so as to find work on the way. Two of them were shot

by the police in St. Louis and when last heard from were in a hospital there. The rest of them eventually reached Chicago.

This was the story one of the men told an investigator in answer to a question as to whether the agency which shipped them was not the best place to get jobs. The story was told not with any hope of getting back their money but to warn a fellow workman. It seemed as though it must be true so an effort was made to have the fees paid the agent refunded. The agent denies that the men could not get work and in attempting to learn the facts, we came to appreciate how helpless the immigrant is who has risked all his money to get work and is sent to a remote and isolated part of the country where no one understands his language or cares about his difficulties. We wrote to various people about these Hungarians but were unable to learn anything definite. The contractor assured us that though the men were moved on from one place to another they were all eventually offered work but refused because they objected to being separated. This the men denied, but at such a distance from Searcey they were unable to prove their story.

We found, however, another agent had shipped about five-hundred men to Searcey during the winter, but said, "You cannot get men to go there now because other agents sent too many men and they did not get jobs." A third agent offered, in July after the contractor in a letter written July 21 had assured us that all the men who came had been "put to work and kept to work as long as they would stay, or *until the work was finished a few weeks ago*," to send thirty men a week to Leslie for fifteen dollars apiece. Eighteen Bulgarians were sent there early in the spring, ten were given work and the others walked back to Chicago. These were the ones we learned about. How many of the hundreds of men sent down there during the winter and spring "walked back" one cannot say.

Ten Polish laborers from one house on the west side went to Wyoming last winter expecting to work in a lumber camp. They paid an agent ten dollars apiece. When they were put off the train in Wyoming they found no work of the character described but were given work for a short time on the railroad. Then

they started to walk back. One of the men, a bright young fellow of twenty-two, froze his foot. With no money to pay for a doctor for treatment and compelled to walk on, when he finally reached Chicago blood poisoning had set in and it was necessary to amputate the foot. Although crippled for life, he feels not so much resentment against the agent who sent him as shame that he should have been so ignorant of the climate of Wyoming and humiliation that he should have proved such an easy victim. This is one of the most pathetic things in connection with the work. The men are ashamed to tell their story. "Everyone cheats a greenhorn," they say, and want to hide, from those who are anxious to help them, what they consider a reflection on their intelligence.

We had other cases of the same sort. Fifty Bulgarians, already referred to, failed to get work and walked back from near Springfield, and fourteen Macedonians had the same experience at Winchester, Illinois. A Jewish carpenter was sent to Nebraska expecting to work at his trade. When he reached his destination he found that the work was digging trenches, that he had to stand in water all day long, and that the wages were \$2.00 instead of \$2.75 a day. He left his wife and children in Chicago and does not know whether to walk back or continue to do work which will eventually leave him sick and stranded at a distance from his relatives and friends.

For any of these men to get work without first returning to Chicago, is practically impossible. There probably is work near where they are left in Wyoming, Arkansas, or Nebraska, but they have no means of knowing where it is to be found. Unable to speak English and with no funds to live on temporarily, they are afraid to go farther in search of work. It is little to be wondered at that they are homesick and discouraged and anxious to get back to their friends in the city. The law provides redress for such breaches of contract, but the civil courts are not available for men who are without money or friends. The risks anyone would run in dealing with such men as most of the employment agents are would be great enough, but for men who know nothing of our language, who cannot give accurate ac-

counts of where they have been because of their ignorance of the country, who do not understand what is told them when they reach their place of destination, the risks are enormous. The agent, on the other hand, takes few chances when he sends men out to jobs that do not exist because they are so defenseless.

This situation is important because it is not the result of a temporary economic condition. Seasonal work must be done in the United States. Men must be sent from one part of the country to another and the foreign workman or American laborer who is already down and needs assistance and protection from the community is the one who will continue to do it. The work cannot easily be made attractive or desirable, but some system of handling these men honestly must be devised. This study of employment agencies has given only a superficial insight into a much larger problem of American industrial life, but from the employment-agency end, conditions can be improved by some immediate practical measures which will assist in putting this work on the proper basis.

To do this the employment agency law must be changed. While the fee cannot, under our judicial interpretation of the constitutional guarantee of the right of private contract, be fixed by law as it is in many states, publicity of fees can be required. This is done in Pennsylvania by requiring the agency to file with the Director of Public Safety, who in that state is in charge of the enforcement of the employment agency law, a list of fees he intends to charge, and a similar list must be posted in his office—to exceed this published list is an offense under the law.⁴ All division of fees with contractors or employers generally should be forbidden.⁵

Then, too, the contracts on which the men are sent out should be more specific. The law requires that "a receipt shall be given in which shall be stated the name of the applicant, the amount of the fee, the date, and the name or character of the

⁴ *Pa. Laws of 1907*, Act No. 90, sec. 8.

⁵ This is done in the following states: *New York Laws*, 1906, ch. 327, sec. 5; *Pa. Laws*, 1907, Act No. 90, sec. 8; *Colo.*, 3 *Mills, Revised Statutes*, 1737 (f); *Iowa Title*, XII, chap. 8 of the code.

work or situation to be procured.”⁶ The receipt usually contains, as a matter of fact, the name and address of the agency, the name of the applicant, the amount of the fee, the place of work—address only—and the wages to be received. Something more elaborate is sometimes given the leader or interpreter for the gang, but he is not always to be trusted, so that the individual man knows really nothing about what he is doing and has in his receipt little proof of the promises made him. Pennsylvania requires that each applicant for work outside the city shall have furnished him a written agreement in a language he understands showing name and address of the employer, name and address of the employee, nature of work, i.e., hours of labor and wages, destination and terms of transportation.⁷ New York requires that this information shall be given the employee and in addition that a copy of the contract shall be filed with the Mayor inside of five days.⁸ Wisconsin provides that the employee must have a written statement showing rate of wages, kind of work, permanency and the full name and address of the person authorizing his employment.⁹ Such a contract in the hands of the men who are sent out from Chicago would give better grounds for action if conditions were not as represented and should therefore make the agent more cautious.

The Illinois law is also inadequate in its provisions for refunding fees. The “registration” fee, it provides, is good for thirty days; if no work is obtained in that time it must be returned provided demand for it is made within thirty days after the expiration of the first period.¹⁰ We have said before that the registration system is little used, practically not at all by the class of laborers of whom we are speaking. When a specific arrangement is made to get some particular work and the work is not obtained the money should be refunded immediately or,

⁶ Illinois; Law of May 11, 1903, sec. 9.

⁷ Pa. Laws of 1907, Act No. 90, sec. 9.

⁸ N. Y. Laws of 1906, chap. 327, sec. 5.

⁹ Wisc. Laws of 1899, chap. 213, sec. 4.

¹⁰ Illinois Laws of 1903, sec. 9 of “An Act Relating to Employment Offices and Agencies.

for the convenience of the agent, inside of a few days at the latest. To require a man to wait thirty days is a great hardship. Moreover, no provision is made for refunding any part of the fee when the work is temporary in character. Boston requires that two-fifths of the fee must be returned if a man is discharged within ten days;¹¹ New York, three-fifths, if discharged within three days¹²; Pennsylvania provides that if the work does not last more than one month the fee shall not exceed 10 per cent. of the salary received;¹³ and Maine provides that if the applicant is discharged without fault on his part the fee must be returned.¹⁴ Illinois needs some such provision as these since this is the only way by which arrangements between contractor and employment agent, according to which men are regularly laid off and new men sent by the agent are given their places so that the agent collects fees for the same job again and again, can be prevented. Under the present law, if a man could prove that he was the victim of such a system he could undoubtedly secure the repayment of his fee, but the man usually does not realize what is taking place at the time of his discharge and he can, moreover, easily be charged with incompetency and so is defenseless. To prevent the system by making temporary employment of men unprofitable to the agent is the only sure remedy.

When a man is sent out of town and fails to get work or that secured is not according to agreement, he should have a claim against the agent, not only for the fee he has paid, but for the time he has lost and the incidental expenses and damages he has suffered. Wisconsin, New York, and California have provisions of this sort.¹⁵ With these changes in the law and with such provisions of the law printed in a language understood by the applicant, on the reverse side of the receipt or contract stating to

¹¹ Rule I, of "Rules Relating to Intelligence Offices," class 2—adopted by the Licensing Board of Boston.

¹² *N. Y. Laws of 1906*, chap. 327, sec. 5.

¹³ *Pa. Laws of 1907*, Act. No. 90, sec. 8.

¹⁴ *Me. Laws of 1907*, chap. 84, sec. 3.

¹⁵ *Wisc. Laws of 1899*, chap. 213, sec. 4; *New York Laws of 1907*, chap. 327, sec. 5; *California*, Law approved Feb. 12, 1903, sec. 3.

whom complaint of its violation should be made, some of the trouble could be prevented.

Such changes would, however, only reach the surface of the trouble. Good laws are difficult of enforcement. The opportunities of cheating the unsuspecting stranger are too great for the average man, anxious to make money, to withstand. Clearly then, because of the helplessness of the men, because of the interstate character of the work, and because of its social and industrial importance to the city and state generally, this class of workmen should be handled through the state Free Employment Agencies. The three Chicago offices have been established for ten years. They cannot, therefore, be said to be passing through an experimental stage. They should long ago have gained the confidence of employers not only in Chicago, but over a wide area.

It seems perfectly apparent that no man wants a person he expects to employ to pay a third man for the job if it is not necessary. When the state goes into any business it ought to be able to drive most competitors from the field. When it goes into a business and offers free service and charges its rivals \$50 a year for a license, the existence of about three hundred such rivals shows a curious situation. The amount of work done by these agencies is hard to determine satisfactorily. Reports from the three offices are made independently and show a very small percentage of those applying for work not placed. This is hard to understand in view of the fact that investigation showed that because the three offices are independently managed, the practice of registering at all three is common. Then, too, no report is made as to the number of times the same person has asked for and received work through these offices. Keeping in mind these facts, the figures are somewhat interesting. The first year of their existence there were 36,949 applications and 31,218 of these secured positions;¹⁶ during the year ending October 1, 1906 there were 46,487 applications and 43,333 secured positions.¹⁷

¹⁶ *Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of Labor*, statistics of the Illinois Free Employment Offices, p. 13.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 72, 73, 76, 77, 80, and 87.

This was an average of 298 applicants a week at each office for the year 1906 and an average of 278 of these secured positions. The report for the past year is not yet available but the *Weekly Bulletins* which have been issued since July 25, 1908 do not show so high an average. For that week the average number of applicants at each office was 173, a most remarkable fact in view of the general unemployment, and the average number of positions secured, 115.¹⁸ Whatever the defects in this system of reports, and they are due primarily to the independence of the three offices, it is evident that the volume of business done in ten years has grown very little and that the offices do not feel the pressure, either of prosperous times or of periods of financial depression. This clearly indicates that the work is done in a perfunctory manner, probably in part a result of the serious defect in organization. With three independent offices there is no possibility of any large work. No one man is working at the general problem of unemployment and bringing the entire prestige of the state and its financial expenditures to bear on its solution. Worse than this, the superintendents are partisan appointees, whose claim to the office is political service rather than social intelligence and organizing ability. Centralizing the offices will do much, taking them out of politics will do more. Moreover, the work not properly a part of an employment office should be placed elsewhere. At present the superintendent of the south-side office has charge of the inspection of the private agencies of the city and enforces the law governing them. In such capacity he or his representative is supposed to visit the various agencies and inspect their registers. This gives him an opportunity to learn much of the employers who patronize the various agencies and he could in this way obtain much information of use to him in his capacity of employment agent. To use this information would be manifestly unfair; so he must choose between being a bad inspector or an indifferent employment agent. The man who possesses the qualities which make him a good superintendent of inspection is

¹⁸ *Weekly Bulletin*, No. 1. The average is about the same for the following weeks.

not apt to possess the constructive ability which is necessary to build up a strong state employment agency.

To sum up, then, this little study of the relation of the immigrant to the employment agencies of the city, it has been shown that so far as the immigrant girl is concerned she secures through them only hotel or housework, that she suffers from little or no financial exploitation, but that there is reason to believe she is in some moral danger. So far as the men are concerned, we found that the work offered is, generally speaking, seasonal and at a distance from the city, the fees are excessive, and the men are often sent out to work which does not exist or which lasts for a very short time. This reacts upon the city, for it makes Chicago the headquarters of what is truly an army of casual laborers who keep down the wages of the regular unskilled workers in the city. Worse than this, after experiences such as many of these men suffer when sent out of the city, it becomes increasingly difficult to reduce city poverty and congestion by distribution throughout the country and these disappointed seasonal workers become the material out of which a degraded working class is created.

The final remedy suggested for this situation is the reorganization and strengthening of the State Free Employment Agencies, but in the meantime certain results can be obtained by some modification of the present employment agency law. Those suggested are that the fees charged should be public and uniform, that there should be no division of fees with contractors, that statements containing detailed information about the work and the employer should be furnished the applicant in a language he can understand, that damages should be allowed when work is not secured or not as represented, and that fees should be promptly refunded when no work is secured or when it lasts only a short time. These reforms are asked not only as a protection to the immigrant, but to the community in which he lives.

BIBLICAL SOCIOLOGY. II

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The previous instalment of material under this title is introductory. It indicates ground that must be traversed before the territory of biblical sociology can be reached and cultivated. We are now to deal more directly with the subject. As already stated, our investigation first considers ancient Israel in its original character as a system of social institutions common to Semitic antiquity; and from this we go on to the process by which the original institutions were transformed into the distinctive system of Judaism.

I. THE APPROACH TO ISRAELITE SOCIETY

One of the most important facts calling for emphasis in advancing toward sociological study of ancient Israel is ethnic affiliation. The society at the forefront of the biblical stage is merely one of the many groups constituting the great Semitic race. The Israelites are Semites, just as the Germans are Aryans. The Aryan race includes a number of peoples who have certain characteristics in common, and whose languages have developed from common root-words. In the same way the Semitic race consists of a number of distinct peoples. Biblical sociology relates to ancient Semitic society. We approach the subject from the standpoint of the Semitic race as it existed before the Christian era.

The Semites are identified with the region lying at the junction of Europe, Asia, and Africa. In ancient history they were distributed over the Arabian peninsula, the valleys of the Tigris and the Euphrates, the eastern seaboard of the Mediterranean, and the valley of the Nile. These localities contained populations wholly or partly Semite. The Arabian peninsula was the field of the Arabs. The valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates were the seats of the Babylonians and Assyrians. The Nile valley was the

home of the Egyptians. At the eastern end of the Mediterranean were the Phoenicians, on the seacoast; while farther inland were the Canaanites, Arameans, Ammonites, Moabites, Edomites, and *Israelites*. All these groups exhibit the same racial characteristics; and their speech evidently grew out of a proto-Semitic language whose elements were common to them all. It has remained for modern science to point out broadly the ethnic affiliation of Israel; but the legends of Genesis admit the same fact in a narrower spirit. The ancestors of Israel are said to have been Mesopotamians who migrated westward from Babylonia; and a number of Semitic peoples are said to be related to Israel through these Babylonian forefathers.¹ The entire situation suggests that the common homeland of the Semites was Arabia. On this point Professor G. A. Barton, in his able work on Semitic origins, writes as follows:

The peculiar conditions of life which the Arabian deserts and oases have presented for milleniums are the matrix in which the Semitic character, as it is known to us, was born. It is a land of barren and volcanic mountains, of broad stretches of dry, waste, unproductive soil, and wide areas of shifting sand, interrupted by an occasional oasis—a land where, for the most part, water is difficult to obtain, where famine is always imminent, where hunger, thirst, heat and exposure are the constant experience of the inhabitants. The Bedawi are always underfed, they suffer constantly from hunger and thirst, and their bodies thus weakened fall an easy prey to disease; they range the silent desert, almost devoid of life, where the sun is all powerful by day and the stars exceedingly brilliant by night. This environment begets in them intensity of faith of a certain kind, ferocity, exclusiveness, and imagination. These are all Semitic character-

¹ It is noteworthy that while Israel, in the legends of Genesis, admits kinship with other Semitic peoples, the descent of the Israelites themselves is always described as more honorable than that of their neighbors. Israel is derived from Abraham, the friend of God. But some blot marks the origins of their neighbors. The Moabites and Ammonites, on the other side of the Jordan, are said to have resulted from the incest of Lot, a nephew of Abraham, with his own daughters (Gen., chap. 19). The Ishmaelites were descended from Abraham through a slave-woman, Hagar, who belonged to Sarah, the wife of Abraham (Gen., chap. 16). The Edomites were sprung from a grandson of Abraham, Esau by name, who foolishly despised the sacred privileges of his birthright (Gen., chap. 25). This gives us another insight into the nature of the biblical material.

istics wherever we find the Semites; and there can be little doubt that this is the land in which these traits were ingrained in the race.²

From their prehistoric home the Semites went out and acquired the permanent locations already noted, in which they appear as the Semitic peoples of ancient history.

We now go on to emphasize another salient fact: *Israel was the latest Semitic people to achieve nationality*. This proposition may be made one of the landmarks in the approach to Israelite society. Other facts may be exhibited in relation to it. All the Semitic peoples come forward out of the darkness of prehistoric times into the light of history through a turmoil of war and conquest. All society is at first necessarily nomadic. One of the great steps in the process of social development is the passage from the nomadic, or wandering, life to the settled state. This transition marks a momentous period in the life of any people. Most of the Semites that played a part in ancient history were settled and civilized long before the people of Israel had found a permanent home in the world. While the forefathers of Israel were yet wanderers in the desert of Arabia, the great civilizations of the ancient East had arisen and were already in process of decay. Babylonia, at the eastern extreme of the Semitic area, and Egypt, at the western, had begun the descent from their highest power. The Semitic world, indeed, was already old before the Israelitish nation was born.

The cross-roads and central point of the Semites was the eastern seaboard of the Mediterranean. The general name of this region before the arrival of the Israelites was *Canaan*. The great routes of Semitic trade ran through this land. Its main highways went not only along the coast, but farther back through the fertile strip that lay between the sea and the desert. Under these conditions it was natural that a considerable part of the inhabitants of Canaan should be a commercial people from very early times. One of their functions was to aid circulation of

² Barton, *Semitic Origins* (New York, 1902), p. 28. This book is indispensable to the English student of Semitics. The first chapter is a thorough discussion of "The Cradle of the Semites," concluding, as in the quotation, in favor of Arabia.

Semitic industrial products. The Canaanites had no national government. They were organized into a number of small "city-states." On the coast itself were Tyre and Sidon; while inland were many other cities, less famous, but equally important in the social history of the country. The larger cities that served as trading centers in Canaan were always fortified. Through them went the arteries of trade. Outside their walls, in the open country, were dependent, unwallled villages, or "daughters," as the Hebrew narrative calls them.³

In the centuries immediately preceding the conquest of Canaan by the Israelites, this land had been ruled by three different oriental powers. The first of these was the Babylonians, who held sway there so long that their language was adopted as a medium of communication among the upper classes. But in the fifteenth century before Christ, Babylonian rule was terminated in Canaan. At home Babylonia was troubled by the rising military power of Assyria, her northern offshoot. In Canaan itself she was confronted by the Egyptians, who seized part of the territory. Governors from Egypt were placed in such Canaanite cities as Tyre, Jerusalem, Askelon, Gezer, and Hazor. But the rule of the new masters did not long extend over this region. Before a century had passed the governors of these districts were forced to appeal to the home government for military aid, saying that they were unable to hold the territory. Presently the land was relinquished, partly to local Canaanite princes, and partly to the Hittites, whose seat was northward in Asia Minor. It was at this interesting period of history that the Israelites broke from the Arabian desert into the land that was to be their home for more than a thousand years.

Up to this time the nation Israel had not been born. Hitherto the ancestors of Israel had been wandering clans of the desert, living the life of Semitic nomads. It is impossible to say what the special course of their history had been before the invasion of the land of Canaan, for no written records dating from that prehistoric age have survived. No people ever begins a historical narrative during the nomadic life; and the Israelites were no

³ I Judg. 1:27 f.

exception to this rule. It is true that uncritical reading of the Bible gives the impression that we possess a literally correct account of Israel's history before the settlement in Canaan. But in discussing the nature of the biblical material, we saw that these accounts have come down to us through the hands of authors who stand many centuries removed from the events described. The Bible does not give us contemporary narratives of the forefathers in the desert; it gives the traditions current among the Israelites long after they had acquired the land of Canaan. Unless we fix this fact securely in mind at the outset we shall find it a matter of increasing difficulty to understand the problem of the Bible. It is not that we must reject as untrustworthy the narratives referring to the period before the conquest. But we may handle the traditions of the earlier time only with great caution.

It has been pointed out above that one of the important items of agreement between modern research and biblical tradition is that the people of Israel are one of the families of the Semitic race. On this proposition modern science and ancient tradition are in harmony. We further noted that, among all the peoples of history, nomadic life has preceded settled life. With this necessary truth biblical tradition is also agreed. The ancestors of Israel, as is well known, are said to have roved the desert before establishing themselves in Canaan. Where biblical tradition agrees with the results of modern research into the history of other peoples at corresponding stages of progress, it may be safely received without question. Where the biblical tradition diverges from the general results of scientific investigation, we are not summarily to dismiss it as untrustworthy. We should remain in a state of suspended judgment until the traditions about earlier times have been examined (1) in the light of biblical evidence about conditions after the settlement, and (2) in view of pertinent evidence from the field of general history. The more the Bible is examined in this way, the more we are impressed with its fundamental trustworthiness as a sourcebook for the sociologist.

The prehistoric Israelites come before us, then, as nomads.

One of the facts that make nomadic life necessary is the precarious food supply offered by the uncultivated earth. The wandering tribes of Arabia today suffer hunger a large part of the time, owing to scanty food.⁴ This problem, therefore, must have had a large place in the life of Israel before the invasion of Canaan. Here again we are in agreement with biblical tradition. For we are told that long before the Israelites gained possession of this land, the forefathers experienced a terrible famine (Gen., chaps. 41 ff.). In their distress they settled in the land of Goshen. The region bearing this name was located on the northeast border of Egypt, fronting the desert. It was a fertile country, adapted to the needs of shepherds, but not to the demands of a more settled population. Goshen, therefore, was a primitive, outlying section of Egypt.

Considered in itself, there is nothing improbable in the claim that the nomadic forefathers of Israel sojourned in this place. The Bedawi, or desert wanderers, have often pastured their flocks here;⁵ so that Goshen has frequently been a temporary home for peoples that have had no political connection with Egypt. This being the situation we can easily see why the Egyptian religion had so little influence upon the religion of Israel. The Pentateuch, which has so much to say about the experiences of Israel in that country, is remarkably innocent of detailed knowledge about the religion of Egypt. How long the Israelite clans remained in Goshen it is impossible to say. It is important to emphasize that the tradition of a huge host leaving Egypt, and striking thence into the desert, is out of the question.⁶ The idea that the clans in Goshen became there a great nation was elaborated in view of the achievement of Israelite nationality and the imperial pretensions of the kings. The sources embodied in Judges, Samuel, and Kings prove that the nation Israel, of historical times, was a composite social body, whose descent is to be traced not only to the earlier Israelite clans of the desert, but also to resident populations already in Canaan before the arrival of

⁴ Doughty, *Arabia Deserta* (Cambridge, 1888), index, "Hunger."

⁵ H. P. Smith, *Old Testament History* (New York, 1903), p. 54.

⁶ H. P. Smith, *op. cit.*, chap. iv.

Israel. The invaders gave their name to a mixed population which was afterward reduced to comparative unity. These considerations, together with the fact that large bodies of people cannot find subsistence in the desert, show us that the Israelites must have been few in number at this period. They seem to have wandered in the wilderness again after leaving Egypt. But in time they invaded the land of Canaan, and thus at last reached the home with which they are identified in history.

In describing the Israelite invasion of Canaan the biblical narratives reveal differences of conception that call for exercise of critical judgment. The general impression regarding the conquest is that when the invaders entered the land they swept all before them in a magnificently victorious campaign. According to this view of the situation, the movement had the character of a short, sharp, thorough-going conquest under a single general by the name of Joshua. The narrative most closely connected with this view is found in the book bearing the commander's name. The apparent purpose of the book of Joshua seems to be merely to describe the Israelite conquest of Canaan. The climax of the narrative is in the tenth and eleventh chapters, where the conquest is represented as complete: "So Joshua smote all the land, the hill-country, and the south, and the lowland, and the slopes, and all their kings. He left none remaining, and he utterly destroyed all that breathed" (10:40). "So Joshua took the whole land. . . . And the land had rest from war" (11:23). There is no ambiguity nor uncertainty about the passages here quoted. But the general impression given by the book of Joshua is at variance with what we learn from other biblical narratives with equal claims to attention and greater claims to respect as trustworthy sources of information concerning these distant ages.

The true nature of the situation is very plainly indicated by the accounts following Joshua in the Old Testament. Although the books of Judges, Samuel, and Kings come *after* Joshua in the present arrangement of the Bible, they embody material more ancient and more trustworthy than the passages reproduced above. This is one of the commonplaces of modern biblical knowledge. In the opening chapter of Judges it appears that the struggle of

the Israelites to possess Canaan, instead of taking place under the direction of Joshua, did not begin until Joshua had passed away. For in the first verse of Judges we read: "And it came to pass *after the death of Joshua* that the children of Israel asked . . . Who shall go up for us first against the Canaanites to fight against them?" As we continue, there unrolls before us a picture very different from that given by the other account. In reading on from the opening sentence just quoted, we do not come into the full swing of the narrative until we reach the twenty-seventh verse. Up to this point we are introduced only to affairs of the southern part of the territory invaded by Israel. This region was given the general name of Judah, since it became identified with the Israelite family of that name. The Judahites are said to have gone up first against the Canaanites. But the material in the earlier part of the chapter is confused. The account seems at first harmonious with Joshua (except in the matter of Joshua's death); but from the twenty-seventh verse onward, when we come into the full tide of the narrative, the difference between Judges and the other book is in bold relief. We reproduce a part of this highly important section, giving explanatory insertions in brackets:

And [the clans of] Manasseh did not drive out the inhabitants of [the walled city of] Beth-shean and its villages; nor the inhabitants of Taanach and its villages; nor the inhabitants of Dor and its villages; nor the inhabitants of Megiddo and its villages; *but the Canaanites would dwell in that land.*

And [the clans of] Ephraim drove not out the Canaanites that dwelt in Gezer; *but the Canaanites dwelt in Gezer among them.*

[The clans of] Zebulun drove not out the inhabitants of Kitron; nor the inhabitants of Nahalol; *but the Canaanites dwelt among them.*

[The clans of] Asher drove not out the inhabitants of Acco, nor the inhabitants of Sidon, nor of Ahlab, nor of Achzib, nor of Helbah, nor of Aphik, nor of Rehob; *but the Asherites dwelt among the Canaanites the inhabitants of the land, for they did not drive them out.*

[The clans of] Naphtali drove not out the inhabitants of Beth-shemesh, nor the inhabitants of Beth-anath; *but they dwelt among the Canaanites.*

This highly important passage relates to the northern and larger part of the territory that became the land of Israel. Here the great difference between Joshua and Judges first comes fully

into view. Instead of sweeping the land clear of its former inhabitants, the invading Israelites merely acquired the open country districts, leaving the Canaanites in possession of a crowd of walled cities together with numberless villages round about the cities. In the southern part of the territory the conquest was also partial, as we shall see by carrying our examination along to the nineteenth of Judges. Here we find a remarkable account of an Israelite who traveled through the land many years after his ancestors had settled in it. Beginning in the tenth verse we quote:

He rose up and departed, and came over against Jebus (the same is Jerusalem). . . . When they were by Jebus the day was far spent. And the servant said unto his master, come, I pray thee, and let us turn aside into this city of the Jebusites and lodge in it. And his master said unto him, we will not turn aside into the city of a foreigner that is not of the children of Israel; but we will pass over to Gibeah.

How long this was after the Israelite settlement we cannot say; but it certainly is explicit with reference to our present point. Not only did the invaders fail to dislodge the Canaanites in the north; but they had no better success in the south. Going on to the fifth chapter of II Samuel, our attention is arrested by evidence that Jerusalem remained in possession of the Canaanites down into the period of the Israelite monarchy in the earlier part of the career of David:

And the king and his men went to Jerusalem against the Jebusites, the inhabitants of the land; who spake unto David saying, except thou take away the blind and the lame, thou shalt not come in hither. . . . Nevertheless, David took the stronghold of Zion. . . . And David dwelt in the stronghold, and called it the city of David. And David built round about from Millo and inward. . . . And David took him more concubines and wives out of Jerusalem.

These notices are enough to show that the conquest of the southern part of the land, like that of the north, was a partial one.

Reverting to the situation as a whole, we may conceive the invasion of Canaan as having everywhere swept the Israelites into the country districts, leaving the original inhabitants masters of the fortified cities. Exhaustive study of the Bible proves that *this* conception of the conquest is true to the facts.

Our approach to Israelite society has now brought us near enough to begin a definitive treatment of the institutions common to Israel and the rest of the Semitic world. The work just ahead will not carry us into the center of the problem of biblical sociology; but it is a necessary part of the introductory discipline. When we catch our first glimpses of it in the narratives of Judges, Samuel, and Kings, and in the traditions of the Pentateuch, the social system of Israel was in the general category of ancient Semitic life. The wonderful social process by which this people made its great and peculiar mark on the world was through modification of the earlier system that we are now to examine from different standpoints.

II. KINSHIP INSTITUTIONS OF ISRAEL

Social institutions are not independent facts. They are phases of a single reality common to them all. This one reality is human life considered as organized into a system of relations between persons. The social problem is always many special problems in one. What is needed here, then, is a conspectus; and it is finally a matter of minor importance whether our first view be upon one side of the subject or another, if only the actual social system under investigation be somehow put clearly before us. Our survey begins with an examination of those aspects of Israelite society relating to the family in general. The justification for beginning at this point in the social mechanism will appear as we proceed.

It is very hard for the modern mind to realize the strength of kinship in the early history of society. Only with an effort can we see the importance of the blood bond in primitive times. But in early history *kinship* is the only conceivable social cement, as it is among the more backward peoples of the world today. It is the one basis on which the structure of society can be reared. It is the one tie about which relations between the members of society may turn. The modern civil state in which we live puts the tie of blood in a subordinate and inconspicuous place. But in an early society like ancient Israel the civil state was unthinkable. When we consider the biological aspects of the material

with which sociology deals, this emphasis upon the blood-bond in early society does not seem strange. Amid the complexity of the modern state, the simple, elemental relations of life are overlaid by an imposing network of artificial relations. The institutions of modern society are a deposit which obscures the fundamental facts of the social situation. But in early history a simpler organization of human life thrust the facts of kinship clearly into the foreground. All social relations turned at first around the ties of blood; and where no *de facto* blood relation could be shown it was assumed by legal fictions.

Not only is our introductory view of Israelite society suggested by these general considerations; it is in line with the conventional disposition of ethnic material within the Bible itself. For one of the common biblical terms applied to Israelite society is the phrase *beni Israel*, meaning sons or children of Jacob, the alleged ancestor of the tribes or clans that came into Canaan from the desert. We hear much about families, clans, and tribes in Israel. The "fathers" are spoken of with an emphasis and meaning which the term lacks in modern usage. The people collectively and their putative ancestor were known by the alternative terms Israel and Jacob. Thus we see that the biblical material itself suggests a point at which our examination may begin.

In considering the invasion of Canaan, we saw that this movement was effected by different kinship groups, for example, the family of Manasseh. Each group conquered a home for itself in the coveted land. The country districts, into which the invaders poured, were mostly in the highlands—the hilly districts. The south largely consisted of the "hill country of Judah;" while the north was in great part the "hill country of Ephraim." The unconquered parts, already spoken of as remaining in possession of the earlier inhabitants, were mostly in the valleys and the lowlands. At many points the Canaanites could look up from their walled cities and see the distant movements of their new neighbors in the highlands. The familiar saying, "The mountains are round about Jerusalem," refers to but one locality; but there were many other untaken Canaanite cities that could "lift up

their eyes unto the hills." The newcomers, then, were highlanders and rustics. It would have been impossible for these primitive kinship groups from the desert to lead any other life at first than that of the open country. The cities of the Canaanites—with their manufactures, their markets, their schools, and their long centuries of civilization—these places would at first have been impossible for Israel. The invaders could more easily acquire the habits and pursuits of the rural districts. The Israelites in the desert had been a pastoral people. When settling in Canaan they became in large measure tillers of the earth; although many of them remained shepherds and stock raisers, or combined these more primitive pursuits with farm life. For centuries after the settlement the life of the Israelites was of a primitive character; and their controlling forces were very largely the rustic interests. Their social organization was determined by that of the desert clans from which they had sprung; and they were not a little influenced by the kindred peoples of the desert that were always coming in contact with them on the frontier of the land.

The period following the settlement is generally spoken of as the "age of the Judges." We are told repeatedly in the book of Judges that "in those days there was no king in Israel" (21:25, etc.). Absence of a king raises the presumption that there was no national organization or machinery at that period. This throws out into sharp relief the local institutions based on kinship which always precede larger structures in the evolution of society. The development of ancient Israel corresponds in essential features to the processes of universal history. The important statement that there was no king in Israel in the period of the Judges is followed by the further item, "Every man did that which was right in his own eyes." Can a sympathetic interpretation deduce from this additional statement the existence of anarchy in the absence of a general government? Let us examine the words carefully. Hasty reading might lead us to suppose that before there was a national organization in Israel every individual—every person—did precisely as he pleased. But study of the books of Judges and Samuel shows that there was government in Israel even though there was no *national* government. In

that early age there was a rude but powerful organization and control of society based on kinship.

Gideon blew a trumpet; and [the clan of] Abiezer was gathered together after him. And he sent messengers throughout all [the clans of] Manasseh; and they also were gathered together after him. And he sent messengers unto [the clans of] Asher, and unto Zebulun, and unto Naphtali; and they came up to meet them" (6:34 f.).

Whether or not the editor of Judges believed that his forefathers lived in anarchy, we may interpret his words liberally. It is not every person, but every *man*, who is said to have done what was right in his own eyes. Now the free men were the only legal persons in the society of that age. They were, in last resort, the only persons that had standing before the law. The men were the heads of the family groups, and of those larger groups of families called *clans*. Society in that period was governed by the usages of the clan. We may therefore give a liberal—but not a literal—rendering of the statements under discussion as follows: *In those days there was no national organization. Society was governed by the clan.*

When we speak of kinship in modern society, we think at once of the family as we know it. *Our* kinship institutions have a *private* character. Outside of our private kinship ties we are bound by various other obligations; but none of these external ties are based on kinship. In Israelite society a different situation prevailed. Outside of immediate family ties, as well as inside, the individual was bound by obligations based on kinship. Society was, indeed, regarded merely as an extension of the family. The immediate family group was part of a larger kin-group which we call the clan, and which the Israelites called the mishphaha, מִשְׁפָּחָה. An older term for the clan seems to have been *hay*, הַי. This more ancient word is identical with the Arabic designation of the clan. It appears in the Hebrew name given to Adam's wife: "And the man called his wife's name *Hawwah*, because she was the mother of all *hay*" (Gen. 3:20). The letters w and y are interchangeable; so that the name *Hawwah* is merely one form of a Semitic word for clan with a feminine ending, *ah*. The traditions of Israel make woman,

instead of man, the personification of the bond of kinship. Adam stands for the human race as a whole, the name being the Hebrew common noun *adam*, אָדָם, used as proper noun.⁷ This is merely a suggestion pointing back to an earlier standard of kinship among the Israelites. It would be worth little in itself were it not that we have a large mass of evidence pointing in the same direction. As already observed, the ruling, or standard, form of the clan after the settlement in Canaan was the patriarchal, in which the fathers, as such, were the heads and chiefs. But, along with the patriarchal standard, there are clear traces of the survival of another form of clan organization which was at one time apparently common to all the Semitic peoples. This was the *matriarchal* clan, wherein kinship was fixed by motherhood and not by fatherhood, and in which descent was traced through mothers and not through fathers. The institutions of Israel after the settlement were exposed to the powerful, but vanishing, influence of matriarchy; and it will be well to consider the earlier standard of kinship first. The field will then be clear to take up the forms of kinship that became standard later.

For one who is familiar only with society in which kinship is fixed by fatherhood, it is difficult to comprehend what is meant by matriarchy. Under this institution the woman does not leave her own people and marry into the husband's family, as under patriarchy. On the contrary, the husband leaves his people and enters the wife's clan. The heads of such clans are the wife's male relatives. It is not the father, but the mother, who gives names to the children. Thus, in the oldest Pentateuchal documents (J and E) the children are usually named by the mother. For instance, the sons of Jacob-Israel, who become in their turn the progenitors of the twelve tribes, are all named by Leah and Rachel, the wives of Jacob (Gen. 29:31 f.; chap. 30 *passim*; 35:18).⁸ Accordingly, when Jacob married he was received into the family of his wives. After he had lived with their

⁷ W. R. Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia* (London, 1907), p. 208.

⁸ This has been pointed out by Wellhausen, Noldeke, and others. In the P documents, which are the latest literary elements in the Old Testament, the father gives the name.

people for twenty years he carried away his wives and their children by stealth, lest Laban, the head of the clan, should insist on his undoubted right to retain the women and children. "And Laban answered and said unto Jacob, The daughters are my daughters, and the children are my children" (Gen. 31:43).

The ancient morality of Israel saw nothing wrong in the marriage of brother and sister, provided they were not the children of the same *mother*. In other words, husband and wife might have the same *father* within the limits of good morals; but if they had the same mother the situation would be regarded with horror as incest. The most conspicuous biblical example of this is the case of Abraham and Sarah, who were at once husband and wife and brother and sister. In Gen. 20:12 Abraham says of Sarah: "She is my sister, the daughter of my father, but not the daughter of my mother." Another illustration is the case of Amnon, a *son* of king David, and Tamar, a *daughter* of king David (II Sam., chap. 13). Amnon and Tamar were thus brother and sister by the same father. Nevertheless, they were not born of the same mother; and the possibility is mentioned of marriage between them (vs. 13). If they had been married the situation would have corresponded exactly to the case of Abraham and Sarah.⁹ To the modern mind this attitude with reference to marriage is very strange. Our instinct is to prohibit not only the union of maternal brother and sister, as the Israelites did, but that of paternal brother and sister also; and it perplexes us to find such cases in biblical society. This feature of the situation, however, is odd merely because the entire social system of matriarchy is unaccountable to us. Community of descent on the father's side was not regarded as a bar to marriage in ancient Israel because the Israelites had not yet fully passed from the stage of social development in which maternity fixes kinship. Although the patriarchal system was now the standard form of the family, the practices and feelings bred under

⁹ The student who compares this practice with Deut. 27:22, where the union of a man with his sister by either parent is cursed, will be perplexed; but it needs to be emphasized that the document containing this law comes from a late period of the history, when patriarchy had a much firmer hold upon society than in the earlier period.

the earlier matriarchal standard were persistent. Although fatherhood was now recognized at the head of the kinship system, the controlling currents of social life still ran through the channels cut by motherhood kinship. Brother and sister by the same mother might not marry because *they* were real kinsfolk. But fatherhood had not yet impressed itself upon social institutions with sufficient authority to put the marriage of paternal brother and sister outside the domain of good morals.

Another archaism was the social position of the woman who bore children outside of wedlock. What we should call harlotry, or prostitution, in modern society, met with little or no reprobation in the earlier centuries following the settlement of Israel in Canaan. One of the Hebrew designations of such a woman was *zonah*, זֹנָה, commonly rendered harlot. We are told that Jephtha, one of the judges, was the son of a *zonah*, and was brought up in his father's house with the other children. In Gen. 38:15 the same word occurs, but in vss. 21 and 22 is equated by implication with another term of great importance, i. e., *kedeshah*, קִדְשָׁה. In the King James translation both *zonah* and *kedeshah* are rendered "harlot." This usage is also followed by the English revised version of 1882; but the latter indicates that the term in vss. 21 and 22 is not the same as that in vs. 15 by printing the transliteration *kedeshah* in the margin. This also is improved upon by the American revision. Here, as in the earlier translations, the word *zonah*, in vs. 15, is rendered "harlot;" but *kedeshah*, besides being transliterated in the margin, is translated "prostitute" in the text itself. In both revisions, the margin explains that the *kedeshah* is "a woman dedicated to impure heathen worship." The revisers are to be honored for trying to give the public a Bible that is more faithful to the Hebrew original than is the misleading, and in many cases ignorant, version prepared in the time of King James. Here, as in many other places, the revisers labor under great embarrassment. For it is manifestly impossible to introduce exhaustive marginal treatises on all points in question; and it may be doubted whether the general reader will get much light from the marginal explanation just quoted. The *kedeshah* was a recognized public

institution of Israelite society until a late period. As the revisers point out, she was in some way dedicated to religion. She was, in fact, a sacred prostitute, living near a shrine, and connected with the earlier system of Israel's religious life. As the prophet Hosea says, "They sacrifice with the *kedeshoth*" (Hos. 4:14.)¹⁰ A Hebrew term for sanctuary, or place of worship, is *kedesh*, קֹדֶשׁ. This appears transliterated in the English text of Num. 13:26; Judg. 4:10; II Kings 15:29, and elsewhere. The designation of the sacred prostitute is thus merely the word for sanctuary with the feminine affix, *ah*. The root of the term, appearing in all its variations, is the consonants *kdsh*. The fundamental meaning is that of being set apart in the physical sense. It indicates the old Semitic idea of *holiness*, or physical separation. It occurs (although in a higher moral sense) in the song of the flying seraph in Isaiah's vision of the temple: "*Kadosh, kadosh, kadosh* [i. e., holy, holy, holy] is Yahweh" (Isa. 6:3). Thus we see that the same fundamental term is applied to the god of Israel, to the sanctuary, and to the sacred prostitute.

It is impossible to explain this public religious character of harlotry in ancient Israel as a mere exhibition of bad morals. In the form of an established institution, it is to be found all through ancient Semitic society.¹¹ At the same time there is an immense mass of evidence (partly cited above) indicating that kinship was fixed by motherhood before patriarchy became a social standard. Coterminous with these important facts goes proof that the most popular and widespread religious worship throughout the Semitic area was not that of a male deity, but that of the goddess *Ishtar*.¹² This female divinity represents the earlier Semitic mother-goddess worshiped under the matriarchal system. She appears in Israel associated with male divinities that were known as the *Baals*, or *Baalim*. Thus, in Judg. 2:13,

¹⁰ This word is merely the plural form of *kedeshah*. The syllable *oth* is the plural ending of words that are in the feminine gender in Hebrew. In the masculine gender the plural termination is *im*; for example, cherubim.

¹¹ Harper, *The Code of Hammurabi* (Chicago, 1904), secs. 110, 127, 178, 182; W. R. Smith, *Early Religion of the Semites* (London, 1894), p. 455; Jastrow, *Religion of the Babylonians and Assyrians* (Boston, 1898), p. 485.

¹² Cf. Barton, *Semitic Origins*, p. 83.

and many other passages, the Baal-*im* and Ashtar-*oth* are the male and female deities worshiped by the Israelites from the settlement in Canaan onwards for hundreds of years. Ashtar is merely a phonetic variation of Ishtar. Now the religious conceptions and institutions of any society reflect the prevailing social constitution. *Stated in terms of kinship, the well-known division of Israel's religious allegiance between male and female objects of worship is correlated with persistence of matriarchal institutions in a society blindly struggling to establish patriarchy as the rule of kinship. From this point of view, the significance of Israel for mankind lies in the triumph of a male deity over all divine rivals of both sexes—a triumph so complete as to involve utter extermination of all other cults, both male and female.* This proposition may be misunderstood at the moment, for we are now dealing in a partial way with only a fraction of the problem. The entire content of our thesis cannot be disclosed until the general situation has been examined.

Although we seem to have digressed from our immediate subject, the explanation of the *kedeshah* is, we believe, contained in the foregoing statements. We have pointed out that the older documents of the Pentateuch (J and E), as well as the most ancient material in the other books, exhibit clear traces of matriarchy. Now, the final triumph of the distinctive Old Testament system is connected with the rise of the priesthood to an authority it never had before. In the priestly documents of the Old Testament, fatherhood stands in a position of absolute supremacy at the head of kinship institutions, and all remnants of the earlier matriarchy are put under the ban. Our conclusion is, that the *kedeshah* was connected with the worship of the mother-goddess Ishtar, whose place in the pantheon was fixed under the ancient matriarchy; and that the *kedeshah* represented survival of sexual relations and birth standards that were not counted wrong at earlier points in the social process. Undoubtedly, such an institution, when surviving in the presence of patriarchal standards, would be subject to abuses, and would become the center of much depravity. This, however, does not obscure the fact that in a patriarchal society harlotry connected

with religion was able to maintain the character of an established public institution for many centuries.

So much for the persistence of earlier standards in the kinship system of ancient Israel. Although our survey now turns from these interesting facts, we shall recur to them later. In due time it will become evident that the survivals of matriarchy played a humble but important part in the mighty social process that gave us the Bible and its distinctive religion. It would be both interesting and instructive to go into the conditions underlying the rise of patriarchy in the face of the earlier matriarchal standards; but such an excursus is impossible in this connection.

Under ancient Israelite patriarchy the husband and father was the *proprietor* of his wife and family. He owned his wife (or wives), children, houses, lands, and cattle. In this proprietary character he was known by the term *baal*, בַּאֵל. As thus used, the word is not familiar to those who read the Bible only through modern translations. It is, however, well known through transliteration as a common appellation of deities, for instance, the Baalim already noted; and it is less known as an element in theophoric proper names, for instance, Jerrubbaal (Judg. 7:1), Eshbaal (1 Chron. 8:33). But whenever it occurs in the Hebrew text as a common designation of men (i. e., aside from use as an element in proper nouns) it is rendered by some other word, such as husband, or owner. Study of this term is highly instructive regarding the constitution of the patriarchal family and clan. The position of the head of the family is concretely shown by certain Old Testament laws in the book of Exodus where the term *baal* is twice used. It is concealed in the translation; but in the Hebrew text the situation comes out clearly. In Exodus 21:2 we read: "If thou buy a Hebrew slave, six years shall he serve; and in the seventh he shall go out free for nothing. *If he be the baal of a wife*, then his wife shall go out with him." The phrase we emphasize is translated in all the English versions, "If he be married." The term *baal*, as here employed, might signify no more than husband if we had only this instance of its use. But later in the same chapter it occurs in a connection which, taken with other cases, proves that the fundamental sense

of the word refers to pure and simple ownership, as already explained. In Exod. 21:28 we read: "If an ox gore a man or a woman to death, the ox shall surely be stoned . . . *but the baal of the ox shall be quit.*" In this case the versions agree in translating the term *baal* by the word "owner." Thus we see that the same Hebrew term designates the possession of a woman and the ownership of an ox. The head of the family was *baal* of his wife and of his cattle.

The Israelite wife, then, was the property of her husband. In ultimate analysis, she was in a chattel relation to him. This fact is illustrated from another standpoint by the institution corresponding to our marriage ceremony. A man obtained his wife by outright purchase, either in money or in goods, from her father or her male guardian. In Hebrew this price is called the *mohar*, מֹהָר. After payment the woman passed into the ownership of her purchaser. No marriage ceremony in our sense was considered necessary. Payment of the *mohar* was at once the ceremony and legalization of marriage. It is from this point of view that the Deuteronomic law regulates the seduction of a virgin. The offender shall pay the damsel's father fifty shekels of silver, and take her as his wife (Deut. 22:28, 29). A slightly different version of this law is given in Exod. 22:17, thus: "If her father utterly refuse to give her unto him, he shall pay money according to the *mohar* of virgins." On this view, the outrage takes the character of a damage to the rights of private property.

These facts make it clear that the Hebrew wife was practically a slave. Before the institution of marriage could assume the form here indicated the slavery of woman must have been established in social usage.¹³ The inferior position of Israelite women may be regarded as an aspect of the ancient slavery of both sexes. Not only were women held as chattels, but men also were held as property. In this respect Israel was no exception; for slavery underlay the structure of all ancient societies. We shall recur to this fact at later stages of our examination.

Under a social system in which the husband is owner of his wife, there is naturally no restriction upon the number of wives

¹³ Cf. W. R. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

he may have except the very important limits imposed by his own economic resources and the number of women available. Polygamy, therefore, was an element in the domestic institutions of Israel. Accordingly, we find that many Israelites had two wives; some, three or four; while the rich had still higher numbers. Of course, it was only the wealthy who were able to maintain large establishments. The polygamy practiced by men like David and Solomon must have been exceptional; and in the latter case there may be some exaggeration in the biblical accounts. Plurality of wives was quite limited among the mass of the people. A good illustration is the case of Samuel's father: "Now there was a certain man of the hill country of Ephraim; and his name was Elkanah; and he had two wives. The name of the one was Hannah, and the name of the other Peninah" (1 Sam. 1:1, 2). Jacob also had the same number (Gen., chap. 29), and Lamech had two wives (Gen. 4:19). Polygamy, however, was gradually restricted in later times; and the ideal of monogamy was undoubtedly present in the minds of some of the biblical writers.

When the head of the family died, his property went to the eldest son. If there were no son, the estate descended to some other male relative, or, in default of this, to an adopted male heir. Thus the organized life of the kinship group was continued, and the family property was kept together. Wives and daughters could not inherit the family headship. Inheritance must by all means go down through the male line. This principle was absolute. An instructive example is found in Gen. 15:2, where Abraham declares: "I go childless; and he that shall be the possessor of my family is Eliezer of Damascus." By reference to the narrative, we find that Eliezer is the steward, or chief slave, of Abraham's family. If Abraham die without male issue, the steward is to be his heir. An example of the adoption of a trusted servant so that he could inherit is found in I Chron. 2:34: "Now Sheshan had no sons, but [he had] daughters. And Sheshan had a slave, an Egyptian, whose name was Jarha. And Sheshan gave his daughter to Jarha his slave to wife."¹⁴

These references to adoption show that while actual blood

¹⁴ It is hardly necessary to go into all details of the domestic system.

kinship was regarded as the fundamental bond of society, the principle did not work out consistently in practice. Israelites were frequently in contact with aliens, or foreigners with whom it became necessary to assume close relations of different kinds. If the original kinship theory were literally followed out, it would have excluded all foreign blood from Israel. As a matter of fact, the society called Israel was the product of an ethnic mixture equal to that which has occurred in the history of most nations. It was, in the first place, the result of union between the incoming desert clans and earlier Canaanite inhabitants; and subsequently other outsiders were grafted into the social body. Where these aliens were women they came in, of course, as the property of their husbands. Where they were of the male sex, they came either as chattels or as adopted freemen, according to the circumstances of the case. An outsider thus adopted was known as a *ger*, גֵּר.¹⁵ The Bible has much to say about the "stranger" and the "sojourner." It is usually the *gerim* (plural) that are thus designated. Free foreigners became a part of Israelite society by adoption into some native family, after which they were treated as blood-members of the kin. The inclusion of free foreigners involved a special agreement, or covenant, called *berith*, בְּרִית, and acceptance of the family cult by the incomer.¹⁶

Thus we see that the kinship theory of society, not only in Israel but throughout the ancient world, could not be consistently put into practice. Although the social structure of ancient Israel was largely determined by actual blood kinship, it was not this, in last analysis, that fixed the structure and function of institutions. The condition under which outsiders were adopted into Israelite society was *contact*. It was contact outside the limits of actual blood kinship which made it necessary to set up a fictitious kinship through adoption and covenant. And kinship itself may be viewed as a special form of contact. For, even within its limits, if an individual do not conform to the kinds of contact

¹⁵ Plural, *gerim*.

¹⁶ This brings before us again the religious phase of society. It is perhaps well to emphasize that from the standpoint of the present paper the subject of religion is incidental, and cannot be developed at this point.

prescribed by conventionality, he is thrust out from the midst of his blood relatives. He thus makes himself an alien to his own kin. We see, therefore, that even in early society kinship is not supreme. It is contact that rules kinship from the outset. The *form* of early social psychology is determined by kinship; but its *function* is determined by contact.

LIFE IN THE PENNSYLVANIA COAL FIELDS

WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO WOMEN¹

ANNIE MARION MACLEAN
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The investigation upon which this study is based extended over a period of six and one-half weeks,² with two people at work in the field, and was undertaken at the instance of the National Board³ of the Young Women's Christian Associations of the United States in order that this body might be definitely informed in regard to the condition of women in these regions. The lives of women in mining camps are apt to be barren of opportunity if left to themselves; therefore, the National Board desired to know the situation as it is before attempting betterment work itself or setting other forces in motion.

Much is known in a general way of life in the mining regions of Pennsylvania,⁴ and very much detailed information in regard to working conditions in the mines has been given to the public, but no special investigation of the separate towns centered mainly on the social life of women has been made before this. It is therefore hoped that this study will contribute in a small way to a more intimate knowledge of an important body of people and their needs.

The inquiry was based on a schedule, which is here presented.

SCHEDULE III

FOR MINING REGIONS

For the Sociological Investigation Committee, acting under the auspices of the National Board of the Young Women's Christian Associations.

¹ This formed one section of a national investigation of living and working conditions conducted by the writer of this paper for the National Board of the Young Women's Christian Associations in the year 1907-8.

² June 10 to August 1, 1907.

³ Miss Grace H. Dodge, of New York, president.

⁴ The very valuable work of Dr. Peter Roberts on *Anthracite Coal Communities* should be mentioned here and should be read for a general view of the situation. Dr. Roberts himself was most helpful in this investigation.

Name of Place....Population....Special Industry....Number employed
Nationalities....Women in community: Occupations....Housing Con-
 ditions....Social Life....Amusements....Clubs or Centers for Women....
 Church undertakings in behalf of women....Remarks....

Before proceeding to a discussion of the towns it may be well to locate definitely the two great mining sections of the state. The anthracite fields⁵ embrace a territory of about 3,300 square miles⁶ in three parallel valleys in the northeastern part of the state, while the bituminous fields underlie about 15,800 square miles in six parallel valleys in the southwestern part of the state.⁷

The counties included in the anthracite area (12 counties), with the percentage of production, are: Carbon, 7.8; Columbia, 1.8; Dauphin, 1.0; Lackawanna, 29.2 Lebanon⁸, —; Luzerne, 20.8; Northumberland, 1.1; Schuylkill, 2.7; Sullivan, 0.8; Susquehanna, 3.48; Wayne⁸, —; Wyoming⁸, —.

The counties included in the bituminous area (24 counties), are: Allegheny, Armstrong, Beaver, Bedford, Blair, Butler, Cambria, Centre, Clarion, Clearfield, Clinton, Elk, Fayette, Greene, Huntingdon, Indiana, Jefferson, Laurence, Lycoming, Mercer, Somerset, Tioga, Washington, Westmoreland.

Fayette, Westmoreland, Allegheny, and Cambria are the four most important counties so far as output of coal is concerned.

A tabular comparison⁹ of the numerical importance of the two sections is now presented.

	Bituminous	Anthracite
Number of Mines.....	1,023	334
Number of Operators.....	514	119
Number of Salaried Officials, etc...	3,830	3,014
Number of Wage Earners.....	92,095	69,691

⁵ The general boundaries are as follows: On the north by the north branch of the Susquehanna, on the east by the Delaware and Lehigh rivers, and on the west by the Susquehanna.

⁶ "Less than one-sixth of this, or about 484 square miles, is underlaid by workable deposits of coal"—"Mines and Quarries," 1902 *Special Census Report*, p. 675.

⁷ Running from the Ohio and Maryland lines well on toward New York.

⁸ These counties produced nothing in 1902.

⁹ "Mines and Quarries," 1902 *Special Census Report*, p. 291. The figures for normal years are nearly double for employees.

It will be seen that the anthracite coal fields extend from Forest City on the north to a little south of Pottsville in a long oval. This embraces three coal basins—the Wyoming, which is also the largest, including Nanticoke and Forest City, with the intervening places; the Lehigh, lying about Hazleton, and the Schuylkill, centering about Shenandoah and Mahanoy City, while the bituminous fields are scattered over a larger area, with centers at Johnstown, Greensburg, Connellsville, Punxsutawney, Spangler and Patton, Indiana, and Du Bois.

With the most important centers in mind, our work was undertaken. No attempt was made to visit all the towns and patches in either section, but only to select certain places which should be typical of the best, average, and worst conditions. The places visited were as follows:

Anthracite region.—Audenried (Carbon Co.); Dickson and Priceburg (Lackawanna Co.); Drifton, Duryea, and Edwardsville, (Luzerne Co.); Forest City (Susquehanna Co.); Freeland, Hazleton, Harleigh, Jeanesville, and Jeddo, (Luzerne Co.); Jesup (Lackawanna Co.); Lattimer I and II (Luzerne Co.); Mahanoy City (Schuylkill Co.); Mayfield (Lackawanna Co.); Milnesville (Luzerne Co.); McAdoo (Schuylkill Co.); Nanticoke, Ninth District (Hazleton) (Luzerne Co.); Old Forge and Mudtown, and Oliphant (Lackawanna Co.); Parkplace (Schuylkill Co.); Pittston and West Pittston (Luzerne Co.); Shenandoah and Trenton (Schuylkill Co.); Upper Lehigh, Warrior Run, and Wilkesbarre (Luzerne Co.).

Bituminous region.—Adrian, and Anita (Jefferson Co.); Barnesboro (Cambria Co.); Big Soldier (Jefferson Co.); Cambria (Johnstown) (Cambria Co.); Chambersville (Indiana Co.); Conemaugh and Franklin (Cambria Co.); Connellsville (Fayette Co.); Crabtree (Westmoreland Co.); Creekside (Indiana Co.); Du Bois (Clearfield Co.); Ehrenfeld (Cambria Co.); Elenora (Jefferson Co.); Eriton (Clearfield Co.); Ernest (Indiana Co.); Fayette City (Fayette Co.); Florenza (Jefferson Co.); Forbes Road, Greensburg, Hannastown, Haydenville, Huff, Jamison I (Westmoreland Co.); Johnstown (Cambria Co.); Monongahela (Washington Co.); Mt. Pleasant (Westmoreland

Co.); Patton (Cambria Co.); Penfield (Clearfield Co.); Punxsutawney (Jefferson Co.); Rossiter (Indiana Co.); South Fork and Spangler (Cambria Co.); Sykesville (Jefferson Co.); St. Benedict (Cambria Co.); Tyler (Clearfield Co.); Walston (Jefferson Co.); Windber (Somerset Co.).

An investigation of this kind naturally resolves itself into a study of foreign population, as the Americans are found only in positions of more or less importance around the mines, so it was the life of the immigrant woman in her local setting that absorbed attention. The nationalities of the immigrants are practically the same in both sections. Sixty per cent. of the miners and almost all the mine laborers are Slavs,¹⁰ Lithuanians, and Italians. English, Welsh, Irish and Germans do only highly skilled work. The few Jews in the coal fields are engaged in trade, having followed the various nationalities coming into the coal fields.

A detailed account of the two sections is now presented:

A. ANTHRACITE FIELDS

Housing conditions.—Probably 75 per cent. of the houses in some sections are still owned by the companies, although one frequently hears it said that the company house is fast becoming a thing of the past. The newly arrived immigrant is likely to come without his family, so he boards with someone of his own race, as many as twenty or thirty men crowding into a four-room house with a man and his wife and family. In such cases three rooms, or perhaps four, are used as bedrooms, leaving only a lean-to to serve as kitchen and living-room. The family sleeps in one room and the boarders in the rest, one set occupying the beds at night and another during the day if they happen to have a night shift at the mine. Sometimes, however, boarders sleep in the room with the family. The woman does all the housework and cooking for the men, each man usually buying his own food and paying her a certain sum for cooking it. The houses in which this class of immigrants live are usually four-roomed with a lean-to. They

¹⁰ Including Slovaks, Ruthenians, Hungarians, Magars, Poles, and Bohemians, as the term is used in the Pennsylvania mining regions.

are poorly built and are cold in winter, and the rent averages \$1.00 per month per room.

It is said on good authority that all the houses in which the newly arrived immigrants live are swarming with vermin. All are very dirty and the yards and alleys are frequently filthy.

After the immigrant has been here a year or two he brings over his family, if he is a married man. They set up housekeeping in one of these old houses, taking boarders as just described. But they soon begin to save money to buy a house and lot. They accomplish this in the course of five or six years and they usually have a house in a better locality, with five or six rooms, not very well built but a great improvement over the old one. They have a parlor with lace curtains, rocking-chairs, and a gorgeous lamp, and in the kitchen they put a big cook-stove costing \$30 or \$40. They may not have a lawn in front of the house but usually there is a vegetable garden at the back. They are not yet clean according to American ideas, especially in the care of the streets and alleys, but they are no longer filthy. The boarder is apt to vanish when this stage is reached.

The third class of homes consists of those occupied by the skilled miners of all classes. They are usually six- or seven-roomed houses, comfortably built and furnished like any simple American home. In any case, they are Americans to all intents and purposes and have no especial need of help.

Water supply.—Besides the housing conditions there are certain other characteristics of the anthracite fields which deserve mention. The water supply all through the region is good. Usually it comes from springs in the mountains and there is a fair supply for each locality, though not often a faucet in each house.

Natural surroundings.—The natural surroundings are beautiful but not infrequently a patch is squatted down on a culm heap or between two culm heaps, so that the children play in coal from morning till night and the women see nothing but blackness from the windows. The culm heap¹¹ and the breakers are inevitable

¹¹ Successful efforts have been made to reduce the culm heap somewhat by converting part of it into a marketable product.

evils, but it is surely not necessary for houses to be built close to them when a walk of five minutes would bring the people to grass and often to a beautiful view as well.

Employment of women.—Throughout the anthracite fields the women among the Slavs are in the great minority and are usually married early and kept busy at home with the usual duties and many boarders. But scattered through the region are silk mills, knitting mills, and shirt factories which employ young girls. In these the laws regarding child-labor and the hours and conditions of labor are not rigorously enforced and many hardships result. Conditions in the silk mills are not by any means as good as could be desired.

B. BITUMINOUS FIELDS

Housing conditions.—In the bituminous fields the company house is in evidence everywhere. When an operator opens a mine he lets a contract to a builder to put up a town of anywhere from fifty to three-hundred houses. In their worst state these houses have four or five rooms, no clapboards or foundations, and a very thin coat of plaster inside. They rent for from \$4 to \$9 a month, according to the number of rooms, making in general an average of \$1.00 per month per room as in the anthracite fields. There is no water faucet in the house, and often there are not more than three or four in the town. The average house is clapboarded but has no foundation, or only a board one. The best houses are found at Ernest and have six rooms, are clapboarded, have stone foundations and a fairly good coat of plaster, and a water faucet in each kitchen. In this town the houses for the bosses have also an indoor closet and bath. In many towns the companies had no outdoor closets built when the houses were put up, and therefore the people had to provide them for themselves. The result is buildings which in some cases do not provide for the requirements of decency and never for those of health. To go through an alley in one of these towns is a trip better imagined than described. In other cases the companies had out-houses built, but they are put up in groups of six or eight to serve for a block of houses. It is possible that part

of these are supposed to be reserved for women and part for men, but they are not so used. In exceptional cases an out-house is built for each dwelling, with a vault of the proper depth.

Furthermore, the immigrant in the bituminous fields has small opportunity to buy a house and lot for himself for the company will not sell him land, even if he be disposed to buy. He does not, therefore, have the same chance to improve his surroundings that he would have in the anthracite fields and one strong incentive to saving is taken away. Yet, owing to the exigencies of bituminous mining, the company house seems to be the only practicable thing.¹²

Water supply.—In several of these towns the water supply is bad and typhoid fever not uncommon. This is not entirely the fault of the companies, as the water is not naturally as good as in the anthracite fields. At the same time, since they are landlords, it seems as if they ought to take at least some rudimentary measures to make the water drinkable. In several cases there was only one place in the town where drinking-water could be obtained, and often the Americans were afraid to drink even that without boiling.

Sanitation.—These company towns, again excepting Ernest, have no sidewalks and no proper way of getting rid of garbage. The streets and alleys are very dirty and there is not even a pretence of cleaning them as there is in the anthracite fields, because there is no town organization to see to it, and the companies do not take the trouble. They clean up when there is an epidemic. At the same time, these company towns do not give the impression of crowding as do the patches in the anthracite fields. The houses are on larger lots and there are no hovels. The worst of the houses are not as bad as the worst in the anthracite fields, but neither do the best in the one case compare with the best in the other. The same may be said of the cleanliness of the towns.

Employment of women.—The women marry young, as in the anthracite fields, and are in the main given over to the arduous duties of housekeeping and taking boarders, besides trying to

¹² The life of a mine is only about ten years and men could not afford to own homes for such a sojourn.

care for numerous small children. There are comparatively few factories here.

From the foregoing it will be seen that in many respects living conditions are most undesirable in the two sections. Other features of the two regions, such as amusements and moral conditions, may well be discussed together.

Amusements.—The amusements of the immigrants in both regions are few in number and practically all seem to be reducible to one root—drink. Even where there are theaters and concerts the immigrants do not go to them because they understand English so imperfectly, and for the same reason they do not frequent even the nicolodeons, penny arcades, etc., to any great extent. What characteristic social life they have centers about weddings and christenings, when a supply of liquor is bought and a carousal of several days follows. Then, too, there are many dances, with liquor always circulating freely. Everyone goes to these dances, from the baby to the grandmother. If there were no liquor sold it is probable that such dances would be an innocent enough form of amusement, for the round dance is seldom seen. As they are actually conducted, however, the women and children drink as well as the men, ugly tempers and evil passions are aroused, and there are frequent fights, while after the dance young men and women find opportunity to indulge their inflamed passions. During the summer the dance is replaced by the picnic, which is prolonged till late in the evening, with dancing and liquor. This is a source of grave danger to the girls and is deplored by the better element among the immigrants themselves.

Both dances and picnics are held under various auspices. Sometimes they are conducted by one of the men's societies of the Roman Catholic church, and sometimes by the church itself, for the purpose of raising money. Usually there is a charge of 25 cents a couple, and invariably the profits from the liquor-selling go into the church treasury. Neither picnics nor balls seem to be as common in the bituminous fields as in the anthracite.

Aside from these the only amusement is beer-drinking, either at home or in the saloons. Through the anthracite fields saloons

abound and the liquor laws are laxly enforced. In most places little pretense even is made of enforcing the Sunday laws, and where they are enforced some of the better class of Americans are doubtful as to the wisdom of this. The real question seems to be whether it is better for men to drink at home or in the saloon. If the saloons are closed on Sunday the men in one house together buy a keg of beer, which must be consumed by Monday morning or it will spoil. The result is a grand debauch, in which the women and children are participants. If the men could go to the saloon the women and children would probably get no beer and the men less because it would cost them more.

In this same line another great evil is the practice of selling beer from the saloons by the quantity.¹³ There is a great deal of this, though it is illegal up to the amount of a quart, and it tends to increase drinking because beer sold by the quantity is much cheaper than when sold by the glass.

In the bituminous fields saloons are not nearly as numerous and the laws are more strictly enforced. In the company towns there are no saloons, but to counterbalance this the beer wagon makes a visit every day or two and the people keep beer in the house by the keg.

Moral conditions.—The lax moral conditions among the immigrants flow in large part from the drink evil, but also in part from the conditions under which they live. There is no doubt that all of these nationalities are heavy drinkers and have brought the vice with them from their own countries. At home, however, they had not the money with which to buy much liquor, and it is possible that what liquor they had was less adulterated than ours and that it did less harm than when taken in our climate. However that may be, what they get here undoubtedly leads to most of the fights and murders among them and to much of the vice.

A difficulty arises from the necessity put upon the mine-workers of a daily bath. They come home with coal dust ground into them from head to foot and find a daily tub bath a necessity. In winter time there is no place in which to take this bath except

¹³ "Rushing the growler."

in the kitchen in the presence of the women and children. This lack of privacy is demoralizing.

The three factors, of drink, crowding, and the daily bath unite to make the standard of purity in the coal fields admittedly a low one. Illegitimate children are not uncommon, though when a mother is unmarried the priest usually makes it his business to see that the father of her child marries her.

Favorable conditions.—Aside from these serious evils little else can be charged against the immigrants. Their standard of living is lower than ours but they slough off these faults in an amazingly short time if they have any chance at all. Furthermore, they are frugal and thrifty, and law-abiding and peaceable when not under the influence of liquor. All of these nationalities, except perhaps the Italian, are well-developed, sturdy, healthy people. Taking them all in all, the immigrants in the coal fields make upon one the impression of being not vicious and criminal, but only ignorant and lacking in self-control. Those who know them best say they are most teachable when their suspicions are allayed.

They soon become suspicious, because they are fleeced on every hand, from the instant that they land in New York or Philadelphia throughout their journey to the coal fields, in securing and retaining work. Conductors and brakemen hustle and jostle them into the cars and put them off at wrong stations; landlords charge exorbitant rents; doctors and druggists wring money out of them in sickness; mine bosses tax them for allowing them to keep their jobs; unscrupulous men put on a gaudy button or badge and frighten the wife into paying them money to save herself from the fancied danger of an arrest; company stores force them to trade at them and supply shoddy goods at high prices, and so the list might be prolonged indefinitely. Where one American or company treats them with consideration and justice, not to speak of generosity, half a dozen take advantage of their ignorance of our language and laws to make money out of them. It is small wonder that they soon become suspicious and surly to strangers.

It seems desirable here for purposes of definiteness and com-

parison to put in tabular form certain classes of facts, in accordance with a twofold grouping, as follows:

First, general information in regard to each place studied, including population and occupations of women.

Second, social life. For lack of a better term this has been

TABLE I
ANTHRACITE FIELDS.—GENERAL INFORMATION

Place	Population*	Occupations of Women
Audenried.....	2,000	Housekeeping.† Work in factories near
Dickson and Priceburg†.....	5,000	Housekeeping. 100 girls in silk mill
Drifton.....	2,129	Housekeeping
Duryea.....	1,500	Housekeeping
Edwardsville.....	5,165	Housekeeping; work in factories in Wilkesbarre
Forest City.....	4,279	Housekeeping; 50 girls in silk mill
Freeland.....	5,254	Housekeeping; 120 girls in silk mill; 220 girls in overall factory
Harleigh.....	585	Housekeeping; a few girls in nearby mills
Hazleton.....	14,230	Housekeeping and factory work;¶ 498 in three shirt factories; 388 in two silk mills; 160 in two knitting mills; many go to Waverly factories
Jeanesville§.....	1,070	Housekeeping; work in factories in Hazleton
Jeddo.....	1,632	Housekeeping; work in factories in nearby towns
Jessup.....	3,242	Housekeeping
Lattimer I and II...	1,600**	Housekeeping; a few in nearby factories
Mahanoy City.....	13,504	Housekeeping; 220 girls in three shirt factories
Mayfield.....	6,000††	Housekeeping
Milnesville.....	824	Housekeeping; factory work in nearby towns
McAdoo.....	2,122	Housekeeping; 60 girls in shirt factory
Nanticoke.....	12,116	Housekeeping; 200 girls in two silk mills and one hosiery mill
"Ninth District"††.	5,000††	Housekeeping; ¶¶ a few in Hazleton mills
Old Forge and Mudtown.....	5,630	Housekeeping; work in Taylor factories
Olyphant.....	6,180	Housekeeping; 300 girls in silk mill
Parkplace.....	188	Housekeeping
Pittston.....	12,556	Housekeeping; work in factories
West Pittston.....	5,846	Housekeeping; work in factories
Shenandoah.....	20,321	Housekeeping; varied factory work
Trenton.....	300††	Housekeeping
Upper Lehigh.....	1,200	Housekeeping; 20-30 girls in nearby mills
Warrior Run.....	965§§	Housekeeping; work in factories in Wilkesbarre
Wilkesbarre.....	51,721	Housekeeping; varied industries

* Figures from the Census of 1900 used.

† The term "housekeeping" is meant to include taking boarders, as the great majority of women engage in this work.

‡ The mining center frequently includes more than a political division.

¶ These girls come mostly from Audenried, Freeland, and other small nearby towns.

§ Iron works here also employing 325 men. ** Estimated at the present time at about 2,200.

†† Approximate. ‡‡ Just outside the city limits of Hazleton.

¶¶ Girls marry before the age of sixteen as a rule, especially among the Italians.

§§ Now about 1,200.

TABLE II
ANTHRACITE FIELDS.—SOCIAL LIFE

Place	Amusements*	Clubs and Centers for Women	Church Efforts
Audenried.....	Dances, picnics, excursions (with beer and whiskey).		Methodist: Sewing-class of 30; kindergarten of 120.
Dickson and Priceburg.....	Church (Catholic) picnics in summer and balls in winter. Christenings, weddings, much drinking.		
Drifton.....	Nicolodeon, dance hall; beer, etc. sold at dances.		Episcopal:† Women's Guild, 33 members.
Duryea.....	Dances, picnics, saloons.		Presbyterian: Kindergarten, sewing-class, cooking-classes, mothers' meetings.
Edwardsville	Nothing special here; seek amusements in nearby towns.	 †
Forest City.....	Dances, excursions, theater, saloons, etc.‡	Sewing class of 30 for girls from 12-16.	Methodist: Visitor.
Freeland.....	60 saloons, church picnics, two dance halls, Cath. entertainments.	Civic Club, 100 women, chiefly Americans; United Charities, a woman visitor, sewing class of 30 girls, Friendly Visitors' Society; a free sewing class of 75 girls.	Methodist: Visitor, sewing-class. Presbyterian: Visitor, kindergarten, industrial school.
Harleigh.....	Picnics; go to parks near Hazelton.		
Hazleton.....	Dances, picnics, saloons, two nicolodeons, one family theater, one fairly good theater.§		
Jeanesville.....	Go to Hazleton for amusements.		Methodist: Deaconess from Hazleton pays visits.
Jeddo.....	Go to Hazleton for amusements.		Methodist: Deaconess from Hazleton pays visits.
Jessup.....	Numerous saloons.		Presbyterian:** Visitor, kindergarten of 35-40.
Lattimer I and II.....	A few dances; company ice-cream and soda-water stand in Lattimer I. Go to theater in Hazleton.		

* As the men and the women in the main enjoy their amusements together, no attempt was made to designate amusements for women alone.

† Minister's salary paid by mine-owners' families, who do much good.

‡ Liquor sold on all occasions. Town drinks 1,000 barrels of beer a year; said to drink more than any town in the Lackawanna valley.

§ There are 6 Protestant, 4 Catholic, and 5 Greek churches. The wife of a mine owner pays part of the salary of each Protestant minister.

** Mission; minister lives in Scranton.

TABLE II.—Continued

Place	Amusements	Clubs or Centers for Women	Church Efforts
Mahanoy City.....	Two dance halls, one good theater, one vaudeville house, church picnics and dances, cards, etc.		Catholic: General work.
Mayfield.....	Theater,* picnics, dances, weddings, christenings, etc.		
Milnesville.....	Go to Hazleton for amusements.	Sewing-class.†	(See Hazleton)
McAdoo.....	Picnics and excursions.		Presbyterian: Kindergarten of 30, sewing and social class of 15.
Nanticoke.....	Entertainments of all kinds with liquor.‡		Methodist: Sewing circle of 25 women.
"Ninth District"	(See Hazleton).		Presbyterian: Sewing school for mill girls of 25-30; Florence Crittenden Circle. Baptist: Kindergarten.
Old Forge and Mudtown.....	Same as in Duryea.		Catholic: Theater under supervision of priest. Baptist: Sewing-school.
Olyphant.....	40 saloons; church entertainments.		
Parkplace.....	Go to Mahanoy City.		
Pittston and West Pittston.	Dance halls, with liquor sold.§		
Shenandoah§.....	Dances and picnics, two nicolodeons, one theater, 160 saloons.		
Trenton**.....	Go to Mahanoy City.		
Upper Lehigh.....	Dances, etc., in Freeland (long walk).		
Warrior Run.....	Saloons.		
Wilkesbarre††.....	Theaters, concerts, penny arcades.‡‡	Halka Singing Society, 24 Polish girls; Heights Settlement among Welsh mine workers (classes and kindergarten); Loyal Friends' Aid—a sewing-class of Jewish girls.	Episcopal: Sewing-class of 200 girls, all nationalities; sewing- and cooking-class of 500 girls. Presbyterian: Sewing-classes at mission in Lee Park.

* In Carbondale, three miles away.

† In Audenried.

‡ 94 saloons, owned by Poles, besides "speak-easies."

†† In addition to the activities indicated many others will be found not primarily for foreigners.

‡‡ It is claimed that none of these amusements reach the foreigners. They find entertainment chiefly in saloons and at balls and picnics.

¶ Other amusements found in Wilkesbarre and Scranton.

§ Deplorable conditions found here.

** No saloons.

TABLE III
BITUMINOUS FIELDS.—GENERAL INFORMATION

Place	Population	Occupations of Women
Adrian.....	800*	Housekeeping
Anita.....	2,500	Housekeeping
Barnesboro.....	1,482†	Housekeeping
Big Soldier.....	900*	Housekeeping
Cambria†.....	1,200*	Housekeeping
Chambersville.....	400*	Housekeeping
Conemaugh and Franklin¶.....	2,175 961§	Housekeeping
Connellsville**.....	7,160	Housekeeping
Crabtree or Jamison IV.....	2,000*	Housekeeping
Creekside.....	1,000*	Housekeeping
Du Bois††.....	9,375	Housekeeping; 100 girls in overall factory
Ehrenfeld.....	567	Housekeeping
Elenora.....	1,500	Housekeeping
Eriton.....	200*	Housekeeping
Ernest.....	2,600*	Housekeeping
Fayette City.....	1,595	Housekeeping
Florenza.....	1,500*	Housekeeping
Forbes Road or Jamison III.....	1,000*	Housekeeping
Greensburg††.....	6,508	Housekeeping
Hannastown or Jamison II.....	2,000*	Housekeeping
Haydenville.....	600*	Housekeeping
Huff¶¶.....	1,000*	Housekeeping; 80 in brass fitting factory
Jamison I.....	1,200*	Housekeeping
Johnstown§§.....	35,936***	Housekeeping; some factory work
Monongahela†††....	5,173	Housekeeping
Mt. Pleasant†††....	4,745	Housekeeping; 200 girls in glass factory
Patton¶¶¶.....	2,651§§§	Housekeeping
Penfield****.....	716	Housekeeping
Punxsutawney††††..	4,375††††	50 girls in shirtwaist factory
Rossiter.....	4,000*	Housekeeping
South Fork.....	2,635	Housekeeping
Spangler.....	1,616¶¶¶¶	Housekeeping
Sykesville†††.....	156§§§§	Housekeeping
St. Benedict.....	400*	Housekeeping
Tyler†††.....	2,000*	Housekeeping
Walston†††.....	1,937	Housekeeping
Windber.....	6,000	Housekeeping; 14 girls in kindling factory at Arrow

*Approximate.

† Now about 3,000.

‡ In Johnstown city limits.

§ Both now about 6,000; five-sixths foreigners.

¶ Steel works here employing several thousand men.

§ Both now about 6,000; five-sixths foreigners.

** Iron mill here employing 300 men.

†† Business center for small mining towns; residential town for retired merchants and farmers.
 ¶¶ Brass-fitting factories here employ a great many men.
 §§ Great steel works here, also minor industries using steel and iron.
 *** Estimated to be 45,000 now.
 ††† Factories here employing 1,000. Business center for nearby mining towns.
 †††† Coke ovens here also. ¶¶¶ Clay works here employing 500. §§§ About 4,000 now.
 **** Lumbering and farming also employ the men here. Town a decadent one; lumbering nearly over and coal mine almost worked out.

†† Business center for small mining towns; residential town for retired merchants and farmers.

¶¶ Brass-fitting factories here employ a great many men.

§§ Great steel works here, also minor industries using steel and iron.

*** Estimated to be 45,000 now.

††† Factories here employing 1,000. Business center for nearby mining towns.

†††† Coke ovens here also. ¶¶¶ Clay works here employing 500. §§§ About 4,000 now.

**** Lumbering and farming also employ the men here. Town a decadent one; lumbering nearly over and coal mine almost worked out.

†††† Business center for small mining centers near.

†††† Now estimated at 10,000.

¶¶¶¶ Now about 2,500.

§§§§ Now estimated at 800.

TABLE IV
BITUMINOUS FIELDS.—SOCIAL LIFE

Place	Amusements	Clubs or Centers for Women	Church Undertakings
Adrian.....	Go to Punxsutawney or to park near there.*		Catholic.† Sisters' house.
Anita.....	Dances, occasional picnics, three saloons, nicolodeon. Go to Punxsutawney.		
Barnesboro.....	One theater, two moving-picture shows (none objectionable); dances at park and in hall (Slovak).		
Big Soldier.....	(See Sykesville).	(See Johnstown).	
Cambria.....	Five dance halls (fair). (See Johnstown.)‡		
Chambersville....	Very little social life.		
Conemaugh and Franklin.....	Very few excursions or picnics, but balls with liquors; weddings and christenings; one nicolodeon, eight saloons, one brewery, two wholesale liquor houses. Y. M. C. A. library. Also go to Johnstown.	¶
Connellsville....	Two theaters, moving-picture shows,¶ two parks near, dances; saloons well patronized. Weddings, christenings; Sunday councils chief form of amusement.	W. C. T. U. (50 members) has done some civic work and started Loyal Legion for children. Auxiliary to Y. M. C. A. (200 members) helps to relieve the poor.	
Crabtree or Jamison IV....	Beer wagon. Go to Greensburg.		

* No saloon in town, but beer wagon is regular.

† Priest practically controls town.

‡ Saloon laws enforced; no liquor sold to minors or on Sunday, but many buy a barrel of beer to last over Sunday (the boarders club together).

¶ For three years the Presbyterian minister has been trying to organize the ministers but so far without result.

TABLE IV—Continued

Place	Amusements	Clubs or Centers for Women	Church Undertakings
Creekside.....	One saloon. Social life among the Americans as in any small town.		
Du Bois.....	Card playing, drinking, christenings, weddings. One fairly good theater; two good moving-picture shows.	Women's Auxiliary to Y. M. C. A. Conductors' Club for girls (anxious to start industrial work for poorer girls).	
Ehrenfeld.....	Long walks; no saloons but bring beer from South Fork. Theater at South Fork.		
Elenora.....	Go to Punxsutawney. Beer wagon.		
Eriton.....	Play cards; drinking parties at weddings and christenings. Go to Sykesville to moving-picture show or to park near there.		Presbyterian; Sewing society. (No churches).
Ernest.....	Occasional sociables among Americans. No saloons but beer wagon. Go to Indiana.		
Fayette City.....	Drinking at weddings and christenings and over Sunday.* One moving-picture show; two dance halls.	W. C. T. U. (20 members); Women's Auxiliary to Y. M. C. A.	
Florenza.....	Beer wagon. Go to Punxsutawney or Anita.		
Forbes Roads or Jamison III.....	Beer wagon. Go to Greensburg.		
Greensburg.....	Social life as in any American town. One theater, two nicolodeons, two roller-skating rinks; dances, but no liquor sold. Well-conducted park with usual attractions.	Friday Club; Tuesday Club (musical); card clubs; W. C. T. U. and Y. W. C. T. U.	(No churches). Usual societies for church members. Needlework Guild (100 women of different churches), sews for charity.

* Fayette City is a prohibition town but liquor is sold in great quantities; three large drinking clubs; officials in league with them; druggists sell liquor openly.

TABLE IV—Continued

Place	Amusements	Clubs or Centers for Women	Church Undertakings
Hannastown or Jamison II.	Few picnics; occasional moving pictures and stereopticon views in schoolhouse by missionary. No saloon but beer wagon. Go to Greensburg or Irwin for dances. Parks. Foreigners have dances and beer in their homes. Go to Greensburg.	Sewing-class of girls 8-14 years.	(No churches). Presbyterian: Visitor, supported by church in Greensburg.
Haydenville	Social life as in any American small town. Two saloons in hotels. Go to Greensburg.	Bazaar Society (15 girls from 12-16 years).	(No churches). Methodist: Ladies' Aid. Social Christian Workers.
Jamison I.	Few excursions and picnics. Beer wagon. Go to Greensburg.	Civic Club (200 members), has organized Juvenile Court, has vacation schools (industrial), reaches mothers through visiting, etc. Benevolent Society, Children's Aid, Women's Aux. to Y. M. C. A.	Methodist: Visitor, who has a sewing-school and kindergarten games for the smaller children.
Johnstown.	Two good theaters, four good moving-picture shows.* Park; dances.	Mothers' clubs.	Methodist: Visitor, who has a sewing-school and kindergarten games for the smaller children.
Monongahela.	Weddings, christenings, drinking, etc. Carnegie Library, patronized a good deal by foreign children. Moving-picture show, one fair theater, four dance halls.	W. C. T. U. (100 members) does some civic work.	Presbyterian: Ladies' Home Mission Society. Methodist: Trying to start industrial work.
Mt. Pleasant	Card playing, walking and shooting, christenings and weddings. One fair theater, three moving-picture shows, three dance halls where liquor is sold.		
Patton.	Two nicolodeons, skating rink, park and pavilion for dancing, with beer sold; dance halls; six saloons; two wholesale liquor houses, one brewery.	A social club for sewing, cards, etc. (15 American women).	

* Foreigners patronize these more than they do the theaters.

TABLE IV—Continued

Place	Amusements	Clubs or Centers for Women	Church Undertakings
Penfield.....	Social life somewhat lower than in usual American town. Girls on streets a good deal in the evening.* Few dances; cards; people from small mining towns nearby come in to moving-picture shows and saloons.† One fairly good theater; three moving-picture shows; two dance halls. Moving pictures; one small dance hall; two saloons; great amount of liquor sold.		Presbyterian: Sewing-society of 45 girls, 8-14 years (few foreigners).
Punxsutawney....			
Rossiter.....			
South Fork.....			
Spangler.....			
Sykesville.....	Great deal of dancing; one theater; go to Barnesboro. Card playing, christenings, weddings, one moving-picture show, one park nearby. Go to Spangler and Barnesboro. Merry-go-round. One saloon. Celebration of saints' days, weddings, christenings; playing cards and shooting; two fair dance halls, with beer; one moving-picture show. No saloon but beer wagon every day. Dances, with liquor.‡ One theater (plays such that women are sometimes not admitted); one nicolodeon (some of pictures indecent).		Presbyterian: Kindergarten and industrial work under missionary.
St. Benedict.....			
Tyler.....			
Walston.....			
Windber.....			

* American girls marry as early as fourteen frequently.

† People work too hard for much social life.

‡ Catholics have dances in basements of churches, also moving pictures and other entertainments.

made to include amusements, clubs and classes for women and church undertakings of a definitely social, as distinct from a purely religious, character.¹⁴ The kindergarten has been considered in undertakings for women on account of its great importance to mothers. The public schools have not been mentioned as they are found in accordance with the law in every town.

SUMMARY

The situation may be summed up in this way: In the coal fields there are, roughly speaking, a million immigrants—men, women, and children—most of them of Slavic races, who have brought over to this country the manners and customs of a lower civilization than ours and who are living under conditions which tend to perpetuate their civilization instead of raising them to the level of ours. They live by themselves, not mingling with Americans and usually knowing them only as arrogant and unjust superiors. They live together so far as possible, they work together in gangs, they go to their own churches where they are preached to in their own tongue, they trade at stores where there are clerks of their own race. In spite of all this, the men do learn some English in the course of a few years, but many women never learn it at all. It is probably true that it is exceptional for a woman who is married to learn it. The children are more likely to acquire it, but when they go to the parochial schools, as most of them do, they get only a smattering. The immigrants have practically no opportunity to learn anything of our history and traditions or about our standards of living and morality.

In the better parts of the towns, quite apart from these immigrants, live the Americans and the immigrants of Anglo-Saxon and Celtic origin, holding the best positions and frequently scorning the Slavs. Socially they will have nothing to do with them; many of them have the strongest dislike, even contempt, for the Slavs. The proportions between these two classes, of course, varies considerably, but probably in towns of more than 6,000

¹⁴It is sometimes difficult to divide church work in this way without appearing to discriminate in favor of certain churches, and the fact that only one or two denominations are reported as doing special social work does not mean that the others are not doing valuable work along distinctly religious lines.

the proportion is usually from 50 to 75 per cent. Slav and from 25 to 50 per cent. American, German, English, Welsh and Irish, while in the small patches not more than from 10 to 20 per cent. would belong to the latter class.

Betterment work.—The agencies at work Americanizing these immigrants are few and feeble. The only Protestant work at all systematized and extensive is that undertaken by the Presbyterian church and the Y. M. C. A. The Presbyterians have a committee in the anthracite fields, and another in the bituminous region, in charge of the work among the foreign speaking peoples, and these committees have established missionaries in nearly all of the larger towns, who work out from them to the smaller towns. Their work for the most part is professedly religious, consisting of holding services in the native language of the people and in the distribution of tracts, but some of the missionaries also do a great deal of house-to-house visiting, protect the people from injustice in one form or another, and teach them their legal rights. They also have women as missionaries who conduct sewing and cooking classes and visit in the homes, and nearly all the kindergartens in the coal fields are supported by the Presbyterians. In a few places the Methodists, Episcopalians, and Baptists have missionaries. Aside from these, there seem to be no other Protestant churches working among the foreigners.

There are various reasons why the Protestant churches are doing so little. Among them must undoubtedly be put the indifference referred to above, but in justice to the churches other causes must be noted. One reason is that the efforts of the Presbyterian church seem to have met with small results compared with the money and energy expended. This has deterred others. Those who have charge of this work say they have met almost insuperable difficulties in finding the right men and women for the work.¹⁵ In several cases men sent have proved to be of bad character and the priests are still making the most capital possible out of that fact. In other cases, when they were ex-Catholics,

¹⁵ The great difficulty, of course, is in getting suitable people who are at the same time familiar with the Slavic tongues.

the people looked upon them as renegades and would have nothing to do with them. Altogether, the men on the committees in charge of the work feel that it is slow and shows small results. This naturally discourages other churches from any attempts.

A second reason is to be found in the weakness of the Protestant churches all through the coal fields. The Protestant population consists of the Anglo-Saxons and they are moving out of these fields as the Slavs come in, so that the congregations are steadily diminishing through no fault of their own. They are making a desperate struggle to keep open at all in the smaller towns and are expending all their strength in raising enough money to pay their ministers \$40 or \$50 a month.

The strongest reason of all, however, lies in the fact that practically all of these immigrants are Roman Catholics. There are a few who belong to the Orthodox Greek church and some who are Lutherans or Calvinists, but the great majority were brought up Catholics and fear and respect the priest enough at least to keep away from Protestant churches and ministers. The policy of the Roman Catholic church is to give the people priests of their own nationality so far as possible. These priests in the coal fields are as a rule foreign born and bred and in many cases speak and understand English imperfectly. They know little of American ideas and ideals and often they fear the liberty of thought and speech characteristic of the country because they believe it makes the people less loyal Catholics. They use their influence, therefore, to isolate their people. In some cases they urge them not to learn English. In all cases they forbid them to have any dealings with Protestant ministers or to enter classes that have any religious features.

Their most permanent hold upon the people is probably gained through the parochial schools. In the bituminous fields there are comparatively few of these but in the anthracite region they are numerous. Here in many places it is estimated that 90 per cent. of the children attend them, which means that practically 90 per cent. never get into the public schools and so have no real opportunity to become Americanized in the true sense. It was difficult to get accurate information about the parochial schools

because, unlike the public schools, they do not report to the local or state superintendent, but it appears that they are far inferior¹⁶ to the public schools both in buildings and instruction. They rarely do more than fulfil the law as regards the teaching of English, and in some cases their professed object is to keep the children speaking their native tongue, that tongue being used in the school.

The Roman Catholic church is undoubtedly the strongest power in the coal fields. It possesses the land and any agency which reaches these immigrants has to deal with the church in one way or another. This fact alone would explain why the Protestant churches have done little and why their attempts show such meager results. The bolder spirits, the more restless or dissatisfied minds, can sometimes be touched, but not the rank and file, and the women least of all. The priests have repeatedly broken up kindergartens and classes when they heard that the Bible was read or a hymn sung in them, and they have no hesitation about denouncing from the pulpit either a school or an individual.

For the same reasons the Y. M. C. A. works under disadvantages, though not to so great a degree as do the churches. Toward it the attitude of the priest varies. Occasionally a priest is on friendly terms with the secretary and encourages his people to make use of the Association rooms and to attend classes which have no religious features. In most cases he is openly hostile, while in a few cases he is passive but is watchful to see that members of his flock do not slip away. The Y. M. C. A. secretaries admit frankly that even they do not touch the rank and file of the immigrants but they hope shortly, by emphasizing their purely educational features, to widen their influence.

The Roman Catholic church itself, which could do almost anything with these people, seems to confine itself largely to mere formal requirements. It has some benefit societies for men and women and these societies are the ones which give the dances and balls and, when the priest is so disposed, plays or entertain-

¹⁶ Exceptions being the Irish and German parochial schools.

ments. In some cases the priest organizes temperance societies but this seems to be exceptional.

It seldom appears that the priest sets forces to work to teach the people how to live better, to keep themselves and their houses clean, or that he makes any effort to improve the bad housing conditions and the intemperance, both of which result in so much immorality.

Before closing this study, the more obvious needs of the people in the Pennsylvania mining regions might be summed up under the following six heads:

1. They need better houses and more of them at reasonable rents.

2. They need public baths, either free or very cheap, in every town and patch throughout the coal fields. Such baths, if sufficient in number, would do away with the kitchen bath and would surely help toward better moral conditions.

3. They need places of amusement to offset the influence of the saloon.

4. They need to mingle with Americans who are kindly disposed toward them; the women in this way to have opportunities to learn better ways of housekeeping, cooking, sewing and caring for children and the sick.

5. They need simple lectures or some other form of instruction in our laws, customs and history.

6. And most important of all, they need to learn the English language.

That is, in brief, they need a chance to become good Americans, and the withholding of this opportunity may eventually jeopardize the moral standards of a free people.

NATURAL SELECTION IN SOCIOLOGY¹

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The keystone of the Darwinian arch is still rejected by the ancient builders, to whom it is an unreality. The metaphysicians contend that the principle of natural selection is "not an idea," and, as the world is to them a system of ideas, they feel the alleged process to be alien and unrelated to the rest of their thought. Hence, having failed to grasp its significance, they have made no use of the conception; and they work out their solutions of sociological problems with this supreme factor omitted; thus leaving, not only Hamlet, but the ghost, or the determining agent, out of the play. Even a Simmel exhausts the "sociology of secrecy and secret societies" without ever perceiving the operation of this grand agency. Obediently following Spencer, whom he never names, he brings into line, one after another, the characteristic Spencerian concepts of differentiation and integration, individuation and environment, without which his metaphysical sociology would not exist; but the demiurge, whose sportive Puck and dainty Ariel these are, has escaped his purview. The metaphysician in society has not yet advanced from nature to grace.

If natural selection is no idea, then is the Deity no idea; substance, the absolute, the world-generating ego, the unconditioned, and all the brood of ultimates that are lineally descended from the conception of a Deity are "no ideas." For natural selection is no invention of Darwin. It came to him, not he to it. It was an inheritance, not an acquisition, still less, a creation. It is more the final outcome of a long cosmic process, of which

¹ The present article is a continuation of a series contributed to *Knowledge* during the last few years. The first, on "The Origin of Sociological Species," appeared in October, 1902; two, on "Cross-Fertilisation in Sociology," in February and April, 1903; four, on "The Struggle for Existence in Sociology," in June, August, November, and December, 1903; and one, on "Variability in Sociology," in September, 1904.

the ghost of the savage chief was the first term. Let us see how the master describes his vision of the universe as governed by this agency, and how the background of his thought constantly betrays its origin.

Darwin's view of natural selection is so beautifully consistent from first to last that it could never have been gathered from a host of conflicting facts, but must have sprung from the depths of his consciousness, not from its surface. He is so destitute of poetical imagination that his wings fail to lift him, and his expression is everywhere inadequate to his thought. All the more, it is sincere, as the diction of few writers is. Very gradually did the new concept disclose to him its real nature. Both French and English critics made merry over the anthropomorphism of *The Origin of Species*. Natural selection there figures as a transcendent Power that is ever on the watch for the appearance of variations throughout the world, scrutinizes them narrowly, rejects this and accepts that, masses and perpetuates them, and thus constructs a new organ or builds up a new species. It evidently bears an uncommonly close resemblance to Providence, which science was believed to have shunted, and even to that Special Providence which, Carlyle tells us, all logic is against, though all sentiment is for it. The idea is, in fact, the legacy bequeathed to the naturalist by his dying religion. John Sterling told Caroline Fox that he had learned to clothe the abstractions of German metaphysics with flesh and blood, earnestly to believe in them, and confidently to reason from them. That was exactly what Darwin did with his potent new entity. For five and twenty years he lived with it and brooded over it. He made a reality, an idol, a god of it. Perhaps in no other way could he have realized its efficacy or applied it with such success to resolve problems hitherto insoluble. In no other way, at all events, can others grasp it in its length and breadth, its living and breathing substance. No one in our time would seem to have dealt such rude blows to the old theism as Darwin has dealt. He has fashioned a Supreme Power whose chief agent is the genius of destruction; whose scene of operations is a battlefield; to which love and hatred, virtue and vice, intelligence and trickery,

loyalty and dissimulation, are equally acceptable instruments; which revels in contradictions and contents itself with imperfections; which is as capricious as a child and blunders as recklessly. Small resemblance here, it might be thought, to the transcendent watchmaker of Paley, the stern Jehovah of Calvinism, or the benevolent Deity of modern humanitarianism. The antagonism and the iconoclasm are almost wholly illusory. Hardly an attribute that Darwin ascribes to natural selection but may be paralleled by attributes that worshipers of all faiths have ascribed to their divinities. It could not be otherwise, the laws of thought remaining constant. As the abstractions of the metaphysician are the shadows of dead gods, the generalizations of the savant are the survivals of extinct anthropomorphisms. New natural selection is but old creation writ larger and somewhat differently conceived. Thus Darwinism is but Calvinism otherwise stated and applied to natural history. There would have been no Darwin had there been no Calvin. But there would be a new Calvin now that there has been a Darwin. We may read human life and history afresh in the light of the new revelation. We may restate the old laws and find them radically unchanged.

In exploring history we seem to walk on shifting sands. Contradictions start up on all sides. Races, peoples, dynasties, sociological species of every description, are alternately aided and injured, preserved and destroyed by identical agencies. A similar relationship may be a help or a hindrance. A son may buttress his father's throne, like the Black Prince, or may take up the responsibilities of government from his father's sinking hands, like George the Fourth, or the recently crowned King of Sweden; or he may be actively or secretly hostile, like that same George and other princes of Wales, Louis the Eleventh, and Frederick the Great; or, again, it may be necessary in the interests of the state that an heir-apparent should be put to death, like Crispus, Carlos, and Alexis. The marital bond is still more potent for good or evil. The wife of a ruler may be the means of introducing a new religion, like queens of old France, mediaeval Russia, and modern Prussia; or she may use her influence to keep religion

reactionary, like a late empress of the French, and education obscurantist, like her immediate predecessor. The wife of a general may aid him to save an empire, as Serena aided Stilicho, while the wife of a ruler, like the same Eugénie, may inflame the spirit that provoked a ruinous war. The fraternal relation has likewise its uses and its dangers. The Turk can "bear no brother near the throne," while, in a more advanced state of society, the king of Siam distributes his brothers as deputies throughout the kingdom. The earliest law of marriage, endogamy, is apt to be injurious, as to the Braganzas, if allowed to survive its utility, or as may be seen in any fishing or mining village; while the exogamy that supersedes it sometimes gains support or additional territory, but oftener brings endless wars in its train. The same quality is advantageous or disadvantageous at different times. Mildness of character was injurious to Marcus Antoninus, ruinous to Louis the Meek, and fatal to the emperor Tacitus; it added to the popularity of Louis XII. His repute for sanctity clothed Louis IX with authority, but impaired the power of Edward the Confessor; while devilishness did not thwart the plans of Louis XI. Unchastity destroyed more than one Roman emperor, a king of Norway, and queens of Scotland and Spain; it did not injure Henry VIII or Napoleon I, but it threatened the throne of Napoleon III; it was fatal to Gambetta, Boulanger, and Parnell, but was not detrimental to recent English statesmen whose position was more secure. Avarice may be beneficial, as in the case of Louis XII, Elizabeth, and several Prussian sovereigns; but it is oftener injurious, and a retrenching colonial ministry has accomplished its painful but necessary task by the sacrifice of its popularity; while another colonial ministry secures a prolonged lease of office in Victoria, by the policy that proved fatal in New Zealand. Mere self-sacrifice may be publicly fruitful or unfruitful according to circumstances. A New Zealand premier who sacrificed his life to his mission of introducing state socialism into his colony may bequeath to his successors an unprecedented term of office and power; while another, who also sacrifices his life, but in the cause of honest government, may die unavailingly and in despair, alike for himself and his colony.

The banner of reform may float over victory or over defeat; a reforming policy that may be safe in a father, as in Septimus Severus, is unsafe in a son, as in Caracalla. Wealth is often indispensable, and it aided the establishment of the Medicean dynasty, which assured the independence of Florence; but the wealth of Florence led to the loss of its liberty. To succeed, an artist must have some kind of superiority; but Paul Baudry's superiority was injurious to him; and, in general, it is not the most brilliant men, but the safest, who are appointed to posts of honor and emolument in every country. So is it with peoples: "the hapless gift of beauty" may be fatal, as it was to "the Niobe of nations," and as eloquence and imagination have been to Ireland. The intellectual superiority of Constantinople over Rome did not aid it in its struggle for the papacy; but the considerable part that the Italian princes played in the Renaissance was serviceable to them. Venice was long unsympathetic to the Renaissance, and it flourished; Florence was its chief seat, and it gained enormously by its pre-eminence. Opposite qualities may be alike disastrous. Courage is sometimes fatal, as in Alexander Severus, and may lead to the fall of a dynasty; while cowardice may no less extinguish, as in Heliogabalus. Humanity may be fatal, and so has often been cruelty. Novelty, or variability, is the driving-wheel of the cosmos, and they win who exhibit it; but variation in excess, or prematurely, disappears or is disastrous; while peoples, like the Arabs, have survived for a thousand years in an unchanging environment, because they refused to vary. Conservatism, or heredity, is the sheet anchor of society, and those peoples, like England and Russia, most successfully weathered the storms of the French revolutionary wars which had most internal stability; but stagnation was fatal to Austria in 1848 and 1866, as it had been to Prussia in 1806. Defects may prove useful: the papacy was aided by Gregory the Great's simplicity and the French monarchy by Louis the Twelfth's good-nature. Everything has its time and place. The same quality is not the same in two different countries or at two different periods. Fitness to the environment brands two apparent identities as, for the occasion, unlike. Courage is not courage

when prudence is wanted. Private indulgence may be, as in Marcus Antoninus, Severus, and Carus it was, a public wrong. Even where the crimes of a ruler, as Henry VIII or Napoleon, are demonstrably such, if they do not touch the essence of his character or affect the value of his work, he is allowed to commit them, and he is not too severely punished. When the individual is punished, like Louis XI and Napoleon, his work may remain.

What, then, are the real features and inner characters of that Proteus which presents such a changing mask? What are the laws of that selection by nature, of that fitness which survives, of that adaptation to the environment which evolves new species? They are manifestly numerous, often complex, variable, and hard to seize.

The history of brute strength in the animal kingdoms rehearses the part that the most visibly imposing of the elements is to play on the theater of human history. In the first geological epoch animals were still small, feeble, and (so to speak) unfinished. In the secondary epoch the mammoth dinosaurian reptiles reveal brute force at its apogee, but still with little sensibility or intelligence. "The angel shows itself rarely and with difficulty through the highly organized brute," says Amiel in one of his felicitous moments. In the tertiary epoch the size of animals was lessened: the largest animals—the elephant, the mastodon, the dinotherium—did not equal the dinosaurs. On the other hand, there was a continuous progress in sensibility and intelligence. The quaternary epoch witnessed a continuous decline in the size of the terrestrial mammals. Not at first, then, but secondarily, the supreme power incarnates itself in physical force, riots there for a while, then flees to embody itself in quite other qualities and attributes.

Sociological species of all kinds are likewise small and feeble at the outset. Their slowly gathering strength masses itself in races, peoples, individuals of huge proportions, and their second stage is perhaps that of their greatest visible force. They slowly decline in manifest bulk, and their epoch of greatest power is that when their forms are grown moderate and well proportioned.

The path of conquest is the path of the Titans. They peopled

the center and north of Europe and determined the type that should rule the world for ages to come. The primitive so-called Aryans are described as a tall, vigorous, and athletic race. The Gauls were of great stature and large-limbed. The Germans were still taller and more savage. The Celts were tall, powerful, and muscular. That the Ligurians and the Iberians, who were "short, with slender bones, and feeble muscular attachments," gave way before the Gauls, and the Gauls before the Germans, seems to witness to the victory of physical force. And it cannot be denied that the British have conquered the French—have driven them from the East Indies and the West Indies, from Canada and North America, from the Mediterranean and Egypt, and are displacing their commerce and language all over the globe—in virtue largely of their superior bodily strength. They ride, boat, row, swim, and are famous for their physical carnivals and international sports. It seems to have been the hardy and handy, the sporting and out-of-doors living colonials who contributed most to defeat the Boers in the later stages of the South African war.

In these and all such cases the possession of bodily strength or aptitude was an obvious advantage. The weapons of the Gauls who took Rome were inferior to those of the Romans; their numbers were less and their discipline no greater; but the effeminacy of the Romans was easily overcome by the bodily force of the Gauls. In other cases the physical superiority may have been allied to other superiorities. The Celts who drove the Ligurians and the Iberians before them had better weapons; the English who drove the French from Canada and elsewhere were better supported by their government or by the colonial governments; and the French who fail as colonists are more disabled by unsatisfied domestic affections than the English; and so on. But physical force will often, at least, be found to be a, where it is not the, determining element. In Darwinian language, the giant, robust, and conquering species are probably the result of variations in the direction of greater size and strength being seized on by natural selection, accumulated, and distributed.

Political institutions have owed their origin to such a varia-

tion, thus selected. "I believe in violence," said the late Dr. Parker, the preacher of a religion of love, whose Founder told that the kingdom of heaven—namely, absolute truth, right living, true blessedness—is not taken by violence. And Bodin believed that societies had their beginning "in very force and violence." Both have undoubtedly their place. When the young prairie stallion, bull, or ape, which has previously fought with and, by superior strength, defeated a rival, breaks away from the troop, with his cortège of females and young, and forms a new society, he uses force, even (as often happens) to the killing of deserters; but his harem follows him also willingly from the instinct of hero-worship that is innate in animals. And the two unequally yoked factors of the common life lead it from first to last.

A variation of physical force sometimes gives rise to chieftainship. Some Indian hill-tribes have never known inequality. Among the Fuegians, though they have powerful and resolute men among them, there seems to be perfect equality. Among the Australians, who are slightly more advanced, we may observe the beginnings of chiefship, and it is apparently founded on physical superiority. In old Victoria a wild white man, of colossal proportions, was believed to be a dead chief resuscitated. Almost always, in early communities, the possession of it is an advantage. Where it is lacking, there must be exceptional qualities of mind or character to supply the want of it.

It remains an attribute of priceless value where early social states survive. Charles Martel and Pepin the Short had the strength of an ox. Charlemagne was of gigantic stature and strength. Caesar Borgia was the finest man of his time, with the strength of an athlete, and he owed his ascendancy to the fact. We may add that he is held to have founded the temporal power of the papacy. King Ferdinand of Spain and Duke Alfonso of Bisceglia were two of the finest princes of their time. When an empire sinks into barbarism, the character of its rulers will reflect the prevailing temper. In such ages it is an advantage, when it is not a necessity, that the ruler, who is usually at the same time the military chief, should possess bodily strength. Men of feeble make, like the emperors Tacitus and Alexander Severus, are de-

feated almost in advance. Yet in only a few instances is the possession of corporeal strength the decisive attribute. Maximin was promoted from the ranks by an emperor because of his physical force, and he rose to be emperor through strength alone; but he soon perished, with his family, from the disgust and hatred he excited. Another athlete, Basil the Macedonian, on the other hand, founded a notable dynasty that lasted for nearly two hundred years and still lives in the Bourbons. The one was a brutal savage, while the other was an enlightened ruler. Not physical strength, but intellectual superiority, thus modified the Eastern Empire.

When a revolution has to be accomplished—when a social structure many centuries old, and buttressed by all the props of tradition, has to be overthrown, it may be necessary for its success that the revolutionary movement should be incarnated in a Titan. Perhaps the “divine brutality” of the miner’s son could alone have carried the German Reformation to a successful issue. At the Diet of Worms substitute the yielding nature of the diminutive Melanchthon for the brawny figure of Luther, and what would have been the result? It matters little whether the battle is moral or physical. Mirabeau had a robust constitution (he was born, like Louis Quatorze, with two teeth already cut) and the body of an athlete. Could a less Herculean personality have converted a simmering mass of discontent into a destructive torrent? Had the prim and slender Robespierre figured at the beginning of the convention instead of at its end, and had the elemental Danton changed places with him, would there have been the Reign of Terror?

When a dying race, like the Merwings, has become impotent, the stalwart leaders of a fresh stock, like Charles Martel and Pepin the Short, may owe their ascendancy in part to their physical prowess.

Numbers, the secondary form of force, come into play in the second stage, and they may be considered a consequence of the ascendancy of a physically powerful individual or clan, combined with favoring circumstances. We conceive the legendary invasions of early Europe as triumphs of physical force and as having

been effected by huge masses. In most instances it is by an error of historical perspective. Almost every invasion has been begun by single individuals—travelers and explorers, missionaries and merchants. The armies that follow them are often small. The Macedonian conqueror subdued Asia with 35,000 men. The Romans conquered Gaul with less than 30,000. The numbers assigned to the invading Franks in the fifth century are only 12,000. The British have conquered India with a handful of English troops, aided by Indian auxiliaries. Fustel de Coulanges doubted if mere force was capable of creating or sustaining any government whatever. In fact, conquerors have often been welcomed. Many European peoples joyfully received Julius Caesar. Caesar Borgia was loved by the populace, and his resurrection expected.

Other qualities come in aid of force, even when it is greatest. It was not physical strength that conquered Europe for Napoleon. The French soldiers at Jena, said a German, were small men, but they fought like devils. Walter Scott saw in the hospital at Brussels the French who had been wounded at Waterloo. He was struck with the suppressed fury of their looks. The fiery horsemen in Detaille's picture of the battle of Friedland will evidently prove formidable combatants.

Force, even in its grossest form, may at length be half redeemed by being shot through with high spiritual qualities. In an eloquent passage the historian of "the liberal empire" has well shown that a victory in the field is due, not more to the military forces employed, than to the savant who has perfected their arms, the poet who has exalted the imaginations, the historian who has recited the national glories, the artist who has delineated them, the philosopher who has taught contempt of death, the orator who has celebrated patriotism, and the statesman who has negotiated alliances and fashioned public opinion. *Pace* M. Ollivier, it may even enlist the power of conscience on its side, and a people may intervene (as in Italy and Cuba) in the interests of rectitude.

So far from mere size and strength being necessarily advantageous and thus leading to victory in the struggle for existence, they are often disadvantages, and smallness is not seldom a gain.

How many species are there that have survived in consequence of their diminutive proportions! In the sphere of sociology, most of the great empires, from the Assyrian to the Napoleonic, have had a brief duration. Small communities, on the other hand, live on in virtue of their smallness. The republics of San Marino and Andorra and the principality of Montenegro have been aided by nature to survive. Monaco and Württemberg, even Belgium and Switzerland, appeal to the chivalry of mankind, which would resent their absorption by a powerful neighbor. Smallness is especially favorable in guerilla warfare. The Aragonese nobles were able to resist their sovereign, Ferdinand, because they could maneuver small bands in the mountains. Smallness was the strength of the Boers in the South African war.

Nevertheless, other things being equal, mass must in the long run be decisive in sociology, as in every physical province. The innumerable Japs may beat the more numerous Russians a second time, perhaps, but at length, unless the Japanese succeed in infusing their own living spirit into the dead or sleeping masses of China, the Russian excess of numbers will tell. France, reduced from forty millions to thirty-eight and remaining stationary, stands already defeated before the German sixty millions, which still increase. The massing of peoples generally, through the disappearance of racial or historic distinctions, will give an irresistible advantage to numbers. The most multitudinous peoples—the North Americans and the Russians—will dominate the future, if only because they will furnish scope for the emergence of varieties. The winning form of government or code of laws, the all-conquering religion, has the best chance of springing up in a widespread and populous state.

The conflict between classes in a society is a continuation of the struggle between peoples. The kingly races and the nobles in many countries were formed by or consisted of the invading races. Abundant evidence shows that, amid a dark population, they long had the light hair and fair complexion of the conquering Aryans. In some countries, as in Pelasgic Greece, the physical superiority may have been accentuated by intellectual or other superiority. That it was not so in Italy, Spain, or Gaul seems to

be proved by the adoption of the language of the conquered. For thirteen hundred years in western Europe the classes thus held the masses in subjection. This superiority in part disappeared with the introduction of gunpowder. English serfage declined with the victories of the cross-bowmen on the fields of Crécy, Poitiers, and Agincourt. The successive advances of the Third Estate and the modifications of all political species—legislative, administrative, judicial—are due in part to the same decline of physical force.

Long after physical force has ceased to be used or displayed, it remains in the background as a means of coercion. The uprisings of the masses are often suppressed by the menace to employ it. In 1848, when the Chartists threatened London, the Duke of Wellington told Bunsen that he would answer for the keeping of the peace, but not a man should be called out unless there was an absolute necessity for it. In 1867 the tide had turned, and power passed to the other side. The masses then acquired the possession of force, and the classes (represented by a conservative government) did not dare to summon the military; even the threat was a *brutum fulmen*. The event symbolized a whole history. Visible physical force is the outward symbol of the intellectual and moral power of the community, concentrated in a military aristocracy. As it spreads, it becomes less obtrusively military, and ultimately it becomes almost coextensive with the population.

The battle is henceforth transferred from the field to the senate. Physical force is now refined, but it is still visibly there. In old countries like England, the conservative benches of the House of Commons are (or used to be) filled by men of no small physical bulk, stolid and impassive; while the liberals and the radicals (with notable exceptions, such as Sir W. Harcourt) are often light-weights. It has been observed that the labor leaders of recent years are commonly men of slight physique and feeble make. The rocklike conservatives are thus able to make a massive resistance to the attacks of the liberals, while the liberals are the billows that dash against the rocks, and the radicals resemble the spray that arises from the shock. On all such variations of physical force from age to age natural selection

lays hold, giving it, as it emerges, the signs and seals of power and authority, but only because such physical manifestations are the effluence of a moral or intellectual force which thus vindicates its right to rule.

The part of physical force in the administration will vary with the character of the policy adopted. A pacific policy will make room for classes and individuals in whom physical force has not a large hereditary development. The forty years' peace in Europe witnessed statesmen with puny frames, such as Thiers, Guizot, and Russell, and a woman as the chief sovereign in western Europe. With the revival of the war spirit and the coming to the front of a military race, statesmen of a different stamp were wanted. Hence the twenty-five years' reign of Bismarck. The great chancellor was a colossus; his whole form and every feature bore the imprint of power. When he fell, he was succeeded by a milder man of the same physical stamp, who was (for the time) the last of the race. The gain of brute force, to Prussia, first, and then to all Germany, was enormous; it fashioned the supremacy of Prussia and procured the victory of Germany. With the gaining of these ends its uses ceased. A chancellor of the type of Bismarck would now be injurious. Hence Germany has had a Hohenlohe and then a Bülow—statesmen of the conventional type.

The history of marital relations exhibits a similar evolution. The example of the animals shows that pairing cannot have been at the outset wholly the work of force. But force soon entered. Exogamy is the second stage of savage marriage, and in its earliest form exogamy means violence. It is not at first easy to perceive what a tribe had to gain by rapes that often involved it in war. If legend may be accepted as containing a grain of history, a whole people may have owed its subjugation to the practice. On the other hand, alliances that arose out of such marriages (like that between the tribe of Pocahontas and the Virginians) would neutralize the wars. Darwin and Weismann come to the rescue. If cross-fertilization is the cause of all or even only of favorable variations, tribes or peoples may have owed to such unions the birth of men who advanced it in new

ways. The captured females, at all events, introduced new blood which must have communicated fresh vigor to the tribe. In just this way have been bred the conquering races. The invading peoples of the fifth century, carrying few women with them and intermarrying with the indigenes, have developed the most robust of European peoples. The toughest and most enterprising of all are the most exogamous—the North Americans.

In the relations between husband and wife and between parents and children the element of force long plays its part. Abductions are not uncommon: the foundation and settlement of New Zealand arose out of the consequences of a romantic abduction. It was a surprise to many worthy people when a lord chancellor laid it down a few years ago that a man could not legally use force to recover his wife. After force has deserted the formation of the relationship, it remains to aid in its maintenance or insure its dissolution. How considerable a part it may play we perceive in the old Roman freedom of divorce, which affected party struggles in the declining republic.

The utility of sternness in the rearing of children is found by Hallam in the firmness of character thus given to them. Obviously, families so reared would gain in strength for the battle of life. The Greys and Burleighs of the sixteenth century, the stern Huguenots, and the rugged Scottish Covenanters thus acquired their grit. So did the formation of the *patria potestas* in ancient Rome give a band of cohesion to the family which long effectually resisted disintegration and infused constancy into that iron breed.

The *ultima ratio* of force plays a large part in the religious struggle, and there is hardly any material form of the conflict which its history does not exhibit. In the most sacred arena of the human spirit brute force runs riot. A complete enumeration of the means used in different ages to gain the victory for one religion over another would exhaust the possibilities of human action in the physical sphere. Few religions owe to it their introduction into a country; most owe to it their establishment there. The purest religions seem to find it indispensable. A subtle kind of physical force will be found to lie at the back of the least

aggressive. The religion that develops such force from within or acquires it from without alone gains an ascendancy.

Is it possible to sum up, in a few sentences, the part that force has played, in all its forms, in establishing or suppressing religions? It is a commonplace to assert that the persecution they have undergone has strengthened them. Personal and public hostility did not quench the zeal of the fiery soul that uttered the maxim: the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church; but such men have at all times been in a minority. Public persecution cowers most communities as petty persecution cowers most individuals. The letters of Cyprian of Carthage, some documents preserved in the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius, the evidence of Tertullian, and the whole history of the church show that the *lapsi* were numerous, and their numbers grew as the wealth of the Christians increased. Persecution crushed Paganism and checked the advance of Christianity; it suppressed, if it never quite extinguished, Arianism, Nestorianism, and fifty other heresies; it stamped out Islam and Judaism in Spain; it rooted up nascent Protestantism in Spain, Italy, and (as has lately been discovered²) on the banks of the Durance so early as 1530; it blighted adolescent Protestantism in Belgium, Bohemia, and throughout France. It failed to destroy Presbyterianism in Scotland, but a political accident brought its short career there to an untimely end. Persecution extinguished the pre-Moslem religion in Arabia, and it reduced the Nestorian Christians of Persia from 5,000 or 6,000 families to 800, 500, or 300.

There is, then, an unmistakable sanction for force in the history of religions. Probably all the greater religions and many of their sects have in turn appealed to it and been consolidated by it. Brahminism and Buddhism, Christianity, Catholicism and Protestantism, Anglicanism and Presbyterianism, have been established by it and the rival religions or sects disadvantaged or crushed. Not only is force not alien to religion, but there seems to be a close affinity between it and the religious or at least the ecclesiastical temper. More than any other of the

² Gaston Boissier, *Fin du paganisme*, I, 384.

spiritual powers, religion naturally clothes itself with authority. The sight of a rival religion almost maddens the adherents of others. A dying religion that refuses to die requires to be put to death. It was the pressure of the bishops that made the Roman emperors resort to violence. Even the great Augustine, not for the first time obeying his passions, advocated its use in a letter that served as the Magna Charta of persecution all through the Middle Ages. Gregory the Great urged rulers to bring back heretics by force. Boniface appealed for military aid to these same rulers because he could not extinguish heathenism without it. Instructed and evidently unbiased contemporary scholars, like M. Lavissee, hold that the new religion could have been saved only by authority. A firm and precise discipline, he maintains, was needed to rescue those barbarous tribes from the powerful and seducing dominion of the old cults. So impartial a judge as Victor Duruy doubts whether the civil wars of France in the sixteenth century could have been avoided. They and the massacres that accompanied them destroyed 800,000 lives, and among these were some of the sagest heads and strongest natures in the kingdom. Men of an antique grandeur of character, like L'Hôpital and Agrippa d'Aubigné; men and women who were invincible in adversity, like Coligny, Henry of Navarre, and Jeanne d'Albret, disappeared from France once for all, and it is but at rare intervals that *revenants* like Guizot reveal the character of an extinct race.

None the less, there are evident limits to the efficacy of force. It must move in the same direction as public opinion. A succession of decrees and edicts issued by the Senate and the emperors against the invasion of foreign cults was innocuous because it ran counter to the popular sentiment. A similar succession of Imperial edicts against Paganism from Constantine to Theodosius remained without real effect because the old religion was still too deeply rooted. It must also be in conformity with the genius of a race or people. How imperfectly the work of conversion was accomplished among the Saxons seems to be shown by the origin of the Protestant Reformation among them, their ready acceptance of it, and their propagation of it throughout Europe. They

had been Protestants all along. Less than a century after the missionary Boniface converted the Austrasian Germans by the aid of force to Roman Christianity the converted peoples had been reconverted to a freer faith than they had been taught by this man of rule and cannon, and had transformed the Roman Christ he had introduced into a German Christ. The Moslems of Andalusia and the Marranos can never have become true Christians. If Catholicism reconquered France, Austria, and South Germany, it did not conquer their intellects; scientific and philosophic France became skeptical, and Catholic Germany became the most Protestant of Catholic peoples. A line of organic cleavage seems to separate the Catholic from the Protestant peoples. The longheaded, blonde races are Protestant; the dark, broadheaded races are Catholic. Force crosses such a line only in appearance. Nothing but the mixing of stocks that is rapidly taking place will make practicable the passage of a religion from one people to another.

Even the literary and aesthetic social functions may have their origin in a variation of physical force, accompanied by an intellectual or aesthetic variation. The earlier poets belonged to the military class whose deeds they sang, and the first artists were offshoots of the governing class whose portraits or achievements they delineated. Only in later ages could an English merchant tell his nephew, Pope, and Sir Godfrey Kneller that he could buy far better specimens of humanity on the coast of Africa for ten guineas. Science and philosophy sometimes gain in the field of controversy through the physical strength of their champions; Tait, Huxley, and Tyndall owed some of their fighting vigor to their athletic frames. Descartes and Vauvenargues had been soldiers, and Victor Cousin had the very temperament of a fighter; Schiller and Schelling had the aspect of military officers; and Sir William Hamilton diverted to philosophy a long inheritance of physical strength. At certain stages in its history philosophy has therefore been advantaged through its adoption as a career by men of unusual physical energy.

From another side both science and philosophy have lost through the antagonism of brute force. The speculative reason

should be free as air, yet its eagle wings have often been clipped. Philosophical sects were repeatedly suppressed in the Roman Empire. Socrates was poisoned, and his disciples were scattered. Anaxagoras and Wolf were banished. Bruno and Vanini were burned. Ramus was butchered. Campanella underwent almost lifelong imprisonment. Descartes was scared and Kant intimidated. Will it be said that these were acts of individual significance, with which sociology has no concern? Is it nothing (to take only one example) that the philosophy of Giordano Bruno was thus extinguished for three centuries, till it was revived by John Addington Symonds as a philosophic *credo* that might be held by evolutionists of a spiritual type in our own time?

The more material pursuit of science has likewise been thus arrested. Tycho Brahe was driven from Denmark. Roger Bacon and Galileo were imprisoned. Levoisier was told that "the republic had no need of chemists," and he was guillotined. A crowd destroyed Priestley's instruments. Many a wizard who has been mobbed was only a daring experimentalist, and it is impossible to reckon how many discoveries have thus been nipped in the bud. Late in their history the sciences may thrive by the aid of that same physical force, usually masked under the powers of government, but sometimes nude. The Phœnician researches of Renan were protected by the presence of a French military contingent, and the finds of the archaeologist have often been made under the aegis of a distant power.

This long roll of examples seems to prove that a variation in the direction of bodily force has often aided and sometimes given the victory to a cause; transmitted, it has consolidated and perpetuated an institution, carried it through the troubles of infancy, and then handed it over to those powers of government which are but physical force at one remove, next to the power of wealth, then finally to the powers of intellect, science, and character.

We may go still farther and affirm that every social institution which is to survive and play its part must gather to itself adequate physical force. Wholly lacking this, it must succumb; partially clothed with this, it is maimed and ineffective; fully

embodied in this it conquers and endures. We are not therefore pledged to follow Carlyle when he asserts that, right being "the eternal symbol of might," every cause thus incarnated is just; still less are we constrained to adhere to Hegel and the Germans when they affirm that those causes alone which are thus invested are just. No enthusiast and no ardent reformer will ever accept this bastard determinism. The choice of Hercules is offered to most nations as to most men. Does a people spurn a proffered boon and decline to lead the higher life opened to it by (e. g.) the Protestant reformation, as did France and Spain, Italy, Bohemia, and South Germany, or refuse to climb the steep and rugged path with Oliver Cromwell, as did Caroline England, then the truth and the right turn sadly away and depart in silence, and under their solemn fillet, with Emerson, we see the scorn; while the apostate people sinks down to a lower plane of thought and life, as all of these recusant peoples have done. Catholicism was not therefore right or Puritanism wrong.

We shall not, then, disparage physical force. It is, indeed, but the primitive manifestation of all strength. There is but one force, whether it flames from Vesuvius, or launches armed masses across territorial frontiers, or sways peoples by spoken or written word or wonder-working sound, or is the soul of great causes. How spiritual it is at bottom is seen from the fact that periods of military conquest are preceded, followed, or accompanied, as in Elizabethan England, France of the Restoration, and contemporary Germany and Japan, by periods of intellectual conquest and political ardor, scientific advance and aesthetic development. The law of the correlation and convertibility of physical forces is applicable to social forces. Artistic and speculative, social and spiritual activities are but the ideal counterpart of the energies of war and conquest. The impersonal forces, such as predestination, equality, divine right, and the like, which to the mind of a Catholic thinker like Lord Acton rule the world, need a physical base or a material embodiment, and a graduated scale might be drawn that would connect the grossest with the most ethereal of cosmic forces.

SOCIOLOGY AND PSYCHOLOGY; SOCIOLOGY AND GEOGRAPHY

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An eminent observer¹ has commented upon a temporary emergence of two schools of sociology, the one giving chief emphasis to psychological, and the other to material aspects and relations. The following pages were not written with reference to any such controversy, and it is a mere afterthought to preface to them this allusion to such a difference of outlook. If the discussion following brings out the absolutely essential character of both the psychic and the material conditions of social facts it is because the attempt to trace the relations of sociology to psychology leads naturally to a consideration of both resemblances and contrasts between the two, or of contacts and divergences. On the side of resemblance and contact the psychologic phases and factors of sociology come into prominence, and on the side of contrast and divergence the geographic conditions of social phenomena come unmistakably into the foreground.

The social reality is the great and ceaseless flow of human activities, into the midst of which we are born, of which we gradually become more and more aware, and in which we play our part. *These activities go on in human consciousness, that is, they are psychic*; at the same time they reveal themselves in the movements of hands and tools, of tongues and pens—in the bodies and the works of men, which constitute the socio-physical phenomena. They are conditioned by each other and by physical phenomena of every kind. The prevalent types of activity vary from place to place as greatly as do landscapes and flora and fauna. To describe prevalent activities according to their differences, resem-

¹ Professor A. W. Small, *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, pp. 62 ff.; *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XII, pp. 640.

blances, and significant types, is a task of sociology; to explain why the activities—industries, customs, institutions, etc.—which prevail in certain places and among certain groups of men differ as they do from those which prevail in other places and among other men, and to show under what conditions those types of action emerge, which repeat themselves in widely scattered groups, these are sociological problems.

If all social phenomena are psychic, how can we escape the conclusion that all sociology must be a phase or subdivision of psychology? If this query ever seemed a baffling one, the answer to it appears relatively easy, now that the task of sociology, as the science of human activities, has been somewhat distinctly formulated, for the contrast between that task, as now before us, and the one that psychology is performing, is broad.

One who feels that a single discipline can exhaust the study of psychic phenomena cannot realize how rich a field for investigation they present, nor rightly apprehend the justification with which Wundt and Haeckel anticipated developments in the psychic sciences, to compare with the tremendous achievements of the physical sciences. The investigation of psychic phenomena can no more be exhausted by a single science than can the investigation of physical phenomena. The fact that social phenomena are psychic no more makes sociology a department of psychology than the fact that mountains, promontories, and islands are physical phenomena makes dynamic geology a department of physics, or the fact that life is conceived in terms of molecular and atomic movements makes zoölogy and botany divisions of chemistry and physics. The distinction between sociology and psychology is like that between the physical sciences, not like that between the *psychic* and the *physical*. Notwithstanding that the respective centers of interest of the physical sciences are clearly distinct, individual investigators may work out from the characteristic centers of interest in their particular fields until they join hands with workers in other physical sciences; and similar overlapping at the borders may be found between the psychic sciences. The statement that sociology is not a mere subdivision or extension of psychology is by no means the same as saying that sociological

investigations may not be pursued by psychologists. What is meant by that statement is that the task of sociology is far too great to be accomplished as a side issue by any men who are chiefly engaged with another set of problems. Sociology proposes a set of questions that have not been answered by the psychologists nor adequately by anyone else. These questions are distinct from those with which psychology is regularly engaged, and are quite sufficiently demanding to require the utmost endeavors of a large and industrious body of scientists.

Says an eminent psychologist:²

Psychology is concerned in the first instance, not with what is known, but with the process of knowing, not with what is willed, but with the process of willing, not with what is agreeable or disagreeable, but with the process of being pleased or displeased.

These statements may be exactly reversed and then applied to sociology. Sociology *does* ask what men know and do and enjoy, and why that which certain men in certain places know, do and enjoy differs so widely from that which is known, done and enjoyed by other men in other places. Psychology has to do with "thinking," and not with the conflicting opinions of men, with "volition," not with different forms of civilized or uncivilized activity; but it is with the latter that sociology is engaged—with opinions and beliefs, with ideals, customs and institutions which characterize different populations or social classes. Angell³ says that "psychology is interested primarily in the constitution and operation of consciousness itself," rather than in what he terms "products" of mental processes logical, ethical or aesthetic. The contrast between psychology and sociology may be symbolized, though not adequately expounded by the formula: psychology aims to know *how* men think, feel and will; sociology aims to know *what* men think, feel and do, and why that which is thought, felt and done by the men of certain groups or social classes differs as it does from that which is thought, felt and done by other men who belong to other groups or classes. The

² Stout, *Manual of Psychology*, p. 3.

³ *Psychology*, p. 9.

contrast between the objects of study of psychology and of sociology, is like the contrast between the mill and its grist.

Wundt in his *Methodenlehre* writes:

The concept individual psychology [on the next page identified by Wundt with "general psychology"] is here meant to include those investigations which have for their object matter the psychic processes of individual human consciousness, in so far as these possess a *typical* significance [*italics Wundt's*] universally valid for normal consciousness.⁴

This is as much as to say, the problem-facts of psychology are the same in Leipzig, Chicago, or Bombay; and the questions of psychology may be answered from facts observable in either *one* of these places. Sociology on the other hand is essentially a comparative study describing the *different* types of experience-activities observable among different peoples, the *changes* in the experience-activities of the same people and the varying conditions to which such differences and changes are due.

"Thought," "volition," and "emotion," apart from what is thought, done, and felt, are not real experiences but are mere abstractions from real life. They, together with "perception," "memory," "imagination" "reasoning," "deliberation," "conation," and the other concepts which are problem phenomena of psychology, are general classes of experience-activity, which are abstracted from each other and from the variations in experience-activity which are due to varieties of environment. Religions, conscience codes, political, social, and industrial customs and institutions, and the other concepts that are problem phenomena of sociology, are not due to either of these two abstractions. Sociology does indeed abstract from the minute and intricate peculiarities which differentiate a given experience of a given individual from the experience of all other men, and so describes modes of experience-activity that are sufficiently general and abstract so that they recur in multitudes of scattered cases, or prevail throughout certain groups or social classes; but the peculiar

⁴ Zweite Abtheilung, Seite 168: "Unter dem Begriff der Individual psychologie sollen hier die untersuchungen zusammengefasst werden, deren Gegenstand die psychischen Vorgänge des individuellen menschlichen Bewusstseins sind, insofern diese eine *typische*, für das normale Bewusstsein allgemeingültige Bedeutung besitzen.

abstractions of psychology are far *more abstract* than the concepts of sociology. Sociology is the farthest step toward the application of the methods of science to the investigation of life itself. The descriptions of sociology retain in a tolerably adequate way the richness and diversity, the variety and detail which give to life its vividness and value. As its problem phenomena are more concrete than those of psychology, their conditioning is correspondingly more complex, and it was necessary that investigation of the simpler abstractions (themselves difficult enough) should precede the attempt to advance the frontier of science so as to include the concreter problems. Knowledge of the peculiar abstractions from life which are made by psychology is necessary before attempting to explain these more concrete phenomena which are presented by the descriptions of sociology. Psychology is fundamental to sociology somewhat as physics is fundamental to dynamic geology, or chemistry to physiology.

The emphasis here laid upon the statement that the psychological concepts are more abstract than the sociological concepts is by no means intended to imply that they differ only in the degree of abstractness, and not also in the kind of abstraction. Yet a difference in degree of abstractness would in itself suffice to mark off the appropriate sphere of a science, that is, an advantageous division of scientific labor, if the more general concepts suffice in interest and importance to occupy the labors of one body of scientists, and if for their elucidation these general concepts require to be abstracted from the more specific and concrete phenomena, and if the special problems presented by the concreter ones, by themselves, suffice in interest and difficulty to occupy the labors of a second body of scientists. Moreover, the difference in character between the most general and abstract and the concrete and complex phenomena, even when the concrete ones include all the elements retained in the abstracter concepts, may amount to a difference in kind. Must we not recognize a difference in kind between such general concepts as belief and desire, abstractly considered, and such concrete realities as the belief in witchcraft, or in the divine right of kings or in the expediency of maintaining a public-school system, or the desire for that

glory which in some societies is attached to successful head-hunting, or for the glory in some other societies attainable by ostentatious expenditure of money? Though it be only a difference in the size of the meshes in the dip-nets with which psychologists and sociologists help themselves to those abstractions from the stream of psychic reality which they propose to study, yet the finer meshes of the sociologists' net retain and bring into view ingredients and variants that are excluded from psychology. Concepts which are enriched by these ingredients are of a kind not included among the concepts investigated by the logically antecedent science of psychology. Thus it appears that a difference in the kind of concepts may result from a difference in the degree of abstraction by which the concepts are separated.

But this is not all. There are also differences between the concepts studied by sociology and those studied by psychology, which result from differences not in the degree but in the *form* of abstracting practiced by the two sciences. The lines of demarkation are not merely in narrower circles, they actually cross. The characteristic abstractions of psychology may not be separated from each other in those of sociology; on the contrary a sociological problem-concept may involve, with no attempt to distinguish them from each other, several or all of the modes of consciousness which psychology differentiates. If all the differences between sociological and psychological concepts were due to the degree of abstraction practiced, then each sociological concept ought to be related to a psychological concept as a species to a genus. A social concept, instead of being thus included under one of the psychological concepts may actually involve several or all of the psychological concepts, disregarding any abstraction of the kind by which psychological concepts are differentiated. This is true of such sociological concepts as taboo, ancestor-worship, the so-called "matriarchate" and the patriarchal system, each of which is a compound of beliefs, desires, and overt practices. Of course such social phenomena are compounded of psychic elements as truly as a plant is compounded of chemical elements, and in their explanation the sociologist may be aided by analyzing them into their psychological elements, as

much as the botanist is aided by organic chemistry. The psychological concepts into which they may be analyzed seem to differ in kind from such sociological concepts as really as chemical elements do from shrubs and trees.

The *investigations* of sociology are a distinctly different task from those of psychology. In order to give an account of the particular abstractions from human experience, constituting the general outline and framework of conscious life, which are taken by psychology as its problem phenomena, that science has to trace out certain combinations of conditioning phenomena. Sociology, to account for the more concrete modes of activity, which it takes as its problem phenomena, is obliged to trace as far as possible additional combinations of conditioning phenomena. Accordingly sociology may be said to begin where psychology stops.

Thus physiological psychology studies the relations between phenomena of consciousness and the brain and nervous system, by seeking to discover the relations of particular organs and their functions to particular forms of consciousness. Physiological sociology attempts none of this, but, instead, it seeks to trace correspondences between variations in social activity and differences in hereditary temperament, and in bodily condition caused by different habits of life. For example, if certain Englishmen and certain Italians react in characteristically different ways upon similar stimuli, and it can be shown that their contrasting conduct is due to contrasting temperaments, then the hereditary traits to which these differences of conduct are due are to be observed and correlated with their consequences by sociology; and if the physiological effects of depending upon an inadequate diet, or laboring in unsanitary factories, predispose men to certain vices, and undermine the efficiency of labor, then these physiological effects are conditioning phenomena of which sociology must take careful note. Thus the investigations pursued by physiological psychology and those pursued by physiological sociology traverse different paths.

Again psychology, especially in its study of perception, investigates certain relations between states of consciousness and phenomena of the external world, but it is absolutely indifferent

as to whether these external phenomena are furnished by the temperate zone or the tropics, by an inland plateau hemmed in by mountains or by a sea-coast well supplied with harbors, while the observation of these, and other special features of the external world, is indispensable for the explanation of the concrete varieties of experience-activity which are problems of sociology—and these paths of sociological investigation are untrodden by the psychologist.

Furthermore, in addition to the different physical environments supplied by nature, the material works of man—systems of communication and transportation, the artificial accommodations for urban life and the like—are conditions to be noted by sociology in connection with their effects upon experience-activities, and this is another line of investigation foreign to psychology, and unnecessary for the explanation of its general abstractions from man's conscious life, though highly important for the explanation of the concrete modes of experience-activity which are the problem phenomena of sociology.

Once more, psychology aims to trace the relations between its various abstractions, the relation of perception to imagination, of both to emotion, and of all three to conation. Study of such relationship was formerly the main labor of psychologists. In such labors sociologists do not take part, and there is nothing in sociology to compare with them, but the sociologists receive from the psychologists such fruits of these labors as seem useful; as the results of physics are borrowed by all of the more concrete physical sciences, and applied to their specific problems.

Finally psychology has begun to look for conditions of the conscious states of a subject in the manifestations of conscious states by associates of the subject. This is "social psychology," and here the distinction between the investigations of psychology and of sociology is not so easily drawn. Indeed it may be questioned whether these investigations are undertaken by psychologists as part of the solution of their characteristic problems or as excursions into a new field of research.

The latter view—that social psychology, even as studied by psychologists enters a field distinct from that of individual, or

general, psychology is thus expressed by Wundt in his *Völkerpsychologie*:⁵

Individual psychology [a term which Wundt uses interchangeably with general psychology] refrains entirely from any analysis of those phenomena which issue from the reciprocal action of a number of individual minds. (For that very reason it requires to be supplemented by an investigation of the psychic processes which are dependent on the living together of men. . . . Consequently numerous facts of individual psychology for the first time become thoroughly intelligible when seen from the standpoint of social psychology. Nevertheless the latter remains the more special field, in essential respects dependent on the former.) . . . This extension, so as to include phenomena in the rise of which, besides the subjective qualities of human consciousness the special conditions of social life must also be taken into account, involves the investigation, by social psychology, of definite fields of psychic phenomena which belong to that study alone, and which, as a rule, are excluded from general psychology as it is customarily defined.

In so far as the study of relations between associates may be necessary in order to complete the explanation of those general concepts which are problem phenomena of psychology, in so far social psychology is useful to general psychology, and may even be regarded as a part of it. But for the explanation of the more concrete concepts, which are problem phenomena of sociology, and not of psychology, it is necessary to carry the study of relations between associates much farther. Such concepts as "imitation" and "ejection" may be as general and abstract as "perception" and "imagination," though of a different nature, and perhaps may properly be added to the concepts of psychology, and only borrowed and applied to more concrete phenomena by sociologists. It is here that the investigations of psychologists and sociologists converge and meet, and recall the opening remark that sciences which explain phenomena within the same hemisphere of reality, however distinct the central interests of their respective tasks, are not separated by abrupt discontinuities; but the overlapping between psychology and sociology even here is no greater, for example, than that between physics and chemistry or that between chemistry and physiology among the physical sciences. If the relation between the activities of different individuals is observed to some extent by

⁵ Seiten 1, 2.

psychology, the observations of sociology go in this direction to lengths where the psychologist as such does not dream of following. The types of concrete activity which sociology aims to account for are determined by the other concrete activities in the presence of which they go on, and the relations between them must be studied by sociology in diligent and extensive investigations in which both the conditioned and the conditioning phenomena are of the sort from which psychology abstracts. Such general and abstract phenomena as "imitation" and "ejection" may be as well studied among one people as among forty, and that one people may live under one type of customs and institutions or another, but the investigations of sociology take account of the particular modes of activity that characterize different peoples and its purpose requires it to observe the environing of activities by each other as it occurs among all peoples in every stage of civilization.

Sociology differs from psychology not only in respect to the phenomena studied and in the investigations which must be pursued in order to explain those phenomena, but also in the laws which would be discovered by each science if its investigations should be carried to complete success. History offers explanation of particular occurrences, but the phenomena described by sociology are modes of experience-activity which recur and prevail; in general it may be said of them that they recur in the lives of millions, it may be in the same populations or it may be in the lives of men belonging to populations remote from each other both in space and time. Hence their *adequate explanation* would give rise to laws. The question, how good is our prospect of achieving such adequate explanation, may be postponed. The argument as to the difference between the laws of sociology and those of psychology would not be affected by an admission that sociology can hope only for statements of "definite tendencies." In proportion as the phenomena to be explained are more concrete than those of psychology, their conditioning is more complex, and the discovery of the uniformities in their conditioning is beset with peculiar difficulties. But belief in the consistent interrelationship of all phenomena—which underlies all science—implies

belief that investigation of such recurrent phenomena, if adequately successful, would reveal the laws of their conditioning. These would not be the laws of psychology, but another set of laws. The laws which explain the general outlines of experience-activity which psychology studies do not suffice to explain the more concrete varieties of experience-activity from which psychology abstracts, but of which sociology seeks to give an account, although of course the laws of psychology are operative in the more concrete experiences. By a law we mean a regular correspondence between recurring phenomena and the conditions out of which they arise. And as psychology abstracts from the recurring modes of experience-activity which are problem phenomena for sociology and has no occasion to take note of the variations in conditions to which they are due; of course it cannot discover the correspondences between these problem phenomena from which it has abstracted and their conditioning phenomena which it has had no occasion to observe.

It appears then that sociology differs fundamentally from psychology in the nature of the concepts which it takes as its problem phenomena. As a consequence it differs also in the investigations which it must pursue in order to observe the conditioning of its problem phenomena; the investigations of sociology follow out four lines of research, three of which are entirely distinct from the researches of psychology, and one of which presents a certain kinship with the most recent line of psychological research, but by no means an identity with it. Finally, that which is most ultimately distinctive in a science is the set of laws or general relations between its problem phenomena and the conditions out of which they arise, and the laws of sociology lie outside the scope of psychology.

THE FOUR STRANDS IN SOCIOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION

According to the view here presented the most logical method of research is to analyze the social activities into their recurrent modes or varieties, and then to trace out the conditioning of each of them, including in the explanation of each all the kinds of conditions which affect it. But it is also important to observe

that in each sociological explanation is likely to be found each of the four kinds of conditions above alluded to. And the organization of research may profitably be guided, in some degree, by this four-fold division. Moreover the more adequately these four branches of sociological enquiry are brought before the mind, the more fully will be perceived the diversity between sociology and psychology as divisions of scientific labor.

Although each of the four kinds of conditions may be included in the complete explanation of almost any sociological problem, yet for the present at least, any individual sociologist may be expected to show greater competence in dealing with one or two of the four than with the others, and to occupy himself chiefly with those problems in the solution of which the class of conditions most subject to his mastery play the largest part. These four lines of sociological investigation may be referred to as physiologic sociology, geographic sociology, technic sociology and psychologic sociology. Psychologic sociology studies modes of social activity as conditioned by the other social activities in the presence of which they are carried on. Technic sociology studies modes of social activity as conditioned by the material works of man. Geographic sociology studies modes of social activity as conditioned by natural physical environments. Physiologic sociology studies modes of social activity as conditioned by physiological variations in men, whether congenital or acquired.

Of *psychologic* sociology, after what has been said above, the present purpose requires but little to be added. If social phenomena are psychic the phrase "psychic sociology" seems like a mere tautology; the two added syllables in "psychologic sociology" are intended to carry the idea of explanation of the psychic by the psychic. The reason for preferring the name psychologic sociology instead of the phrase "social psychology," already familiar, is that the research here designated is an integral part of the explanation of the problem phenomena, not of psychology, but of sociology. It is sociology restricted by a qualifying adjective to a single line of research which is, however, an essential part of the one larger research in which the four branches of

sociology mentioned are only subdivisions. To name this course of investigation social psychology seems to be calling it a particular kind or branch of psychology, which it is not. To call it psychologic sociology is to distinguish a particular branch of sociology, which it is. The psychologists have use for the phrase "social psychology" and its familiarity and greater euphony may lead sociologists to adopt it instead of the phrase which for their purposes is more accurate. Of course names are important only as they render ideas clearer or more obscure; this, however, is by no means the same as saying that they are unimportant, for the same thing can be said of all exposition and argument. All the modes of activity—religious and moral and political and intellectual and aesthetic and industrial, and of whatever sort, which afford problems for sociology, environ and condition each other, and each action of a given mode may be conditioned also by the number and character of other actions of the same mode. Those who seek a scientific comprehension of these modes of activity can not attain it without painstaking observation of the particular relations of social activities to the psychic environments in which they go on. This is the branch of sociological investigation which has been most advanced.

The line of investigation here termed *physiologic* sociology might have been called biologic sociology if that name had not acquired connotations which make it impossible, especially by its connection with the biological analogy, which is good as an analogy and for a time was dangerous to sociology because it was *too* good and persisted not only in "going on all fours," but in putting out legs at every joint in its body, and going on as many legs as a centipede. Taking a hint from the recent study of "eugenics" it might have been termed genic sociology if it were confined to observation of hereditary equipment of temperament, predisposition and ability; but a name is required which includes also acquired physical conditions. Ethnic sociology, as a designation for this line of investigation, would omit all this, as would the name genic sociology, and would have besides the fault of carrying the erroneous implication that the important and fairly distinct varieties of physical heredity coincide with discoverable

racial lines. A name is required which will include, along with congenital predispositions, the physiological effects of social customs and practices, relating to diet, habitation, recreation, conditions of labor, vices, etc., the study of which may prove more fruitful than that of hereditary traits. Not that sociology has to explain the *physiological effects* of these practices, for that belongs to physiology and hygiene, but that the explanation of *social activities* has to take into account the effect upon such activities of the physical condition of the people, both congenital and acquired. This field of research presents alluring opportunities for future study. The work already done in physiologic sociology, for example, by Italian criminologists and by sociologists like Giddings and Ratzenhofer,⁶ who have endeavored to distinguish the types of physiological predisposition to social reactions, is only a beginning. However able the first investigators, it could not be otherwise because the extent and difficulty of the field is equal to the richness of its promise. Like other branches of sociological investigation it transcends the powers of individual observation and calls for organized co-operation in study, syndicates in science, a form of social co-operation which it may be hoped will see notable developments in the future. Yet investigators without formal co-operation may make greater and greater achievements as each becomes enriched by the results obtained by his predecessors.

Technic sociology, as already defined, is the investigation of a third kind of conditioning phenomena that play their part in determining the social activities, namely, the material products of human work. There is a broad distinction which is extensively overlooked, between the significance of these products of human work as revealing the psychic elements involved in such work, and their significance as material things constituting an important part of the material environment. They *help to reveal* the psychic environment, they *are* a part of the physical environment. The dark, noisome cave-dwellings and maze of streets, alleys,

⁶ Professor Ward's discussion of the relative importance of heredity and environment will be recalled at this point. He describes literature bearing on that theme on pp. 135 ff., of *Applied Sociology*.

and courts that constitute a city slum may be significant as revealing psychic elements, including the builder's craft and motives of human greed; they are also significant as being a peculiar and momentarily effective physical environment. If a traveler in a desert came upon a well of water, it might reveal the skill and forethought of men, which are psychic phenomena, but to the traveler perishing with thirst it would have another significance, not for the phenomenon which it revealed, but for the phenomenon which it was—a deep spring of water. That phenomenon belongs to the physical class equally, whether it be an artificial well or a natural spring.

There is another distinction which must not be overlooked, namely that between the material products of human work, and the natural geographic environment; though the importance of this distinction is in some quarters ignored, and even denied. As a matter of fact, the conditions in the physical environment which are products of human work are a class distinct from the original background of nature. It would be a violation of the scientific spirit and method to allow our analysis to ignore a difference so conspicuous in the objective reality. Indeed, this distinction is one of special importance; it is not only important to science to carry through our analysis vigorously enough so that our classification of environing conditions shall not disregard this difference, but it is important also to the practical uses which science ultimately serves, because it is the technic environment that is subject to further modification by human effort, under the inspiration and guidance of a comprehension of the part which this factor has played, and is playing, in the causation of social phenomena.

By cultivation and breeding man alters the character and the distribution of plants and animals, by works of drainage and irrigation he modifies the natural watering of the land, by cutting canals and building dykes he changes the relative position of land and sea, even to the severance of continents. Engineering works enable him to overcome the resistance to free movement presented by vast stretches of waste land, great rivers, mountains, and the ocean itself.⁷

⁷ *International Geography*, p. 4.

The wind-swept swamp, which nature offered to the first human beings who found their way to the southwestern shore of Lake Michigan, afforded a very different physical environment from the aggregation of boulevard palaces and slum tenements, towering business structures, making cañons of the thoroughfares, paved streets electrically illuminated at night, beautified parks, tramways, lines of telegraph and railroads radiating to every quarter of the continent, and the rest of that which constitutes the material environment into which the native of Chicago is born, and these are quite as significant conditions of his experience-activities as the natural physical environment.

All the way from the stone age to the electric age steps in technic progress, considered not as new social activities but as supplying a changed *material environment*, have been rendering possible and inevitable the rise of social evolution from stage to stage. The change in the life of a people caused by the introduction of new material products of invention and work have been more significant than those caused by migration to a habitat more richly supplied by nature with useful minerals or plants or better harbors.

Further, the differences between contemporary *social classes* are due largely to differences in material conditions due to human work. Moreover, it is functionally necessary that a few individuals should manage the utilization of vast portions of the technic resources of society, in railroads and consolidated capital. And these indispensable managers perform service and exercise power, which is due to the importance to society of these technic resources, and is as independent of the human quality of their work, however excellent, and as disproportionate to it as the discharge of a thirteen-inch gun is to aiming and pulling the trigger. At present some competitors in the economic struggle are armed with thirteen-inch guns.

Technic sociology will afford an illuminating scientific approach to the problems of distribution and social justice, and a point of view from which will appear some of the relations between economics and general sociology.

Technic sociology has received some contributions, especially

from economic historians, for example, in the studies of the consequences of railroad building and the rise of the factory system, and from students of the tenement-house problem. Yet we continue to take, as matter of course, and without any analytic appreciation of its significance, the technic environment that brings our breakfast by rail and ship from the four quarters of the compass, and our morning news by telegraph from the ends of the earth, that conditions our experience in every hour of the day with material surroundings, wrought not by unaided nature but by man. And patient investigation in a scientific spirit, of the effects of differences in technic environment, in determining stages of social advancement, contrasts between the lives of different communities and social classes, and various modes of experience-activity, in the same group, has been slight. Technic sociology, like physiologic sociology, waits for contributions from patient empirical research.

Geographic sociology finds the fourth class of conditions by which social phenomena are determined in the natural physical environment, including such phenomena as climate, natural resources, mountain barriers, rivers, harbors, etc. It has received certain notable contributions early represented by the brilliant if exaggerated contention of Buckle; and sociologists in general have neglected this field somewhat less than the two preceding. Moreover, the recent notable quickening of activity among geographers has been largely, if not mainly, in this field. In "social geography" we have a phenomenon somewhat like "social psychology," namely, an older branch of study extending itself into the field of social reality. Social reality is so interesting, has waited so long for scientific treatment, and now calls so loudly for explanations, that the workers whose fields touch the unexplored territory have pushed their investigations into the field of social phenomena. However uncertain the status of sociology as a specific science as yet may be, a movement of scientific inquiry into the sociological field, from various sides, is taking place, a movement already strong and gathering strength, bent on contributing toward the explanation of the social reality. The explanation will not be complete until the four factors in the

explanation, physiologic, technic, geographic, and psychic, are correlated into one description. It cannot be made by any one of the sciences that discover a part of the conditions of social reality, but only by a sociology which gathers all of these conditions into one perspective. When, instead of a haphazard attack by whoever finds himself in the presence of the enemy, the investigation of social phenomena becomes a definitely organized portion of the plan of campaign by which science invades the unknown, it will be seen that all of these direct contributions to the explanation of social phenomena have a certain definite value which they cannot have as parts of geography and psychology and what not, but only as parts of sociology.

The parallel between the relation of geography and that of psychology to sociology is not complete. The phenomena of psychology belong to the same hemisphere of reality with those of sociology, and so the researches of the two may at some point shade into each other; but so long as geography is regarded as a science of the earth itself—of old Γῆ—it can stand in no such relation to sociology, but the problem phenomena of the two are separated by the division between the physical and the psychic. However, modern geography does not regard itself as literally a science of the earth, but enters upon investigations so nearly related to those of geographic sociology that in order to complete the present discussion it becomes necessary to form an idea of

THE SCOPE OF MODERN GEOGRAPHY

When it became recognized that the earth itself is composite of various kinds of phenomena, each of which is the subject of a specific science, that it is astronomy that relates the earth to the other occupants of space, dynamic geology and oceanography which give account of the features of the lithosphere and the hydrosphere, and meteorology which gives account of the atmosphere, then indeed it seemed to many that there was nothing left for geography to explain, and that the name could survive only as the appellation of a science that once existed before its field had been partitioned among these several sciences, or as the label for the pedagogical task of popularizing their more simple and essential results. In fact, geography did for a time lose its

recognized place among the sciences in the minds of the organizers of scientific work in this country. But now it seems to be rapidly regaining it.

Those who are restoring geography to a place in our highest institutions of learning devote a part of their attention to the reactions upon various physical environments which modify the forms and characters of plants and the physical trait of animals, including man. Such ecological discoveries, by whomsoever made, are contributions to botany and zoölogy, including physical anthropology. Geographers have also made contributions to the explanation of social phenomena, but since geographic conditions furnish only one of the four determinants of social facts, geography alone will never be able to "explain the peculiarities of national life"⁸ and all "determination of the influence of the surface forms of the earth on the mental processes of its inhabitants"⁹ is a contribution to sociology, and must be taken up into it as an integral part of its fourfold explanation. An explanation, and so an explanatory science, has its unity in that which is explained, which rises out of the diversity of conditions affecting it, but the explanation may be *begun*, wherever any of the conditions are discovered. The geographers find in physiographic phenomena a part of the conditions which affect social realities, and are led by the interest of the theme to set about the explanation of social phenomena. But, as geographers, they cannot complete that explanation, and any contributions to the explanation of social activities, which they make, are, in fact, contributions to sociology. If it is a correct methodological principle that the field of a science is the explanation of a given class of phenomena, then whatever contributes directly to the explanation of plants belongs to botany, whatever contributes directly to the explanation of animals belongs to zoölogy, and whatever contributes directly to the explanation of social realities belongs to sociology.

But may not the scope of geography be defined by a kind of transposition of terms in this methodological maxim? Thus:

⁸ *The International Geography*, p. 1.

⁹ *Geographical Journal*, Vol. XXV, p. 15.

usually a science is unified and distinct through being a description of a given class of phenomena in their relations with all the other phenomena *by which the given phenomena are conditioned*; but geography is a description of geographic phenomena in their relations with all the other phenomena *of which the geographic phenomena are conditions*. In general the phenomena of the various sciences are so described as to show *by what* they are conditioned; the phenomena of geography are so described as to show *of what* they are conditions. And as the features of the earth's crust are conditions of all the phenomena of life upon the earth, it might be claimed that there is special reason for describing them *with their effects*, whereas in other sciences the phenomena that constitute the field of the science are described *with their causes*. Something like this seems to be an ideal in the minds of certain geographers.

Interesting as this view appears, there is reason for not resting here the inquiry after the true conception of a science of geography, for it may well be doubted whether after all this view attributes to geography a profitable task, and whether our methodological maxim will bear this modification. It is true that science describes phenomena in their relations as conditions and consequences; and each kind of phenomena is a center of both centripetal relations, those by which it is conditioned, of which it is a resultant, and of centrifugal relations, those in which it plays a part in the conditioning of other phenomena. But to describe a class of phenomena in their centripetal relations, as required by our methodological maxim, in its original form, is by all means the more fruitful task—it is explanation of the phenomena so described. If all classes of phenomena could be ideally divided among different groups of workers, who should describe them in their centripetal relations, then all the phenomena would be explained and *none of the work would be duplicated*. But if we attempt to introduce one science which describes a class of phenomena with their centrifugal relations, we shall find that these phenomena play a part in the conditioning of diverse phenomena, but furnish a complete explanation of nothing, that each of the diverse kinds of phenomena partially explained by the

centrifugal science is more completely explained by the science which takes the phenomena explained as the center of a centripetal description, each relation traced by the centrifugal science being traced by some other science as a centripetal relation, a part of the explanation of its problem phenomena, and *all the work of the centrifugal science will be duplication*. In general then the description of a class of phenomena, together with their centrifugal relations, flies off into the fields of all the sciences that explain the diverse phenomena in the conditioning of which the given phenomena play a part.¹⁰

Another conception of the science of geography can be founded upon the doctrine, stated in a previous section, that relations are as real phenomena as things. Thus: The spacial relations of things upon the earth are one distinct class of terrestrial phenomena that can be made the object of an explanatory science, and that science is geography. Instead of the phrase "spacial relations" may be substituted the word "distribution" along a recognized key-word of geography. If the debate as to whether geography is a science is to be decided in the affirmative by meeting the test which we have applied to sociology, that is by pointing out a set of problems or problem phenomena sufficiently interesting, important and difficult to require the labors of a distinct group of scientists, then seemingly the spacial relations or collocation of things must be accepted as that set of phenomena.

If one should say that to explain the distribution of a class of phenomena is an essential part of explaining those phenomena themselves, he would be denying that geography can have such a task as that just indicated; for if the distribution of the various classes of phenomena is essentially interwoven in the description of the phenomena themselves, then no single science can explain distribution; it must be explained by the various sciences in explaining their respective classes of phenomena, and no task is left for a special science of distribution. It is true the description

¹⁰ But the exhibition of a class of phenomena in their centrifugal relations, though it does not constitute an explanation of anything whatever, is important in *evaluating* the phenomena centrifugally described.

of a class of phenomena can be so extended as to include a statement of its distribution, but it is also true that the description of certain phenomena may stop without stating their special relations. The biologist's description of the oak, the coffee plant, the lion, or the honey bee, or the social concept, market, protective tariff, or democracy, may easily omit a statement of the distribution of these phenomena, and where the description stops there the task of explanation is bounded. If it is an expedient division of thought and labor for botany, zoölogy, and sociology thus to limit the description of their phenomena, then they leave to geography a rich field. It may well be, however, that in proportion as the biological sciences complete their descriptions and carry through their evolutionary task, which can be worked out only in terms of reaction with environment, and in proportion as the social sciences become less abstract and speculative and seriously set about their evolutionary problems, these classes of phenomena will be conceived in their special relations.

Should the defenders of geography admit this they still could point out that no science but geography gives a complete description of any region of the earth. Even if all the other sciences had completed their descriptions by including a perfect account of the distribution of the particular classes of phenomena with which they deal, and had likewise completed their explanations, even then a *descriptive* task for geography would remain, for neither any single science, however complete, within its own field, nor all the sciences together would combine into one object of attention the collocation of phenomena as they exist together in the different regions of the earth, and no terrestrial region would have been described. Thus geography, in dealing with the regional collocation of phenomena, would still have at least a descriptive task of its own. It is true that with other sciences advanced to the degree supposed, all the explanation of geography could be derived from the other sciences, and for that matter so could all of its descriptions, and the usefulness of such a task would depend on the supposition that although one who knew in detail all that was taught by all the sciences would be able to deduce from them a complete description and explanation

of the collocation of phenomena in all regions, still no *one* would have such knowledge and ability and therefore description of the earth's regions and explanation of the collocations of phenomena by which they are characterized would still be a task requiring the labors of a special group of workers, even though they could base their descriptions and explanations wholly upon the finished work of all the other sciences.

To this the geographers might add that the other sciences are as a matter of fact in no such state of completeness; and mankind is not disposed to go without a knowledge of terrestrial regions until they become so, and in the meantime it is necessary for geography not only to correlate such descriptions and explanations of the distribution of the different classes of phenomena as the other sciences are ready to furnish, but also to prosecute original investigations which do not duplicate anything furnished by the other sciences because the other sciences are and will long be incomplete in their reference to the distribution of their phenomena.

And geographers might go farther and say that if until now the various sciences have neglected to explain the location of their phenomena that may indicate a permanently practical division of labor. This would be to refuse to make the admission above referred to and to claim that although ecology as a study of the effects of physical environments upon the *forms* and *characteristics* of plants and animals is an essential part of the explanatory task of botany and zoölogy, still explanation of the *distribution* of plants and animals is a task distinct from explanation of their forms and characteristics, and would remain an explanatory task of geography even if botany and zoölogy were completed sciences. If any geographers should claim this they would likewise hold that although geographic sociology, as a study of the effects of physical environment on the *form* and *character* of social activities, is an equally essential part of the explanatory task of sociology, yet explaining why certain social activities prevail is a task distinct from explaining why they prevail *where* they prevail, and that the latter would remain a task of geography even though sociology were ever so complete.

If, in answer to this, the botanists and zoölogists should say that they are investigating the distribution of their phenomena, and that before anyone can make further original contributions to this investigation he must be at least a morphologist, that in fact the biologists alone are competent to further explain the distribution of living things, and that the geographer must either become a biologist, or depend on biologists for the investigation of their distribution, it would be difficult for the geographer to reply. Possibly, however, it might be necessary for the sociologist to be more modest than to claim that his science has proceeded so far that only a sociological specialist can advance the explanation of the distribution of social phenomena. In that case geography would find in the explanation of the distribution of social phenomena its one opportunity for original *explanatory* work.¹¹

Social phenomena are not only of a very high degree of interest in the description of any region, they are also highly migratory and mobile, which immensely heightens the interest of the problem of their distribution, and, besides, the science of sociology is specially incomplete, and the desire for complete regional description and explanation therefore impels geographers to devote particular attention to social phenomena. Accordingly the phrases, "commercial geography," "economic geography," "political geography," and "social geography," indicate the main center of activity and interest in the recent revival of scientific geography. This is illustrated by the following quotations:

A formal definition of the modern science of geography may be put in these words: Geography is the exact and organized knowledge of the distribution of phenomena on the surface of the earth, culminating in the explanation of the interaction of man with his terrestrial environment.¹²

The ultimate problem of geography may perhaps be taken as the determination of the influence of the surface forms of the earth on the mental

¹¹ The previous course of these discussions has shown that the writer is one of these who believe in the close relation between explanation and description, and it is not intended here to exaggerate the difference between them.

¹² International Geography, p. 2.

processes of its inhabitants, but a host of minor problems must be solved in cutting the steps by which that culmination may be reached. Let us first find, if possible, what is the true relation between the elevation, slope and exposure of land and climate; then the exact influence of elevation, slope, soil, exposure, and climate on vegetation; then the relation between all these and agriculture, mining, manufactures, trade, transport, the sites of towns, the political associations of peoples and the prosperity of nations. After that we may consider whether it is possible to reduce to a formula or even to a proposition the relation between the poetry or the religion of a people and their physical surroundings.¹³

The matter of the largest interest in modern geography is the interaction between man and his physical environment. But the physical environment itself is the fundamental part of the field. My analysis would be: (1) Physiography: a study of land forms, that is, physical or geographic geology; (2) Meteorology and oceanography, meteorology being quite as fundamental as the study of land forms in determining life conditions; (3) Biogeography, a study of ecology, that is the response of living things, plants and animals to the physical environment (1 and 2) and the consequent distribution of forms; (4) Economic geography: Human ecology, a study of the geographic conditions of human culture. This would include the political and commercial and military and some other phases of geography. The fifth term in this series passes beyond geography, is the field for which geography should be the conscious and purposeful preparation, economics, civics and sociology, yes, and history, too. I like to think of sociology as the fruit and flower of geographic study, and that this service will prove the validity in the point of view of the geography of today.¹⁴

Thus it is that geography and sociology become allies.

The view that biology and sociology, pressed by other problems, for a time neglected the spacial relations of their phenomena, but that, as the performance of their task proceeds, they must include complete reference to the spacial relations of their respective phenomena, and even that none but specialists in these fields are competent to carry to completion the explanation of the distribution of biological and sociological phenomena, would leave to geography, as an explanatory science, only a temporary lease of life, dependent upon the degree of imperfection of the other sciences. This view may be taken with reference to biology,

¹³ Hugh Robert Mill, D.S.C., LL.D., *Geographical Journal*, Vol. XXV, p. 15.

¹⁴ J. Paul Goode, Ph.D., professor of geography in the University of Chicago, in personal correspondence.

and is in fact held by biologists themselves. But sociology, certainly for the time being, at least, leaves it to geographers to make important contributions not only to the explanation of the distribution of social phenomena, but also to the explanation of their form and character. Their contributions to explanation of the form and character of social activities must, of course, ultimately be taken up into sociology proper; but it remains to inquire whether there is some fundamental reason why, in the case of social phenomena, the explanation of their distribution may remain a separate task, one which requires, not so much a knowledge of sociology as acquaintance with the features of the earth's crust, climates, etc.

Can the task of explaining the distribution of social phenomena permanently be assigned to geography on the ground that their distribution is due entirely to geographic causes? Certainly not. An attempt to explain the distribution of social phenomena by reference solely to conditions supplied by peculiarities of the earth's crust would prove illusory. Migration, war, and commerce, the chief modes of distribution of social phenomena, are not explicable by reference to the features of the earth's crust alone, and no more is the distribution of social phenomena brought about by these activities. Religious oppression may cause an emigration as well as barrenness of the home soil; and the fact that the British flag already waves in a given wilderness, and not the Dutch or Spanish, may determine the direction taken by the emigrants and not the location of harbors or natural resources. Once, near the dawn of creation, the features of the earth's crust may have been the only conditions determining the location of contemporary phenomena, but with the progressive differentiation of phenomena, the newer varieties became also conditions of distribution; the newer products of nature—pastures and forests, fishes and beasts, and then the material products of man's labor—flocks and herds, horses and oxen, canals, tunnels, artificial harbors, highways, marshes drained, deserts irrigated, cities built—the psychic factor becoming more and more prominent, establishing shrines of religion, seats of learning, tariff boundaries, governmental sway, bonds of affection, barriers of ani-

mosity, ambitions of conquering peoples and leaders, attractions of contrasting cultures with consequent social and commercial exchanges, the personal and social character of populations localizing inventions, industries, and institutions. The form of the earth's crust never ceases to be a factor in determining the distribution of social phenomena, but it loses all claim to be regarded as the only one.

If geography is to retain permanently the task of explaining the distribution of social phenomena, it is not because their distribution can be explained by exclusive reference to "geographic" conditions, but upon the other ground, namely, that explanation of the distribution of social phenomena, though based largely on knowledge of social causes, is a fundamentally different problem from explanation of their form and character. This involves the idea that sociology is not to explain specific societies as history does¹⁵ (for in that case it could not abstract from the specific localization of the phenomena), but is to explain in general terms the different forms of conditioning that correspond to the various modes of social activity. This defense of a permanent explanatory task for geography by differentiating the problem of the distribution of social phenomena from the problem of their form and character distinctly assigns the investigation of effects of geographic conditions upon the *form* and *character* of social phenomena to sociology. The fact that the *conditioning* phenomena recognized in an investigation belong to geology and meteorology does not make it a geographic investigation or even a geologic or meteorologic investigation; if the phenomena *to be explained* by reference to these conditions are social realities, it is a sociological investigation, for, as so often said, it is the problem phenomena that designate a science. From every point of view it is necessary to see that tracing the effects of the natural physical environment upon the *form and character* of social phenomena, upon the activities themselves as distin-

¹⁵ How far detailed explanation of the location of social phenomena is a contribution to neither geography nor sociology but to history it does not concern us here to enquire.

guished from the location of them, is an essential and ultimately inseparable part of the four-fold explanation sought by sociology.

Finally, separation between the explanation of the form and character of phenomena and the explanation of their distribution, as ground for a permanent division of scientific labor, seems even less justified in the case of *social* phenomena than in the case of biological phenomena; in practice such a separation in the scientific treatment of social phenomena is not easy to maintain. The explanation of *what* men do and the explanation of *where* they do it, seem at least in some cases to be inseparable. This is especially true in the case of economic activities, while migration, and war, are themselves strictly social phenomena which cannot be explained by geography. Moreover, the work of explaining the distribution of social phenomena would be identified with sociology rather than geography in obedience to the requirements of both logic and expediency, if it were the whole task of the workers engaged in it. If it be true that sociology, alone of all the sciences of terrestrial phenomena, is so incomplete as to welcome the aid of geographers in explaining the distribution of its phenomena, that fact apparently does not suffice to afford to geography the prospect of a permanent explanatory task.

All question—if question there be—as to whether geography has a permanent explanatory task that will survive the prospective development of the other sciences, may safely be left to the geographers and the future. Our excursion into this difficult field is intended merely to discover the relations between geography and sociology; the discussion has followed where the course of reasoning has seemed inevitably to lead. The conclusion is as follows:

After all the physical phenomena commonly termed “geographic” have become objects of explanation for dynamic geology, meteorology, etc., geography may still seek a permanent explanatory task in either of two ways: First, by tracing the effects of the conformation of the earth’s crust, and of “geographic” phenomena in general, upon all other phenomena. That would make of geography a hodge-podge gathered by excursions

into the fields of many sciences, duplicating work done in its proper connection by other sciences, tracing a single factor in the explanation of the most diverse phenomena, but affording a complete explanation of nothing. It would be the futile undertaking to construct a centrifugal science. Second, spacial relations may be regarded as a distinct class of phenomena, to be explained by geography. But *other* phenomena appear *in* spacial relations, and the sciences treating these other phenomena may describe and explain them as existing in their spacial relations; the explanation of spacial relation would then be exhausted by these other sciences (and mathematics). The tendency seems to be for each science to treat its phenomena thus, as existing in their spacial relations; moreover, it appears that the explanation of spacial relations cannot devolve upon a general science of distribution if it be true, as biologists assert, that only those scientists specially conversant with a given class of phenomena are competent to carry through the explanation of the spacial relations of those particular phenomena.

Concerning an explanatory task for geography in connection with *social phenomena in particular*, on either of the above grounds, it may be said *of the former* that tracing the effects of geographic conditions on social phenomena (as such, distinguished from their location) is distinctly an excursion into sociology, and contributes an essential part of the explanation sought by sociology. Such work is a division of the task of sociology, and as such most valuable. *As to the latter*, it may be said that the study by geography of the *distribution* of social phenomena is on a similar footing with the study by geography of the distribution of biological phenomena, except that sociology is less advanced than biology. But the location of social phenomena is least of all to be explained by exclusive reference to geographic conditions, and, most of all, to be explained by reference to phenomena of their own sort, that is, distribution of social phenomena is conditioned by social activities, and the description and explanation of their *location* is peculiarly interwoven with the description and explanation of social phenomena as such. Not only is it quite as logical for sociology to explain the distribution,

as well as the form and character of its phenomena as it is for botany and zoölogy to do so, but also it is *peculiarly* difficult, or impossible, to separate the task of explaining the social phenomena, from that of explaining their distribution. Sociology is, as yet, in its initial stages and needs recruits to engage in its vast and many-sided task; and those interested in the science seem not unjustified in urging those geographers who have turned to study the relations between physiographic conditions and human activities to carry on their inestimable researches in full consciousness that they are as truly engaged in sociological investigation as any sociologists, since social activities are as truly conditioned by geographic as by physiological or psychological phenomena.

Let it be repeated that although physiographic phenomena be explained by geology, oceanography, and meteorology, and though the distribution of plants and animals be explained by botanical and zoölogical ecology, and though the location of social phenomena be explained by sociology and stating the effects of geographic conditions upon social phenomena be an integral part of sociology, still it will remain true that no science but geography describes the *regions of the earth* by *bringing together into one description* all the various facts separately studied by the different sciences.

Our discussion of the relations between sociology and psychology first compared and contrasted the *concepts* which are objects of explanation for the two sciences, the *investigations* which must be pursued in order to afford explanations of these concepts, and the laws which such investigation might discover. This general comparison has now been supplemented by a more detailed description of the four phases of sociological research, and it is clear that they constitute a scientific pursuit widely different from the investigations of psychology. There is another difference between the two sciences which could not adequately be set forth in the general comparison. It was seen at the outset that the concepts which afford the problems of sociology include variations in human activity and experience

from which psychology abstracts, and that sociology goes as far as possible in the application of scientific method to description and explanation of the concrete facts of actual life. It follows directly from this, as a corollary, that sociology seeks to formulate an empirical ethics, an enterprise which psychology does not essay, and herein lies a special exhibition of the contrast between these two sciences.

EMPIRICAL ETHICS

In an earlier article it was pointed out¹⁶ that although every other science be confined to the questions, *what is?* and how comes it to be? sociology *as science* has a right to ask, *what is good?* and how does the good come to be?—it was pointed out that the *valuing* of experience is itself an element in experience, and that it is impossible adequately to describe the experience without including in the description the valuing. Goodness and badness are phenomena of human experience which sociology cannot overlook; that science, in contrast with psychology, attempts to describe and account for the *varieties* of experience-activity. And in differentiating varieties of experience the different value elements are a determining character; they are to sociology somewhat like what degrees of cephalization are to zoölogy, or spectral lines to astro-physics—critical elements in the description of the phenomena compared. If A says this seems good to me, and B says the like to him seems bad, both of those seemings may be characteristic sociological phenomena; such seemings, multiplied into prevalent social standards, are conspicuous and significant sociological phenomena, if not indeed the most significant of all.

Psychology may study the affective element in human experience as one of the phases of psychic activity common to mankind, but the specific valuing which men place upon their own experience, or better, which they find in their own experience, and the prevalent concepts as to what constitutes valuable experience, which have been built up out of the differing life history of various peoples, these psychology leaves to sociology. And

¹⁶ *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XI, pp. 639 ff.

it is only by studying these specific phenomena that a science of human valuing can be built up. Sociology sets out, having laid aside every preconceived notion of "the good" formed by speculating with closed eyes, and opens its eyes to see what men in their experience have called good, what they have found in experience that to them was good, to discover if there be any "unanimity of the competent" in the recognition of good experience as there is a "unanimity of the competent" in sense perception—if there be no general unanimity then to discover what is good to particular classes and especially what is good to those who have the widest range of experience and the most highly developed powers. In these questions the word "good" does not refer to "conduct" but to subjective states that are pronounced good by the subjects of those states, to experiences that include in themselves an element of satisfaction. These experiences may be of great variety, and *The Good* may be found to be no one kind of experience but life, made up of, or including, those compounded and concatenated experiences in which the value element is found. Goodness thus conceived is unique and incommensurable with anything else, and undefinable in terms of anything but itself. It is no more describable than "red," that is, being an experience element, it is intelligible only to those who have had such experience. At the same time it is as cognizable as "red" (the sense in which subjective phenomena can be described was discussed in the *American Journal of Sociology*, XI, pp. 623 ff.). The goodness thus referred to is the quality in experience which makes it a thing desirable for its own sake and contrasts with the badness which makes an experience shunned for its own sake.

There is another kind of goodness and badness of experience-activities, that is, not in and of themselves, but as leading up to *other* experiences, for experience-activities are the antecedent conditions of other experience-activities, both in the actor and others. Now it is a main function of sociology to discover the conditioning of varieties of experience-activity; and just in proportion as this task is advanced we secure well-grounded judgments of the goodness and badness of activities considered not

as ends but as means. This is the goodness and badness attributed to "conduct." Sociology is the science which must disclose this knowledge of man's conscious activities as promoting or preventing the experience-activities which are held to be ends in themselves and so must supply us with the motives of enlightenment.

This does not reduce sociology to an art instead of a science. That which men accept as welfare or beatitude is a phenomenon as truly as fixed nitrogen; to trace its conditioning is a strictly scientific task. The maxims based upon a knowledge of such conditioning may be the rules of an art—the art of living in society. If sociology succeeds in its field of investigation we shall then have a scientific ethics, a science of social life upon which to base the art of social life—the science of sciences and the arts of arts. If such knowledge is ever attained, and already in so far as it is attained, we have no need for speculations as to "the ground of moral obligation," but clearly see moral obligation in the conditions of human good.

Reason and courage forbid us to be blinded by a dolorous present and insist that we have faith that better knowledge of life's practical requirements will be the source of motives to nerve coming generations to achieve a nobler civilization, made of nobler men—motives that will replace the more or less artificial ones offered by poets and philosophers and the more or less waning incentives of supernaturalism. It will replace them with motives that become more stirring as men realize more adequately the good possibilities of human individuality, and, like Jesus, see apostles in publicans and saints in Magdalens, or, like Morris, see poets in artisans, and like all whose eyes have been touched, see that the poetry and the beauty and the dignity of life are not in romantic dreams but in the works and days of reasonable lives, and, seeing thus, deplore the awful wreckage and aspire with generous aspirations for themselves and for their kind, and usher in the eras of fruition, compared with which the past of human evolution, considered at its average level, is but a Saurian age. It is the pitiful "illusion of the near" to think that in the millions of years that our sun will continue to shine there is to

be no progress. The lesson of the past is that progress is cumulative if not geometric. And the greatest opportunity for progress is not in bettering machines but in improving ideals of general welfare, knowledge of the methods by which such welfare can be attained, standards of individual and social success, and motives to conduct. It would be irrational and craven not to hope that in the future an absurd lust for dollars will be replaced by real and balanced knowledge of the good of life, that popular science will include knowledge of the ways in which all sorts of good and evil grow out of our common conduct, of the truth that good and evil are to be sought and shunned as fruits of our social interdependence, and so will disseminate a less inadequate conception of what values are at stake in life and how our actions forfeit and violate the good, or secure it. The standards of conduct thus disclosed we shall enforce upon others with a determination proportioned to our recognition of their social necessity; and because we thus enforce them upon others they will bind themselves upon our own consciences with the logic of consistency. Open-eyed conviction and sane vision of the forms of human peril, possibility, and worth, might then inspire more stirring poetry and nobler art than ever sprung from the cathedral-building mysticism of the mediævals, and sustain a steadier devotion and fidelity, adequate to the strains of a complex and towering civilization. Give us a few generations in which the new food for heroism and joy in life has not only been discovered and adequately set forth but backed by authority, glorified by art, and established in common consent, and then let us see to what society can rise. Art we shall need no less, not because the real is not good enough and we must escape for warmth and inspiration to the imaginary, but because the real is too great and complex and subtle for easy comprehension, and we shall need the aids of symbolism and illustration and glorious expression for our glorious thought and for our heart's response. And much of ancient art and symbolism can never grow uncouth but will remain eternally true, and behind the symbol we shall see more clearly what was symbolized, and give new meanings to old symbols, corresponding to the growing content of life's apprehended

values and relationships, till our symbols stand not for a merely metaphysical absolute, nor for an arbitrary divine decree, but for all the weal and woe, the blight and fulfilment, the waste and worth, the good and evil of which human life and possibility are compacted, and till they stir the heart and command the conscience with devotion to the very ends that stir the soul of God, if God is Love.

Criticisms and objections may for the present go unanswered. Why should the sociologist be afraid of losing caste with scientists by acknowledging the hope that the knowledge which he seeks will be of use to men? It may be easy to lose sight of that hope when studying mathematics or material things, but the sociologist, if he be a real man, is daily reminded of it, because his object matter is human experience itself; and if he be a real scientist, that very hope will make him the more on guard to see the objects of his study in a dry light, knowing that the applications of truth must often be long deferred, that no uses can be truly served by him or his science, nor true progress made in it save by the disinterested search for objective reality, even when reality seems to baffle hopes; and that to vitiate his process by haste for application would be the more deplorable in proportion as the practical good to be anticipated from genuine objective comprehension is the greater.

To summarize the whole discussion of the relations between sociology and psychology: The two sciences are closely akin since all social activities go on in human consciousness,¹⁷ but *as to their objects of study*, sociology is a science of life as it exists among men, of the varieties of concrete experience-activity that prevail, a science which abstracts only from such idiosyncrasies as can not be included in descriptions of *the prevalent*, which seeks to trace the varying conditions which determine the prevalence of different modes of experience-activity, and, if it succeeds, reveals the courses that lead to human weal and woe, and so the requirements of empirical ethics. On the other hand,

¹⁷ If sociology finally includes the study of sub-human and sub-conscious activities, this statement will, of course, still be true of the major part of social activities.

the concepts studied by *psychology* are certain abstractions which nowhere exist in real life without specific contents, as they are conceived by the psychologist, but are the general forms of all conscious life. Here, at least, Comte's principle, that sciences of the general precede the sciences of the specific, finds illustration; for sociology makes no attempt to explain those concepts of the form and method of conscious life which are the problems of psychology, but for the explanation of them rests back upon the antecedent science, while psychology does not extend to the concreter concepts which afford the problems of sociology, it does not describe them or attempt their explanation. Furthermore, between the concepts studied by the two sciences, there are not only the cardinal differences arising from difference in the degree of their abstractness, there is also difference in the *kind* or form of abstracting practiced by the two sciences. Sociological concepts are not merely enriched and differentiated by concreteness that is omitted by the abstractions of psychology, yet related to them as species to genera; instead of being thus subsumable under psychologic concepts, objects of sociological investigation may involve, with no attempt to distinguish them from each other, several or all of the modes of consciousness which psychology differentiates—as chemical elements are involved in a living thing.

Turning attention from the contrast between the problem phenomena of the two sciences to the conditioning phenomena which must be noted in order to secure the explanations required by each, it has been pointed out that the problem phenomena of sociology are conditioned and differentiated by particular variations, hereditary and acquired, in the physical condition of different men, and by variations in their geographic, technic, and psychic environments, so that, of the four lines of investigation pursued by sociology, only one is verged upon by those of psychology, and the other three are distinctly different from those pursued by psychology.

Finally, if sociological and psychological research yields results that can properly be termed laws, the laws of psychology will be operative in all conscious experience and activity, yet

they will not by themselves suffice to explain the rise, prevalence, transformation, and decline of specific modes of social activity, which are not concepts of psychology, many of which do not fall within the categories of psychology, and the prevalence of which is determined by geographic and other conditions which the laws of psychology omit.

It is essential to consider both the nature of the relationship between sociology and psychology, (which received emphasis also in earlier articles¹⁸) and the wide distinction between the two sciences.

There may be room for doubt as to whether the questions which sociology attempts are answerable or no; there is no room for doubt as to whether they are different from the other set of questions mentioned as belonging to psychology and such as to demand a different labor of investigation; nor is there any room for doubting whether the questions of sociology are sufficiently interesting, extensive, and difficult to occupy the efforts of a distinct group of scientific workers; whether the answers that the sociologists can give to these problems will adequately repay their search, those answers themselves, when reached, must disclose.

¹⁸ "Social Phenomena are Psychic," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XI, p. 40; also "The Physical Setting of Social Phenomena," Vol. XII, p. 45.

THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

The third annual meeting of the American Sociological Society will be held at Atlantic City, N. J., from December 28 to 31, inclusive, in conjunction with the annual meetings of the American Economic Association, the American Statistical Association, and the American Association for Labor Legislation.

The Sociological Society will hold seven sessions, one of which will be a joint meeting with the Economic Association and another of which will be a joint meeting with the American Statistical Association. All seven sessions, however, will be devoted to a discussion of some aspect of the general topic "The Family in Modern Society." This general topic has been divided as follows:

1. The Relation of the Family to Social Change (*President's address*).
2. How Do Home Conditions React upon the Family?
3. Are Modern Industry and City Life Unfavorable to the Family?
4. How Does the Woman Movement React upon the Family?
5. Has the Freer Granting of Divorce Proved an Evil?
6. How far Should the State Go in Individualizing the Members of the Family?
7. How far Should Family Property Be Conserved and Encouraged?

Detailed programmes may be had by applying to the secretary, Professor C. W. A. Veditz, George Washington University, Washington, D. C.

REVIEWS

Essays in Municipal Administration. By JOHN A. FAIRLIE, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1908. Pp. vii+374.

In the United States students of municipal government have come to regard Professor Fairlie as one of our most trustworthy writers on that subject. His work has been distinguished by a broad and accurate knowledge of the facts and a sanity of view which render it a valuable corrective to the dogmatic and doctrinaire utterances which, even nowadays, are altogether too frequent. The volume recently published under the title of *Essays in Municipal Administration* is well up to Professor Fairlie's former standard.

The matter brought together in the work under review is not entirely new. Of the nineteen essays which make up the collection fourteen had been previously printed in various journals or delivered as addresses. All that have before appeared, however, have been revised and brought as nearly down to date as the exigencies of printing would permit. Four of the studies (Essays XV-XVIII) are now first published. Altogether the volume forms a useful commentary on many phases of municipal government here and abroad.

It is always difficult to give an adequate idea of a collection of essays within the limits of an ordinary review. In the present case no attempt is made to treat each essay separately. A few have been selected for special notice, leaving the remainder to be mentioned by title if at all. This selection should not be taken as indicating the comparative value of the various studies but rather as a reflection of the personal tastes of the reviewer.

The essay entitled "Problems of American City Government from an Administrative Point of View" gives an excellent summary of the difficulties which have arisen in our American cities through central control exercised almost entirely by the state legislatures. Dr. Fairlie is in harmony with most students of American city government in advocating greater central administrative control as a substitute for that of the legislature. His suggestion (p. 37) that the desired central control of police could be

secured by giving sheriffs powers of inspection and authorizing the governor to remove sheriffs and other local police officers is worthy of consideration. In this manner control of the police for the enforcement of state laws might be secured while, in other respects, local autonomy would be preserved.

In the essay on "Civil-Service Reform and Municipal Administration" Professor Fairlie advances a step beyond where the civil-service reformer has been able to go in actual achievement. He advocates extending the merit system to practically all the higher administrative officials. He points out (p. 44), and rightly, that there are almost no really political offices in the executive service of cities. The heads of departments are, or should be, technical experts whose duties are purely administrative and remain the same whatever party may be in control of the city government.

The sketch under the title of "The Municipal Crisis in Ohio" is a clear account of the remarkable situation developed when the Supreme Court, in 1902, overturned the governments of practically every city in the state. The evils of special legislation and legislative interference stand out prominently in the narrative. The uniform municipal code enacted to replace the system overturned by the courts is described and criticized. Owing to the action of the last session of the Ohio legislature some additions are now necessary in order to bring Dr. Fairlie's account down to date. The most objectionable features of the code of 1902 have been removed. A form of organization closely resembling the "federal plan," in force in Cleveland prior to 1902, has been provided for all the cities of the state. This will go into operation at the next general municipal election. The change in the Ohio law should also be taken into consideration in connection with the essay on "Municipal Codes in the Middle West" which is a valuable comparative study of the codes of Illinois, Ohio, and Indiana.

In the second group of essays (VIII-XIV) only a few points can be noted. The study of the revenue systems of American and foreign cities (Essay X) is the joint work of Professor Fairlie and Professor C. E. Merriam, of the University of Chicago. It formed a chapter in Professor Merriam's report to the Chicago City Club in 1906 on the "Municipal Revenues of Chicago." Under the head of "Municipal Electric Lighting in Detroit" (Essay XI) is given an account of what appears to be a very successful American experiment in municipalization. This study, if read in connection

with that on "Some Considerations on Municipal Ownership of Public Utilities" (Essay XIII), ought to constitute a good starting-point for one who wishes to approach the question of municipal ownership in the proper attitude of mind. The study of the street railway question in Chicago (Essay XII) is the best existing account of the long traction struggle in that city. The situation is brought down to the adoption of the settlement ordinances in 1907.

The third group of essays, described in the preface as "Some observations on municipal government in Europe," is made up of work by Dr. Fairlie not hitherto published. It includes studies of certain phases of city government in several English and Scotch cities, of local transportation in Berlin, municipal conditions in Leipzig, Munich, and Budapest, and finally two essays (XVII and XVIII) on municipal government in Vienna and Italy which, for English readers, are of special value. Dr. Fairlie points out that Vienna has been a neglected field of study. His discussion of the governmental organization, political conditions, and municipal undertakings of Vienna are enlightening. That Vienna now has the largest municipalized street railway system in the world (p. 326) and that its government is in the hands of the Christian Socialists are two facts which, alone, should render the city an object of interest to students of government. Italy has been supposed to have nothing of importance to offer for the study of municipal government. Dr. Fairlie's discussion of the governments of Naples, Rome, Florence, Venice, and Milan rather disproves that assumption. In Milan, especially, there seems to be a high degree of activity and intelligence manifested in connection with the city government. The elections are sharply contested, many interesting municipal undertakings have been begun and, on the whole, the city is well governed.

Only two errors of any consequence have been noted. The city attorney is no longer elected in Illinois (p. 113). The office was abolished in 1906. Its duties are now performed by the corporation counsel appointed by the mayor. The police commissioners of San Francisco are appointed by the mayor and not by the governor (p. 149).

A. R. HATTON

WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY
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The Physical Basis of Civilization. By T. W. HEINEMAN.
Chicago: Forbes & Company, 1908. Pp. 241. \$1.25.

This book is an essay on the biological foundations of human culture. It deals, therefore, with important problems on the biological side of sociology. The general trend of the book is indicated by its two sub-titles: "Psychic and Economic Results of Man's Physical Uprightness," "A Demonstration that Two Small Anatomical Modifications Determined Physical, Mental, Moral, Economic, Social, and Political Conditions." The two small anatomical modifications in question, to which such tremendous consequences are attributed, are a variation in the form of the entocuneiform bone in the foot (which supports the big toe) and a shifting of the occipital foramen magnum to a position a little back of the center of the base of the skull. To these two anatomical modifications our author attributes the erect posture of man, and upon the erect posture, he endeavors to show, depend the great typical institutions of human society.

The book is almost wholly deductive in its method, and illustrates both the merits and the defects of dealing with social problems through pure deduction from the antecedent sciences. Our author traces everything distinctive in human society, either directly or indirectly, to man's upright position. For example, in order to prove that the family as a form of association antedated the clan and the tribe, he relies, not upon the evidence afforded by primitive peoples, but upon the "unavoidable consequences" of the upright posture of the human race (p. 131). This is not an unfair example of the author's reasoning; and the reasoning, moreover, is often obscured by a prolix style and needless repetitions. Again, no authorities are cited for the numerous scientific facts and principles stated. On the whole, however, the author seems to have a good grasp of biological facts and principles; it is only on the side of ethnographic and sociological facts that he is weak.

In spite of its many defects from the standpoint of scientific method, the book should not be ignored by sociologists. It is rich in suggestions on the biological side of sociology. There are especially suggestive chapters on the origin of the family, the home, monogamic marriage, and the economic dependence of woman, showing that these human institutions are not mere social conventions due to happy historical accidents, but, as all careful students of

the family know, are rooted in the biological conditions under which the race has lived in the past and must continue to live in the future. To those who are interested in tracing out the biological roots of human institutions, especially of the family, therefore, the book is to be commended as well worth reading.

CHARLES A. ELLWOOD

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

Heredity and Selection in Sociology. By GEORGE CHATTERTON-HILL. London: Adam & Charles Black; New York: The Macmillan Co., 1907. Pp. xxx+571. \$4.50 net.

This is a remarkable book, in not the best sense of the word. After an analysis of the current biological theories in Part I, in which he adheres mainly to Weismann, the author in Part II gives statistics showing the increase in suicide, insanity, and syphilis (but gives no attention to crime) and in Part III, after rejecting liberalism, socialism, and science as social remedies, passes inconsequently to the conclusion that religion is the only force which can accomplish the integration of society. I say inconsequent because the whole argument in Parts I and II had been in the way of indicating that a society progresses only on the basis of the rigid selection through conflict of the fittest which is practiced in nature, and his conclusions by no means fit on to his arguments. Having no first-hand information, the author could justify himself in the publication of such a work only by logical and constructive manipulation of his materials, and he has not done this. The book will, however, interest those who were interested in Mr. Kidd's *Social Evolution*.

WM. I. THOMAS

Die Arbeiterversicherung in Australien und Neu-Seeland. Bearbeitet von PROF. DR. ALFRED MANES. Heft XVIII, "Die Arbeiter-Versicherung im Auslande," edited by DR. ZACHER. Pp. 81+90. Berlin: A. Froschel, 1908.

The most recent addition to the series of Dr. Zacher on social insurance brings to us the story of developments in the newest new world. After introductory paragraphs on the general tendencies of life and of legislation, Dr. Manes gives a full treatment to the

old-age-pension laws of New Zealand and the beginnings of other Australasian colonies. In this field New Zealand was in advance of England, while in compensation laws covering accidents and sick-benefit societies the mother country led the way. The insurance principle has been applied in the islands of the Pacific to unemployment and provision for dwellings, and the state has competed with life-insurance companies in their ordinary business. In the appendix the legal texts are printed in English and German and the bibliography is fairly full. Altogether the volume is timely and encouraging.

The interest in social or industrial insurance is rapidly growing in the United States, especially since the greatest corporations have discovered that it was the most effective and economical way for them to promote discipline, remove aged employees who are no longer fit for service, and reduce annoying and expensive litigation.

C. R. HENDERSON

Education and Industrial Evolution. By FRANK TRACY CARLTON, PH.D. New York: Macmillan, 1908. Pp. xvi+320. \$1.25 net.

This little volume is one of the "Citizen's Library of Economics, Politics and Sociology," edited by Professor Richard T. Ely. It is a thoroughgoing study of the problem of education in the industrial state of civilization. The point of view is that of pragmatism. Professor Carlton brings to the study of the problem broad historical and economic culture, and advocates a sane programme of utilitarian education. To his mind the danger of the present state of capitalistic management is a reversal to the frontier type by way of degeneracy engendered by too large accumulation of wealth in the hands of a privileged leisure class. The remedy lies in emphasis on industrial education. In support of this thesis the history of education in the United States is surveyed, and its principles are brought in sharp contrast with those of the older civilizations of Germany and Great Britain. The place of woman in industry, her education and the rationale of a changed home life resulting from the place of woman in gainful occupations is treated concisely. The industrial and educational value of manual training and laboratory work, the arts-and-crafts movement, and the position of organized labor to education are reviewed next. The second part of the little book

takes the child from the kindergarten, through the public schools, vacation, and correspondence schools to the technical and continuation schools. The industrial side of the truancy system and the outlook for the author's kind of a plan of an educational system form the concluding part of the book.

One misses in the book the legal justification of class education, and the correlation of industrial education to the development of the higher culture interests.

For purposes of ready reference this book is commendable and up to date.

HUGO P. J. SELINGER

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Woman and the Race. By GORDON HART. Westwood, Mass.: The Ariel Press, 1907. Pp. 264.

The title of this earnest little book is suggestive of the higher and nobler race-altruism which more intimately must inspire the social ideal before the problems of sex, marriage, and the family can be satisfactorily solved. A less emotional style, a calmer statement of facts, a fuller and more careful assimilation of the thought and literature bearing on the subjects treated might be desired; but the tone of the discussion is healthy, the argument helpful, and the purpose worthy of our entire sympathy. It is neither a textbook nor a scientific treatise in the field of sex-education; but it is a stirring appeal for common-sense in the training of girls for their destiny as wives and mothers; and in principle the lessons taught will apply equally in the education of boys.

The first chapter, "Innocence versus Ignorance," is a plea for light in the moral training of young women. It discloses the dangers which beset the feet of "cloistered virtue." Indeed, the degree of ignorance and of prurient delicacy on the part of parents in matters relating to the sex-life of their children is truly astonishing.

To the average man or woman [the author well says] the idea of sex is of a thing that is low and unmentionable; the very word suggests a blush. The physical differences between a man and a woman, their mutual attraction and its design in nature—these are subjects to be tabooed, treated as if non-existent, carefully eliminated from the teaching of a child. The child of today is the father or mother of the race of tomorrow.

In what way does he learn of the laws governing reproduction, of sex-differences, and sex-impulses? He picks his information out of the gutter. The things his parents are ashamed to speak of to him he learns, greedily enough, it may be, from the coarse mind of a servant, or from the unwholesome imaginings of an older boy at school; learns of them in a way to debase his coming manhood, to leave his mind the prey of evil images, his body an instrument for suggested and secret vice.

Emphatically "the most important of all our social actions is the one on which educators are uniformly silent;" and there can be no folly more dangerous than to fancy that knowledge of sex-life will be hidden from a child because we are too prudish or too stupid to give it to him. Or do we imagine that the legitimate knowledge will filter into his brain as the air does into his lungs?" Therefore it is not strange that the emotional crises of youth are beset with perils. "Many of our girls' boarding-schools," the author boldly declares, "are hot-beds of sensuality," while in similar schools for boys, the conditions are even worse. In one there was scarcely a lad "who had not had criminal intercourse with some girl in the female seminary."

The thesis of the first chapter is forcefully developed in the chapters which follow. In the second, on "Flower Babies," is suggested a safe way of teaching even young children the simple fact of reproduction, birth, and parenthood. Incidentally the author wisely remarks,

We take it for granted that savage play and rude expressions are not suitable for girls; I cannot see that they are either right or profitable for boys. The elimination of the whip as a toy, the replacing of the gun or the bow and arrow by the carpenter's box or garden tools would be a prudent revolution.

In fact students of social morality are beginning to see that the double standard of virtue, by which the sexual offenses of a boy are treated more leniently than those of a girl, is at the bottom of the evil of prostitution.

Other chapters deal in an enlightening way with "Woman's Place in the Social Scheme;" "Motherhood a Joy;" "A Real Paternity;" "The Perfect Body;" "King Mind;" "The Rationale of Celibacy;" "Marriage, Actual and Ideal;" and "The Joy of Life." Undoubtedly there is crying need of a reform in our educational programme. From the home to the university, training for the duties of the domestic life, in all its incidents, ought to be provided. Scarcely

a beginning in the organization of this kind of instruction has yet been made. We have neither textbooks nor methods. The present volume will help prepare the way for the new régime; and it will be heartily welcomed by all thoughtful students of society.

GEORGE ELLIOTT HOWARD

Les types sociaux et le droit. Par JOSEPH MAZZARELLA. Paris: Octave Doin, éditeur, 1908. 1 vol. in 18 Jésus, cartonné toile, de 450 pages. Fr. 5.

According to the author's preface this book is a study of social types from the juridical point of view.

The book is divided into three sections preceded by an introduction. In the introduction he briefly explains Post's theory of fundamental types of social organization, examines this theory critically, and sets forth, partly following Post but departing from his theory somewhat radically, his own theory of fundamental social types. His departure from Post is in "the introduction of the stratigraphical analysis, entirely unknown to Post and his disciples." This new contribution to the theory of juridical ethnology he considers so important that he believes by means thereof he can arrive at the determination of the process of the development of each institution and of each juridical system; at the reconstruction of unknown phases of the evolution of institutions and systems; at the study of the psychological conditions of peoples, revealed by an analysis of law; discover the causes which in each system determine the juridical transformations; and finally at the construction of a general theory of the evolution of law.

The first section is devoted to the general theory of the fundamental types of juridical organization. In five chapters are discussed analytically the special morphology, stratigraphy, genealogy, psychology and philosophy of juridical systems from the point of view of ethnology. The sixth chapter, a comparative treatment of the same subject-matter, "has for its object the determination of the laws and general causes of juridical evolution." In this chapter he sets forth his new method of juridical ethnology which "consists essentially in the constitution of a fixed series, . . . which we call *typical series of reference*, which includes a certain number of juridical systems that fulfil the given conditions." The upshot of

this first section is that "there exist two fundamental types of juridical organization, the gentile and the feudal, characterized respectively by the absence and by the existence of the hierarchical stratification of classes," and by this means one "can determine the intrinsic composition of each institution and of each system."

In the second section he applies his theory to the exposition of the influence of the gentile type of organization upon matrimonial law. In eighteen chapters the author's theory of what he terms "marriage ambilieu," by which he means the form in which the husband goes to live with his wife's people and possesses no power over his family, occupies a very important place. He thinks that by means of it he has demonstrated the universality of the "matri-archate" in an irrefutable manner.

His third section is a new application of his general theory of fundamental types to an interpretation of the loan in ancient India, in which he attempts to show that the feudal type of organization makes great changes in the law of obligations.

As one reads this book he is struck by two things, viz., (1) the thoroughgoing scientific spirit which pervades it, and (2) the artificiality of some of the logical analyses. The passion of the author for clearness and completeness has in some few places led to a sublimation of theory which his inductive study hardly sanctions. But the vigorous study of facts in the light of the large lines of his theory is delightful. He has made a generalization of the dependence of forms of law and of the evolution of law upon the type of social organization, the value of which must be recognized. This work is, thus, a fruit of the application of sociological methods to a study of the development of law. Dr. Mazzarella has made clear that for the peoples and periods studied even law is not independent of the social type out of which it grew, and that social type, determining as it does social custom, stamps law with an impress which survives even after the ideas that gave it birth have given way to others.

J. L. GILLIN

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NOTES AND ABSTRACTS

Revue deu Mouvement Socialiste.—Germany.—The elections to the Prussian Landtag, of June 3 and 16 were of great importance to the socialists, because they were to decide concerning the reform of the suffrage in Prussia. Previously the socialists had made no nominations, and had refrained even from casting a protesting ballot. This time, however, they had their own candidates; and, thanks to their zeal and the support of the small tradespeople which they secured through threats of a boycott, they elected seven members. Nevertheless the elections were a victory for the reactionaries; the clericals and conservatives control the majority, and all hope of reform in the electoral law is dissipated. A great heresy has declared itself in German social democracy. The German Marxists, in their convention, at Lubeck, in 1901, demanded the refusal of socialists, on principle, to vote the budgets in the different parliaments. Just recently, delegates from the socialist organizations of the states of Southern Germany—Baden, Hesse, Württemberg, and Bavaria—met secretly at Stuttgart to consider the advisability of definitely turning aside from the decision of Lubeck, and ceasing to offer the ridiculous spectacle of deputies clamoring for reforms, voting for them, and then refusing the financial means for carrying them into execution. In August, the socialist deputies of Baden voted in favor of the budget. The *Vorwärts* protested against the violation of discipline, and such a breach of unity. The socialist deputies of Bavaria voted in a body for its budget. The orthodox party of the North condemn the action, and censure the socialists of South Germany. In brief, hostility is declared between these two conflicting sections of the German social-democratic party.

France.—The French socialists received a severe check at the municipal elections in May. M. P. Dormoy, in the *Socialiste*, declared that this check showed, not only that the great part of the French public is still closed to socialism, but also that they have not yet won over a majority of the working class. As in Germany and Switzerland, all the parties are beginning to unite against the socialists. The French socialists now cast 1,000,000 votes, while the number of working-men belonging to labor organizations is 800,000. The German socialists, in 1907, cast 3,250,000 votes, and the labor organizations in Germany had a membership of 2,000,000. The French general Confederation of Labor keeps apart from the international socialist movement, both in its policy and in its organization. Its programme calls for a general revolutionary strike, anti-militarism in the sense of anti-patriotism, and absolute autonomy. The radical leaders of the confederation reproach the socialist for not supporting them in their efforts toward a general strike. It is the fruitful collaboration of the socialists and radicals, the scandal of the Bloc, and the defection of prominent socialists, that justly arouses in the working class an invincible, and perhaps incurable, defiance toward the socialist politicians who pretend, in the Chambre, to speak in the name of the working people. The Confederation of Labor is rapidly growing in membership and power.

Italy.—The *Confederazione del Lavoro* is allied with the Italian socialist party, and is opposed to the revolutionary unions. These latter attempted to force a general agricultural strike in Italy, but succeeded only in the province of Parma. There the strike continued for several months, but gradually exhausted itself, without results proportionate to the immense effort. The unionists and socialists are very bitterly opposed.

England.—In the *Clarion*, Hyndman and Blatchford refer to the danger of an Anglo-German war, and the consequent necessity of maintaining, at all costs, the superiority of the British fleet and the efficiency of her naval and

military forces. Keir Hardie, in a response in the *Labor Leader*, accuses Hyndman of exploiting the public credulity, and affirms that the laborers of both countries desire peace.—J. Bourdeau, *Revue politique et parlementaire*, September, 1908. E. F. C.

The Ethical Function of the Historian.—The fundamental problem for the historian is to determine the peculiar nature of his task. He must answer the questions: What is the purpose for which historical science exists? What is the nature of historic truth? How does history differ from other sciences? How does the historic process appear as seen from within? And what in consequence is the chief function of the historian?

I. The purpose of history is to reinstate the past and render it intelligible by a rigorous separation of fact from fiction. It is only by a gradual process that mankind has arrived at that conception. The faculty and conception of reverence for truth, as such, and for itself, apart from personal, party or national consequences, are comparatively recent acquisitions. It is the valuation of truth simply because it is truth that underlies and vitalizes all our modern science and has compelled us to reconstruct our entire conception of the universe and of our human past.

II. The ruling philosophy or the *Zeitgeist* of each age has permeated and colored the conception of the historic process. Of the phenomena of the universe, some appear in an order of coexistence in space, others in an order of succession in time; and it is with these transformations in time that history has to deal. The resemblances and differences of phenomena are both quantitative and qualitative. It is with the latter chiefly that history has to deal. The social life of man, the progress of civilization, the formation and the development of political institutions, the rise and fall of empires, the relations between independent states—all these transformations belong to the sphere of qualitative change, defy mathematical calculation, and demand a new instrument of comparison and comprehension.

III. This sphere of human activity is the field of history. One side of human science is built up with answers to the question, "How much?" Another side depends upon the answers to the question, "Of what kind?" and this is the historical as distinguished from the mathematical aspect of science. History deals with transformations of a qualitative character, while mathematics deals with quantitative relations. The historical sciences aim at a knowledge of the serial development of phenomena in a definite time and a definite place, showing the order in which they occurred, the conditions out of which they arose, the influence exercised by them, and the consequent value of these phenomena, as manifestations of reality ranked as inferior or superior in the scale of human utility as appreciation.

IV. The substance with which the history of man is concerned is personal conduct, and the reaction of conduct upon human development. Persons are the agents of historical movements. In every great historical movement there is a conscious effort to rescue something from time, and to give it permanent endurance.

V. If history is ever to throw any light upon the riddle of personality, beyond that which biology and psychology afford, it can be done in no other way than by bravely pursuing its own method of recording the acts of men as they have actually occurred, and not by elaborating theories of causation. The function of the historian is an ethical function, not simply because it is his duty to discover and to state the truth with a high sense of his responsibility to mankind, but because the whole substance of history is of an ethical nature. I do not mean that the historian is to set himself up as a moral judge and to pass mere private judgments upon historical events. The purpose and use of history are found in the truthful record and just estimate of human conduct, which is the outward expression of the real nature of man as a being capable of varying degrees of success or failure in realizing the ends of rational activity. The historian must not yield to the temptation to follow too closely the principles

and methods of the physical sciences; for, in endeavoring to make the historic process seem systematic, orderly, and logical, he is likely to introduce into his work a large element of unreality.

The function of the historian is not to deal with uniformities, or with universal formulas, but with the variations of human conduct as measured by its success and its failure upon the scale of rational endeavor.—David J. Hill, *American Historical Review*, October, 1908. E. F. C.

The Racial Interpretation of History and Politics.—The typical racial philosophy aims at classifying mankind according to physical and mental characteristics, between which two sets of differences it professes to discover certain empirically established coexistences. This correlation is suggested by certain marked differences between the physical appearances of the black, white, and yellow divisions of humanity, which we find coexisting with differences in degree or kind of civilization. Aryanism, a logical outgrowth of this racial theory, looks upon the "Aryans" as the most noble race of men, and believes the future progress of mankind to be dependent upon continued Aryan predominance.

Jean Finot, in his book, *Race Prejudice*, contends for the fundamental unity of the human type. The bewildering variety of the divisions of mankind according to physical characteristics forms the subject of the most successful part of his argument against racialism. Again, physical features are modified by exercise, by deliberate action on the infant body, by differences of soil, climate, and diet. Another strong point made by M. Finot against the theory of racial antagonism, is in reference to the fertility of unions of diverse human types. Among plants and animals, unions between species, which are variations from a common original, are sterile.

Ernest Sellière, in *La philosophie de l'impérialisme*, is at great pains to establish the close connection between imperialist philosophies—and especially of racial philosophies—and the political conditions and ambitions of the peoples among which they arise.

In *White Capital and Colored Labor*, Sir Sidney Ollivier treats the general problems of race in a broad and philosophical manner. He says, "Whatever may be the cause or creative force of humanity, the cause and molding force of race appeals as local environment." The true philosophy of our relation to other "races," is the recognition of fundamental unity and equality amid a diversity of gift and aspiration which lends to the unity completeness and character.—W. J. Roberts, *International Journal of Ethics*, July, 1908. E. F. C.

The Treatment of Homicidal Prisoners.—Comparative study of the criminal laws of various countries serves to emphasize the fact that penal codes are behind moral sentiments and humane tendencies. Methods of punishment based on the belief that fear is the greatest factor in the making of moral men are passing away from home and school. To the thoughtful parent the knowledge that the ill of an act does not lie in the act *per se*, but in the state of mind that found expression in the act, renders the idea of fitting a punishment to an act absurd. By this standard our methods of dealing with criminals are crude, obsolete, and, for ethical purposes, useless in the extreme. The criminal codes of Europe and America show small advance in the way of an intelligent idea of the problem of the criminal and what to do with him.

This reflection is occasioned by a study of a recent "Return" issued by the British Home Office at the instance of Mr. Geo. Greenwood, M.P. This document is a Return of the various punishments for homicidal crime provided by the penal codes of the following countries: France, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Spain, Italy, Holland, Belgium, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Switzerland, Portugal, Russia, and the United States of America.

The student of penology will find little wisdom in the Return and that from only one or two of the smaller countries. It is a dreary round of unintelligent brutality, of the infliction of the penalties of law from Moscow to New York, but no suggestion of intelligent understanding or desire to understand what is

homicidal crime, its cause, its cure, and its prevention. Only the legally insane receive treatment for disease. Take the comparatively simple case of infanticide by a mother. Any intelligent man, much more a woman, knows that here is a tragedy of mind. The moral understanding of the case that European nations show is illustrated thus: England and France issue sentence of death for such killing; Germany, three to fifteen years' penal servitude; Austria, ten to twenty years' hard labor; Hungary, five years'; Italy, three to twelve; Holland, up to nine years'; Belgium from ten years' penal servitude to death. These penalties are all based on the punishment-for-crime theory. A stupid, useless, soul-destroying punishment is inflicted. It is true that, if we could put all modern ideas with regard to the criminal on one side, and could frankly admit the punishment-for-crime theory, these codes do show a great advance on the ideas of criminology held by our forefathers. The horrible punishments of a century and more ago are gone.

The most hopeful sign of the Return is that all the more advanced countries of Europe (England excepted) have introduced a gradation of murder crimes. At least sixteen of the American states recognize murder in the first and second degrees. Murder in the second degree will come within reforms in the direction of indeterminate sentences and curative treatment. This will also be true of the first degree, where capital punishment has been abolished.

In Europe, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, Norway, Denmark, and, in America, Maine, Kansas, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Rhode Island have abolished the death penalty with good results. The results in Italy and France, because of conditions that are doubtless temporary, are not so good. Obviously with the advance of penological reform the death penalty must go. Such a Return impresses one with the crying need of the application of a larger moral conception of penology and criminal law.

The treatment of the criminal must be *treatment* and not punishment for crime. This treatment must be based on a much more elastic definition of insanity. We must recognize that the thoroughly sane man is rare. We need an extended recognition of social responsibility. With the advancement of social consciousness we shall come to see that society itself is "the primary cause of murder." With the recognition of this fact and of the need of curative treatment will come the necessity of replacing our present prison wardens with trained, intelligent, and sympathetic keepers. Without dogmatizing one may say that in these cases the greatest need is often for healthy diet, open air, stimulating occupation; sympathetic teaching, wise control—factors not provided by our horrible town life.—Carl Heath, *International Journal of Ethics*, July, 1908.

J. T. H.

Railway Nationalization in Italy.—When on July 1, 1905, the state took over the entire administration of the railways, it already owned 8,500 of the 10,000 miles of lines. The state undertook its task without any serious preparation; the measure going into effect only two months before the contracts with certain private companies expired. The road-beds, stations, etc., were in exceedingly bad condition. A remarkable increase in the demand for transportation, with a pitiful failure to meet it, gave rise to a new word to describe the situation: "disservice." Though such congestion is not unusual, yet this unfortunate co-incidence has greatly injured the nascent institution. These are the specific defects in state management: a facile conformity to demands for new plants and new commodities, with too little vigilance paid to the financial consequences.

Italy has devoted her attention chiefly to autonomy of administration to free it from political control and from anything that hinders prompt action. The Administrative Council, composed of eight members, has two selected from railway officials, three from other government administrative bodies, three from citizens who have shown large administrative capacity. Over this council is a director-general, legal representative of the administration, with power to sanction undertakings of minor importance. The council cannot of its own motion spend

more than 50,000 lire. There are also a parliamentary Board of Vigilance to control expenditures and a General Traffic Council. The state has been able to provide rapidly for the construction of new stations, purchase of new rolling stock, etc. It may be doubted that the administration can be wholly free of political control and as to the results of the entire movement it is too early to judge.—F. Tojani, *Economic Journal*, September, 1908. J. T. H.

The Modern Conception of Justice.—The content of the word "justice" has greatly altered. The ideas in that content group themselves round the concepts of punishments and rewards. As the human spirit comes to understand itself it finds that these ideas are based on a concept of diverse elements, some of which must be given up. The fundamental desire is that wrong shall not triumph forever. There is nothing in this that necessarily demands the suffering of the wrong-doer. There is, again, the feeling that the wrong-doer is a free agent and must be punished to satisfy justice in order to alter his evil tendencies. The punishment of itself does not make the man better; it only gives him a chance to do that for himself. The hard fact that the wicked flourish, clashing with the faith that the wrong-doer must always suffer, produced the idea of vicarious suffering. "The sacrifice of our peace was upon him." These words will go as deeply into the soul of the modern world as they have into that of the ancient, when once they are freed from their traditional associations. They speak of fact and ideal, that the innocent suffer and thus save the guilty. Suffering by the innocent is not unjust when voluntary. The reward the good man works for is not for himself alone. Aristotle's idea that it is the right of the good to rule passes away. Neither is reward apportioned according to effort. The philanthropist is anxious to save both sinner and incompetent. Thus there emerges the only thing that will satisfy the hunger for "justice," Kant's Kingdom of Ends, in which every single person would attain the fruition of perfect good. This ideal for practical working out must be based on a conviction of personal immortality. In this imperfect world countless individuals must fail of the full fruition of good. Yet if each man is an end in himself can it be right to sacrifice any? Voluntary sacrifice might be right, but not involuntary. The latter would be to treat men as means, not ends, and would lead to the Brahmin's doctrine that the happiness of one Brahmin is worth that of twenty ordinary men. Whatever the principle on which we select the few whose enjoyment is purchased at the sacrifice of others, how are we to answer to those whom we have stinted? With the belief in immortality we can say: "We take this sacrifice from you because it is the only way to reach the goal we all desire."—Miss F. Melian Stawell, *International Journal of Ethics*, October, 1908.

J. T. H.

Communitic Communities of Today in North America.—North America has, for more than one hundred years, been the theater of a very great number of socialistic and communitic attempts. A religious idea was the impulse of many; while others were independent of that idea. Mystics, Dunkards, Quakers, Shakers, followers of Owen, of Marx, and others have founded communities most of which have perished or have dwindled down to an almost negligible quantity. The most flourishing colony is that of Amana. The origin of this sect is traced to J. F. Rock and E. L. Gruber who, in the year 1714, in Hesse, Germany, began to preach and to emphasize a particular divine-inspiration theory. The sect has grown chiefly because the children have not been sent to public schools. After experiencing much difficulty in various places in Germany, they came, in 1842, to New York. Others followed in 1843 who settled in Canada near the Niagara River. In 1854 their leader declared that God had commanded them to go westward. They are now at Amana, Iowa, where in 1901 there were 1,707 persons who possess 20,000 acres of land. They have a constitution of ten articles under which they incorporated in 1855. Their purpose in uniting is not the result of selfishness but, as they believe, the result of a call from God. The families live separately but dine together in particular

places and at regular hours. Though regulation of life seems artificial to us, social control is effected by means of religious training. Though the Amana Community is the largest and most flourishing, it is not the oldest or so absolutely communistic as the Anabaptist sect in South Dakota. It began in the Reformation period and antedates other existing communistic societies in the United States by 200 years. In South Dakota there live twelve communities with over 1,300 people as members in the Hutter Societies (so called because of their early leader, Jacob Hutter, the special prophet of God). With the exception of short interims they have led completely communistic lives for more than 350 years. Their communistic ideas have their origin in the teaching of the Bible. The societies originated in the early part of the sixteenth century in Germany and Austria. After living here and in various places in Russia to which place they were driven by persecution, they finally, in 1874, came to America and settled down in South Dakota. Many of those who previously lived in these communities in Europe, became individual land owners in Dakota. There are still 1,300 persons who live in this absolute communism, having the same organization, the same kind of schools and brotherhoods as outlined by their great leader. Some supporters of communism may point to this as a case of communism that has not been given up. But we will not draw this conclusion for more have ceased to remain in the community than have adhered to it. Furthermore, great difficulty is encountered in maintaining the religious zeal that united these people and cultural advance has been hindered among them.—Professor Robert Liefman in Hildebrand's *Jahrbücher* for July and for August, 1908. L. W.

The Adventitious Character of Women.—The remedy for the irregularity, pettiness, ill-health, and unserviceableness of modern woman seems to lie along educational lines: not in a general and cultural education alone, but in a special and occupational interest and practice for women, married and unmarried, preferably gainful, though not onerous nor incessant. This practical activity for women would relieve the strain on the matrimonial situation—at present abnormal and almost impossible. A more solid basis of association in marriage is necessary—some connection in the same general world of interest. This would be secured through the pursuit by woman of an art of her own choosing, and the consequent development of an interest in principles apart from persons.—W. I. Thomas, *American Magazine*, October, 1908. F. F.

The Social Laws of Attraction.—Can laws be formulated to cover the mating of men and women, or is it a matter of chance? Sexual affinity is only an index of defects imposed on individuals of the same stock but with defective environment; the feeling of affinity is greatest when half of the faculties of each is dormant, while the normal part of each complements that of the other. The children of these affinities will be below the average, because both of the parents are defective. The misleading impulses of hysteria and the narrowing grasp of affinity are the forces that mislead men in their marriage relations. Set them aside, and eugenic marriages will be as common as they are now rare. Normality and great physical vigor tend to idealization in love which imposes qualities on others they do not have, and diminishes the antipathy of people to those of other stocks; it improves the race by favoring marriages that are real crosses, thus giving children new and better qualities.—Simon N. Patten, *Pop. Sci. Mon.*, October, 1908. F. F.

Specialist Bligh on American Education.—Specialism is the order of the day; what can be expected of the rank and file of the modern world when the leaders of American life, men in the professions, and in those higher institutions which prepare for the professions, have gone mad on the question of specialization? In exalting the specialist, we are repeating the error of the schoolmen, who confounded erudition, which dries up the soul, with real wisdom, which expands man into the image of the All-Wise. We do not

produce our true proportion of great men, for the reason that we permit our youth to specialize too soon and turn them into a jungle of courses taught by specialists, in which they get facts instead of genuine wisdom.—James Munroe, *Pop. Sci. Mon.*, October, 1908. F. F.

The General Housework Employee.—Within their own intimate household relations, many women have the situation of employer and employee, the responsibility of hours, wages, and sanitary conditions, with the opportunity of expressing the ethical ideals of business which are demanded of employers in factory and shop. Home-makers are in competition with factory and store, and should realize that there must be some reason why these industries have plenty of workers while the demand for household employees is always greater than the supply, and the supply often incapable and inadequate. Trade schools must be started for domestic employment as for factory and shop, with an agreement between employers and graduates as to the basis of hours and wages, and that the employee should live at home or in working-girls' clubs.—Isabel Kimball Whiting, *Outlook*, August 15, 1908. F. F.

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THE EVOLUTION OF RELIGION FROM THE PSYCHOLOGICAL POINT OF VIEW¹

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The subject-matter of the psychology of religion consists not only of the states of consciousness called religious, but also of all objective expressions of those states as seen in rituals, ceremonies, and other religious activities. That these latter phenomena properly come within the sphere of the psychologist, will be the more evident when it is shown that they are not merely the expressions of a pre-existing religious consciousness, but have also been of primary importance in the very development of that consciousness itself. The trend of modern psychology is toward the view that an act is not merely the reflex of a psychical state, but that the psychical state is as truly the reflex of an earlier act.² If such is the case, the evolution of any variety of conscious attitude must be intimately connected with the accompanying overt activity of the being in question. That is to say, the overt activity is not only the index of the hidden internal states of consciousness, it is also a factor of prime importance in the very production of these states. In the light of these facts,

¹ This article is the first section in an extended study made by the writer in primitive religious development.

² Cf. John Dewey, "The reflex are concept," *Psychological Review*, Vol. III. No. 3. Vide also James' theory of emotion, *Principles of Psychology*; and *Studies from the Yale Psychological Laboratory*, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 199 ff.

we may define the problem of the pages which follow as that of showing how the religious consciousness has been built up, or differentiated, from a back-ground of overt activity and relatively objective phases of consciousness. The assumption underlying the problem is that the religious attitude of mind has had a natural history, that there was a time in the history of the race when a definite religious attitude did not exist, and that, in its genesis and in its development, it has been conditioned by the same laws according to which other mental attitudes may be described.³

The data of the psychology of religion, like those of the biological sciences, are highly complex. This is true of all religious phenomena, whether of civilized or savage, whether mental states or ritualistic observances. This complexity is susceptible of only one interpretation, namely, that it is the result of some sort of development. With no individual or people of today may we expect to find extant the truly primitive religious consciousness. Just as in the case of animal and vegetable forms, where every generation tends to be increasingly differentiated in structure and function, so with all forms of mental process in the human being. Each succeeding psychic event is the resultant of all that have preceded it. Just as it is impossible that we should find among modern unicellular organisms specimens of a true eozoon, every form of life today carrying in its body the record of untold generations of struggle and adaptation, so does every manifestation of conscious life represent a complexity from the mere fact that it has been preceded by other expressions of consciousness.

Now, though we cannot know precisely the nature of really primitive forms, we can describe with more or less exactitude many of the factors which have tended to produce complexity of structure and function; we also can often know with some precision in what the changes have consisted. This is especially

³ Cf. Nansen, "Religious ideas must be ascribed to the same natural laws which condition all other phenomena," *Eskimo Life*, p. 211; "Religious ideas must . . . be reckoned as a natural product of the human mind itself, under the influence of its surroundings," *ibid.*, p. 209.

true of biological evolution. At any rate there have been sufficiently numerous attempts to formulate the process. On the side of the evolution of conscious attitudes of various kinds, however, there is still much less clearness of formulation. In regard to religious phenomena, then, it seems necessary at the outset to raise some preliminary questions as to the nature of the evolutionary process which lies back of the religious or any other complex conscious attitude of today.

To begin with, the psychologist can hardly rest satisfied with the assumption that the religious consciousness is a development from some ultimate religious instinct or perception. Such terms are usually used very loosely by students of religious phenomena. In many cases they are simply ways of saying, under the guise of science, that the religious attitude is innate, that it develops from some original sense, or elemental power. This is certainly the thought which Müller, Tiele, and Jastrow convey by tracing religion to a perception of the infinite. Jastrow uses instinct as interchangeable with perception of the infinite. Brinton's postulate of "a religiosity of man as a part of his psychical being" is closely akin to the instinct theory.

It is only in name that such theories of religion are scientific. Evolutionary science proves pretty conclusively that instincts are not original, elemental endowments, but rather products, modes of reaction, built up in the course of, and hence definitely related to the process of organic development. They are adjustments of the organism to certain features of the physical environment that have proved of importance to it in the struggle for existence. It must be borne in mind that the fundamental thing about an instinct is that it is a mode of overt *reaction*, and that neither in its genesis, nor in its functioning, is there need for the assumption that any conscious process or processes are involved in it. If consciousness has any place in an instinctive reaction it is only as an after-effect, or especially when the instinct, under some shift of conditions, ceases to work smoothly, or fails entirely. Consciousness, in other words, is an adjusting apparatus for remedying the deficiencies of instinct.

To hold that religion is an instinct, or that it develops from

an instinct, can only mean that it is some physiological adjustment to the environment necessitated by the life process or that it is the conscious attitude aroused by the failure of such an adjustment to function properly. In either case we are involved in serious confusion. In no intelligible way can we think of the religious consciousness or religious acts as being directly related to the biological struggle for life. If religion is to be called an instinct, it certainly requires a redefinition of the term instinct. As was stated in a foregoing paragraph, however, the real thought those have meant to convey, who have applied instinct to religion, is that the latter is something original and innate in man. The use of such a term thinly disguises as scientific a notion that is entirely unscientific. The scientific mind cannot be satisfied to regard anything as innate. Its so-called ultimate data are ultimate only to the philosopher and to the unscientific. The instinct theory as described above, belongs to the philosophy and not to the psychology of religion.

There is another instinct theory of religion, the one proposed by Dr. H. R. Marshall,⁴ which at first sight seems to avoid the difficulty suggested above. He holds that religion is an instinct developed from acts useful to the race as a whole but injurious to the individual, and actually performed in the face of consciously felt self-interests. It will be seen that instinct is here conceived more scientifically than in the cases cited in the foregoing pages, but it is nevertheless open to severe criticism. It is, for instance, incredible that an instinct should have arisen which does not and never did appeal to the individual in some way, even though it brought him injury in the end. This difficulty is not relieved by Marshall's elaborate attempt to show that an instinct act is the reaction of the organism as a whole, while acts prompted by reason and self-interest are only partial reactions of the organism. This theory we cannot discuss here, further than to say that only by reading a preconceived theory into the facts can this relationship of instinct to reason be maintained.

The most serious difficulty, however, with Marshall's theory,

⁴ Henry Rutgers Marshall, *Instinct and Reason*, New York, 1899.

as it at present concerns us, is that of how one may account for the origin of religion as a *conscious attitude*, even if it be granted that it is based on a set of instinctive physical adjustments. Marshall meets the objection by holding that all nervous activity is accompanied by a measure of consciousness, and hence that an "instinct act" has, of necessity, its instinct feeling. Thus, he holds, is the complex religious attitude built up. This basis is so purely an assumption, and is so entirely gratuitous, as to be unworthy of consideration in a scientific treatment of religion. Marshall practically makes religious acts hereditary together with their conscious accompaniments, whereas observation seems to point to the conclusion that it is the ability to perform certain movements that is hereditary, and that consciousness follows only under special circumstances.

We ourselves shall try to show that the religious attitude is evolved from a matrix of activities of a certain kind, but that it bears a direct functional relationship to these activities and is not *merely* their parallelistic accompaniment. We gain nothing and explain nothing by saying that religious acts are in some way advantageous to the race and then assuming what is really the main problem, i. e., that the complicated religious consciousness is already present if the instinct acts called religious are present. The problem is *to show how and why, given certain acts, that the religious consciousness, or attitude has been built up*. The attempt to conceive religion after the analogy of an organic instinct not only does not bring us to the main problem, but even tends to make us ignore it.

A word further should be said regarding the theories that conceive religion as developed from some primitive *sense* or *perception*. After asserting that religion originates in man's perception of the infinite, Jastrow continues:

The further question . . . how man comes to possess *power* to attain to a perception of the Infinite, is one that transcends the limits of historical investigation, which is required only to answer the question of how the power is brought into action. The power itself, like the religious instinct, the emotional possibilities, the unsatisfied longings, and the intellectual phases of his nature, forms part of man's equipment, from which every science connected with man necessarily starts out. Just as anthropology assumes man

to be existing and occupying the place proper to him in the universe, so historical science starts with man as a being endowed with reason, certain emotions, and certain instincts, with the capacity of thought and the power to receive impressions on his mind.⁶

It may be granted that this is a satisfactory assumption for the history of religion, but what Jastrow here presupposes, it should be the business of psychology to explain. If, however, psychology can show that the so-called perception of the infinite has a natural history and is therefore susceptible of a simpler statement, and, further, that it is not a capacity which can be placed alongside thought as an original datum, requiring only to have its manifestations traced, then historical science is bound to take account of the fact in its treatment of the subject.

Jastrow is to be criticized, not because as a historian he assumes a religious attitude as *his* starting point, but because he assumes that this is really the beginning of the whole matter as far as science goes. Thus, in harmony with his theory, he holds that there is in every one a dormant religious sense, which is aroused by various circumstances of life; for example, certain practical considerations bring "the religious emotions into play"⁶ as if they were already there and needed only to be excited to activity. This sort of explanation often passes for psychological; that it is not such, in any sense of the word, we shall trust to our exposition to prove. The naïve way in which psychological concepts are used in works on the science of religion is further illustrated by the following:

Granting that the earliest manifestations of the religious life are purely instinctive, still they are also called forth by a recognition, however faint, of the possibility of establishing proper relations between man and the universe about him.⁷

Practically everything that needs explanation is here assumed, the thought seeming to be that to use these psychological terms is to give a psychological explanation. The sentence

⁶ *The study of religion*, pp. 195, 196. Cf. Tiele, *The science of religion*, Vol. II, p. 233, "It is man's original, unconscious (!), innate sense of infinity that gives rise to his first stammering utterances of that sense, and all his beautiful dreams of the past and the future."

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 277.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 277.

above quoted seems to explain the origin thus: Man has an instinctive perception of the Infinite and an intellectual recognition of the necessity of proper adjustment to it and, presto! we have religion.

Conceptions of religion, such as those just criticized, suggest the need of a careful definition of the field to be investigated. The science of religion by failing to analyze these very things becomes trivial. We can make little progress in understanding the evolution of religion until we have a more definite notion of the exact nature of the content with which we are dealing. Entirely aside from questions of origin, the fact of religion of any kind in certain individuals implies some sort of conscious states. These conscious states, whatever else they are, may be described in part at least as valuational.⁸ The religious consciousness may be called a valuating attitude toward something real or imagined. By an attitude is meant an organization of various mental capacities in a definite way about certain situations, or problems of life. Attitudes are correlated with the situations, not in the sense that they are results, but simply in that a reaction to the situation necessitates such an organization of mental elements on the part of the individual. It would follow, if a situation could be presented fully to both a savage and a civilized man, that the psychological adjustments of each would be much the same, differences being due chiefly to variations in physical capacity. Thus the man of culture might enjoy the subtle colors of a great painting more than the savage simply because his nervous system had been accustomed to respond to more delicate gradations of color, or, negatively, because it had not been debauched by coarse stimulation. The difference of reaction would hence be chiefly due to the degree of physical adaptability.

Thus we have complex aesthetic attitudes, intellectual attitudes, scientific attitudes, attitudes toward government, as the democratic, the monarchical, the socialistic; attitudes toward marriage, family life, education, and so on almost indefinitely, and among others of these organizations of disposition and ability to react, is the *religious attitude*. As such it involves an

⁸ Hoeffding, *Philosophy of Religion*.

emotional recognition of values of some kind, an intellectual tendency to affirm or deny them, and a positive inclination to act in some way or other with reference to them. Generically, religion does not differ from many other attitudes which may also be described as valuational. A part of our problem is to determine how it may be differentiated from them. We shall further attempt to trace the origin and development of the sense of value in general, and of this sense of value in particular.

We are surely not compromising ourselves for a genuine scientific discussion by offering such a preliminary conception of religion. We choose to call it an attitude because it involves a recognized emotional appreciation of the conceived values and a tendency to act in some way regarding them.

This is probably the psychological truth in the conceptions of Müller, Tiele, and Jastrow, referred to in the preceding paragraphs. The perception of the Infinite, if it means anything at all, must refer to the feeling for some sort of value. Perception, as the term occurs here, is evidently not used in a psychological sense, but rather as an attitude assumed toward something recognized in some way to exist or to be true. When Jastrow says that there is at least some recognition in man of the possibility of establishing proper relations between himself and the universe, he undoubtedly refers to a genuine conscious state which, as psychologists, we must regard as an aspect of this evaluating attitude. This also is evidently the meaning of the words of Tiele, quoted on a preceding page. "Why," he asks in another place, "is man discontented with his condition and surroundings?"⁹ If he is dissatisfied, we should say it is probably because he has some notion of values which he has not yet fully realized. Even supposing that men have God revealed to them, why should they try to put themselves in relation to him?¹⁰ This question suggests that religion is not merely a belief in some fact of the universe, but that it also involves appreciation and adjustment, the appreciation of values and an active attitude toward them.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 228.

¹⁰ Cf. Tiele, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

There have been many attempts to find the common element of the various religions of the world, but with small success. The idea of a god or deity, is certainly not universal, nor is there any other objective content or belief which can be selected as such. The common element, if there is one, must rather be sought on the psychic side, in the form of some sort of attitude or disposition which can be properly called religious. An examination of all religions, whether of savage or of civilized peoples, reveals in them all an appreciative attitude toward some sort of values. These may range from the secret names and the sacred bull-roarers of the Australians to the conception of a divine organization of the universe, demanding of every individual purity of heart and the most upright conduct.

The feeling for worth, or value, might well be judged a primary psychic element. Perhaps it is not as primitive as mere feeling or cognition, but at any rate it is a relatively simple conscious state, the genesis and development of which can be traced with some assurance. There are, of course, many values that are not religious, and there are therefore many value attitudes which have no religious significance. One of the first problems will then be that of determining the circumstances under which religious attitudes have acquired definite demarkation from other conscious states involving a sense of value.

It should be clearly understood before proceeding farther exactly what is referred to by the term *value*. The value element of an experience is sometimes set over against what is called the existential. That is to say, an experience has a certain content, of sensation, feeling, and image, perhaps, all of which forms the existential side. This content, however, may serve a variety of purposes, and hence have different values, just as a tool, such as a hammer, may contribute toward the realization of different ends and so have different degrees of worth. This distinction applies to religious states of mind. Thus Professor James says, "Every religious phenomenon has its history and its derivation from natural antecedents...the existential facts (however) by themselves are insufficient for determining the value; and the best adepts of the higher criticism ac-

cordingly never confound the existential with the spiritual problem."¹¹ The content of a religious experience may be regarded as one thing and its dynamic qualities with reference to the universe in which it occurs, as another. Whether existence and worth can thus be held apart in an ultimate analysis is a deeper question that the psychologist may, for the time being, leave unconsidered. But there is an aspect of worth, or value, which does concern him, namely, the *consciousness of value*. Along with the existential elements, referred to above, there is also the feeling (I use the term in the popular sense) that they have a certain value or meaning. They may not *actually have this value at all*, but that is entirely immaterial to the psychologist. The "feeling" of worth, or significance, is there, however, and may be regarded as one of the given elements of the conscious state and, as such, it should be accounted for. It is important that these two sides of the question be ever clearly distinguished. The one is really a metaphysical problem, and depends for its solution upon the nature of the relationship existing between the different parts of the universe. While we do not deny that the answer may be sought from a psychological point of view, the latter problem, that of the feeling for value itself, is the one which concerns us in this study.

An analysis of values is the chief task of the psychology of religion. As far as psychology can deal with the evolution of religion, it should inquire how the valuating attitude arose, how it developed, the causes which lead it to take this form and that, why, for instance, it is found variously stated in terms of deities or ideals, ancestors, spirits, forces of nature, culture-heroes, and the like. Whatever else there is about religion will be comparatively easy to explain, when we have once reached an understanding regarding its conceptions of worth.

The statement was made above that the organizations of consciousness, described as attitudes, bear a definite relation to overt conditions. We turn now to examine this point, and to show that the objective conditions possess positive psychological value for the student of the evolution of religion. If the religious

¹¹ *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, pp. 4, 5.

attitude is a construct, as here assumed, we are bound to study it, not only with reference to the people who lay claim to it, but also with reference to its so-called expressions in all possible objective avenues.

It will be interesting to examine this point first and briefly on the side of general mentality. To what extent does the complex mental life of the modern man represent an absolute increase in mental capacity and to what extent is it related to the development of external situations affording opportunity for increasingly complex types of mental activity? As far as mental capacity, *per se*, is concerned, the natural races of today are not apparently inferior to the culture races. If this is the case, it has important bearings upon the question of what sort of evolution, if any, has taken place in the religious consciousness of man.

Let us follow up the question a little farther on the side of mentality in general. Anthropological literature contains much material that is favorable to the view that the absolute mental status of the primitive races of today is comparatively high. Thus:

With the development of the special organs of sense, memory, and consequent ability to compare present experiences with past, with inhibition or the ability to decline to act on a stimulus, and, finally, with abstraction, or the power of separating general from particular aspects, we have a condition where the organism sits still, as it were, and picks and chooses its reactions to the outer world; and by working in certain lines, to the exclusion of others, it gains in its turn control of the environment and begins to reshape it.¹²

And further:

In respect to brain structure and the more important mental faculties, we find that no race is radically unlike the others.¹³

The fact that the modern savage, taken in his accustomed environment, does not seem inferior to the civilized man in memory, abstraction, inhibition, mechanical ingenuity, lends plausibility to the theory that progress has been in other ways than in mere increase of mental capacity as such.

¹² W. I. Thomas, *Sex and Society*, p. 252.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 272.

The mental capacity of different people and different peoples may be much alike, while their actual mental activity varies widely. This is due to difference in stimulating conditions, or opportunity. It is in this respect that the civilized man differs from the savage, and it is also probably in this respect that the modern man differs most from the primitive man, after the human type of mentality was once established in him. Psychic evolution, after the first dawn of self-consciousness, has been, in other words, chiefly an evolution of situations stimulating to certain types of activity, disposition, and attitude. A man of the white race stands on a vast objective accumulation of culture, of the products of intellect. He can do complicated things with intricate machinery because there is a complicated mechanical environment to stimulate him. He can think subtle trains of thought because there is such a thought environment, in which he may place himself if he so desires. His psychic life is a more or less direct counterpart of the organization of the world about him. As Professor Thomas says:

The fundamental explanation of the difference in the mental life of two groups is not that the capacity of the brain to do work is different, but that the attention is not in the two cases stimulated and engaged along the same lines. Whenever society furnishes copies and stimulations of a certain kind, a body of knowledge, and a technique, practically all its members are able to work on the plan and scale in vogue there, and members of an alien race, who become acquainted in a real sense with the system, can work under it. But when society does not furnish the stimulations, or when it has preconceptions which tend to inhibit the run of attention in given lines, then the individual shows no intelligence in these lines.¹⁴

On widely different planes of culture, the difference is not one of mental powers involved, the savage having the same faculties as does the civilized, but rather in the direction of their use.

These considerations regarding the evolution of mentality in general may be applied directly to the development of religious attitudes. Each new generation has a certain environment passed on to it and consequently certain possibilities of reaction. An environment, social and natural, may be said to have correlated with it a certain type of mental activity, especially on the part of

¹⁴ Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 282.

those who are born in it. If one generation after another continues in a given type of situation and reacts to it in about the same way, we may be sure that the mental concomitants will continue generally the same. Conscious rather than instinctive reaction is, of course, here referred to. What is transmitted from generation to generation is, then, certain sorts of reactions or conditions which provoke such reactions. The mental states accompanying these reactions, all their emotional values, and the entire set of psychic dispositions associated therewith, may be said to be transmitted by social heredity.

We are not here concerned with the problem of why the external opportunities are greater among some peoples than among others, but rather simply to show that complexity of psychic life depends on opportunity afforded for its exercise; and further that this complexity is not necessarily bred into the race; that is, it does not become a part of its original, or instinctive nature. Given the same external environment and the same stimulating problems, each new generation, as it reacts, finds itself in possession of the attitudes and dispositions of its predecessors.

The chief problem of the evolution of religion may then be restated as that of showing how situations affording opportunity for certain types of reaction have been built up. Can there then be a psychology of religious development? We answer in the affirmative, because in analyzing these situations we are stating the objective conditions for the appearance of the religious attitude. Whatever may be possible in the way of an analysis of the mental attitude *per se*, must rest ultimately upon the recognition of the objective conditions of its appearance. These pass on from one generation to another and are the means of keeping alive, or of arousing the mental concomitants.

The religious consciousness is, then, first of all an attitude rather than an instinct or a "perception."¹⁵ It is an attitude toward certain values, imagined or real. It is, moreover, an attitude which may truly be said to have been gradually evolved,

¹⁵ It is possible that those who hold that it is the latter would maintain that they were quite willing to call it an attitude. If so, we should probably nevertheless differ on the question of its origin.

and yet its presence in any given individual is largely a matter of social heredity. The present writer can see no reason for assuming that any attitude or disposition, even the aesthetic or religious, has in any sense been bred into the race as an instinct. The fact that there is no material difference in the intellectual faculties of widely separate stages of culture seems to point unquestionably to the view that the seeming differences are the result of the objective accumulation of certain kinds of stimuli. If space permitted, abundant evidence could be adduced to prove that the presence or absence of these secondary forms of consciousness, for example, the aesthetic, is, in the case of the masses of any people, dependable upon social suggestion in some form or other. This view of the matter in no sense depreciates the finer elaborations of consciousness. It simply regards them as constructions rather than as original traits.

Thus far little or no proof has been offered in support of our theory that the religious consciousness belongs to the attitudes and is not a primary manifestation of psychic life. We shall have, however, to depend upon the entire discussion of the chapters which follow for such proof. If the conception proves to be one that can be better utilized than any other it may be regarded as fairly well established, at least.

There has been a tendency on the part of some to separate sharply the psychology of religion from the ethnology of religion, and from all aspects of the history of religious practices and observances. Thus, it has been held that the psychological study deals with "the feelings, the thoughts, the desires, the impulses (as far as they enter into religion), while the historical and social study deals with the results of these desires, thoughts, and feelings, when they have been transformed in a process of social consolidation and set up as *objects* of belief (doctrines, beliefs), or as modes of worship (rites and ceremonials) The most important remark to be made concerning these two classes of facts is that the former owes its existence to the latter; corporate religion owes its existence to the individual religious experiences, in the same sense as a political organization to the individuals composing it. Beliefs and ceremonials are, in a way,

higher products resulting from the elemental experiences of the individual."¹⁶ The assumption, in other words, is that religious states of mind exist first of all in the individual, and that only later do they objectify themselves in the social group. The same author says, "...the Psychology of Religion deals with the formative elements of corporate religion, while the History of Religion deals with the complex products."¹⁷

The primacy of the subjective state, as here assumed, may well be questioned. The analogy between religion with its objective manifestations and the individual and political organization is certainly fallacious.¹⁸ The question here is not as to whether a certain type of overt process presupposes the existence of individual agents. That, of course, goes without saying. The question is rather as to the relationship between the external act and the internal attitude. It is so evidently true in adult life that action follows thought, that it is difficult to think of the mental state as any other than primary. But, as suggested in the early part of this chapter, the mental state is just as truly connected with the preceding active state as it is with the one which follows. In fact it is due to something in what precedes, that mental activity of some sort comes to be at all. Unquestionably, instinctive and reflex action is more primitive than consciousness or consciously directed activity. The appearance of the latter may be taken as evidence that the reflex or habitual equipment of the organism has proved insufficient to meet all the demands of the environment that are requisite to life. Whether we are able to state with precision all the terms in the relationship between overt mechanically controlled action and that which is consciously directed, it is certainly safe to assume that the conscious processes are truly of the nature of specializations within the primitive reactions, rendering possible the attainment of more complex results or ends. The various types of mental

¹⁶ James Leuba, "Introduction to the Psychology of Religion," *The Monist*, Vol. XI, p. 197.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 197, 198.

¹⁸ Professor Leuba has read this discussion and states that his position was taken with quite a different problem in mind. We retain the criticism, however, for the sake of bringing out our own point more clearly.

contents may be regarded as moments, or phases in the differentiation of the instinctive or habitual act. They stand for certain stages in the separation of the stimulus from the response, or for certain types of tension which have arisen in the simpler and, at most, not acutely conscious activities. Consequently, all such mental elements as ideas, emotions, and volitions, or whatever else we may choose to call them, are products rather than original data, a fact which must be borne in mind in all discussions involving them. That is, mental processes are in some way differentiations out of previous overt activity, as well as the causes of some kind of subsequent activity.¹⁹

In general, a complicated, intensive, active life demands, and has a complicated psychic accompaniment. To see that this is true, we need only compare the amount of mental activity required by the modern captain of finance or industry with that necessary to the rustic who is far removed from the active stress of life. The circle of ideas, the comprehension of human nature, the ability to execute complicated acts is immeasurably greater in one than in the other, and shall we doubt that the contrast is due to the difference in the situation faced by the two? If it is urged that there is very probably a native capacity in one that is not in the other, we reply that even that native capacity has been selected and enhanced by just such stimulating environments. However, if there is no difference in *mental capacity, per se*, there is certainly more *mentality* where there is greater opportunity for its use.

On the side of race development, it may be said that the complex mental states of the modern man, his almost unlimited powers of ideal combination and construction, his elaborate concepts and his ability to utilize them in subtle trains of thought, his desires, his judgments of worth, his feeling attitudes, varying from the simplest recognition of pleasure and pain to the appreciation of the most refined aesthetic, moral, and religious values, have been made possible by the active attitude he has assumed to-

¹⁹ For a fuller discussion of these points, with illustrations from child psychology, the reader is referred to the author's work, *The Psychology of Child Development*, 2d ed., pp. 92-105.

ward the world and his fellow men. This active attitude, this impulse to grapple with something is primary, while the subjective states of the individual seem to be products.

The principles just stated are applicable not only to the development of psychic life itself in both individual and race, but also to the more complex forms of psychic life, which we have called attitudes, or dispositions. Thus the aesthetic, the religious, the scientific, and the domestic attitudes are moments in the development of more and more complicated types of reaction. To what extent these attitudes were thus bred into the race, it is impossible to say. As shown earlier in this chapter, their appearance in the individual is so intimately associated with the character of the social environment that it is entirely probable that social heredity plays a preponderating part in their appearance in succeeding generations. *The objective conditions which first produced them are passed on, and each new generation thus falls into a certain mould, finds itself stimulated to certain kinds of activities.* The channels for the expression of its impulses being thus more or less predetermined, it is inevitable that the same conscious attitudes should appear as were possessed by the generation preceding it.

In view of these general principles, it may well be asked whether religious practices, which some authors consign entirely to the sphere of history, have not positive psychological value. It is true that the overt practices, the rituals, as we see them, are to a certain extent the outcome of earlier subjective states. But that this is the case with primitive rituals is another question. The tendency today, among students of primitive life, is to regard all such customs as in large measure the products of a relatively unconscious evolution.²⁰ The customs, the rituals, the language of primal man, were definitely related to the situations and problems which touched his life. Since they are the development on the side of the human being of these situations, may we not go farther and hold that, far from being merely the expression of the religious attitudes of groups of individuals, they were and are in a very genuine sense the causes and sustainers

²⁰ Cf. Dewey & Tufts, *Ethics*, pp. 52 f.

of these attitudes? In other words the position here assumed, and which can be justified only through the entire series of chapters which follow, is this: However much it may be possible to analyze the fully developed religious consciousness in isolation, genetically it must be considered along with these objective conditions which it is related to, not as cause, but as effect.

Some such position as here taken is the logical outcome of the rejection of religion as an instinct or as something original and innate. From such a point of view, the evolution of religion becomes a definite branch of social psychology, and is capable of investigation according to strictly scientific methods. To make the objective manifestations of religion positive factors in the development of the psychic state called religious, will not only render each more intelligible, but will help to a better understanding of the relation between ancient and modern types of religion. From such a point of view we shall be led to say that there is no such thing, for instance, as a detached sense of duty, or of sin, which is applied here and there as opportunity may offer or render appropriate, but rather that these feelings represent certain crises in action, and that the character of the preceding action has been of direct importance in the determination of the character of the resulting conscious states. This is certainly true of the child's first sense of duty. Adult society furnishes the atmosphere which interprets the emotional values felt by children, and which builds up the complicated social attitudes such as are named above. To what extent could a child be taught, or have imparted to him a sense of duty or a sense of affection or of remorse aside from contact with the real situations of life? His moral and religious sentiments are the products of, and the evidences of, the ways he has reacted toward life.

INDUSTRIAL INSURANCE

XII

SURVEY AND OUTLOOK

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There are already, as we have seen in the preceding chapters, various systems of industrial insurance in the United States which witness to the universal sense of need of such protection even among those workers who have least developed habits of thrift. These imperfect and unrelated schemes are yet to be developed, co-ordinated, regulated, and combined so as to form a consistent, comprehensive, and adequate system. The hope of progress lies in these germinal beginnings, and the problem immediately before the nation is one of synthesis. Evolution does not make great leaps, for even the "sports" which figure in the "mutation theory" of DeVries are closely akin to the parent stock.

Is universal insurance an economic possibility? A complete answer to this question would require extended discussion. A few things may be suggested. The profit fund could carry a very large share of the burden, as shown by the fact that employers are marvelously prosperous, and by the fact that even now, though in a very uncertain way, they set apart a vast sum for helping workmen in times of disability in the form of contributions to sickness funds, hospitals, physicians, and gifts to families in distress, not to speak of taxes for public relief and enormous costs for casualty insurance and litigation, which is now waste. The wages fund could bear a much heavier drain for insurance if we can judge from the immense sums spent by workmen for objects which are destructive to health and morals. It is true that the unskilled workmen have no margin for adequate insurance, and those who cannot supply even the immediate necessities of existence can hardly be expected to provide for the future without help from the profit fund and from consumers.

Systems and schemes of industrial insurance.—(1) The workingmen have themselves created organizations for insurance, and thereby express a universal sense of need of this protection: local mutual benefit societies, with or without aid from employers, national brotherhoods or fraternal, and trade-unions with local branches. (2) Employers have promoted the movement by various methods: local societies of employees, insurance departments of great firms or corporations, contracts between firms and casualty companies, pension schemes of employing corporations. (3) Private insurance companies which sell sickness and accident insurance to workmen, "industrial insurance companies" collecting small premiums weekly or monthly, and furnishing chiefly burial benefits to the low-paid families and regular life insurance to those who have higher wages. (4) Organizations of municipal, state, and federal employees for pension funds, as those of teachers, firemen, policemen; the national and state military pensions; homes for invalid veterans. Here also may be counted as auxiliary and supplementary government activities, poor relief, liability laws, protective factory laws and inspection, and state supervision of fraternal societies and insurance corporations. Every one of these agencies and organizations represents some beginning of a movement toward obligatory insurance. The cities have already recognized their duty to care for the policemen, firemen, and teachers; and it will be difficult to answer the question of other employees of cities, many of them far more in need of protection, why they should not be included. The nation and the states have already declared it to be our duty to shelter the aged and wounded soldier, why should the victims of the "army of labor" be neglected? They also have served their country in occupations even more dangerous and destructive than war, and quite as useful. Public poor relief has already acknowledged the duty of the community to support its members who are incapable of labor; but experience has taught that this method tends to humiliate and degrade the recipients and it is manifestly better from every point of view to prevent the need of appeal to poor relief by creating an insurance fund, so far as this is possible.

The employers' liability laws recognize in a restricted field the principle that the responsible managers of business should indemnify employees for injuries due to the occupation, that is, so far as the employer is responsible for the injury. Perhaps 10 to 15 per cent. of the cases of injuries in occupations are theoretically covered by this legal device. The trade-unions are seeking by all means in their power, and supported by the humane feelings of the people, to make this law more and more drastic; and at least some of the courts, with their elective judges dependent on the votes of the workmen, are more and more inclined to make this law practically not only compensatory but even punitive in its working. The result in increasing numbers of cases is wrong to the employer. The juries, wherever the case is decided by them, are inclined to give the employee the benefit of the law to the full extent. On the other hand, the employers are compelled to pay heavy premiums to protect themselves against an artificial risk created by the law itself, and these premiums are already a charge on the cost of production and levied in the prices of commodities upon the consumer. The intervention of a casualty company under these conditions not only widens the breach between employers and employees, but it tends to make the insuring companies, who are doing a legitimate business, exceedingly hated by the employees and their friends. This conflict tends to lower the efficiency of labor, the productivity of capital, and to crowd the courts with damage suits which obstruct ordinary business of courts. The time seems ripe for a change of the law. Logically factory laws and protective legislation generally lead to industrial insurance. If it is proper for the state to require employers to prevent preventable accidents then it is a rational function of government to secure indemnity for loss of earning power caused by occupations. Up to this time it cannot be said that American states have any definite "social policy." Legislation has been modified here and there by the modern conception that the state owes certain duties toward those who are in an economic position of dependence; but this progress has been gained in spite of the ruling social philosophy of individualism. Outside of the poor

law and the employers' liability law, with certain factory regulations, the law has offered to the workingman chiefly empty formulas about liberty of contract which had no economic content to fill their phrases with real meaning. Why have the states been so slow to enter the modern path of a genuine "social policy," in which the welfare of those in a semi-dependent economic position has been made the distinct object of public care? The employers' liability laws, the poor relief laws, and the public schools are indications of a growing belief in the right direction, but the logic of such organizations is not clearly recognized and appreciated. The reasons have already been discussed. Free land, to be had for asking and taking, has until recently offered to any man who did not wish to be in a subordinate position the opportunity of becoming a landlord and a capitalist, taking the risks of life on his own account; and hence it was thought America had forever escaped the formation of an "industrial group" whose members were to remain, and their children after them, in the situation of persons living day by day on daily wages. Individualism ruled our ethics, economics, theology, legislation, courts, and politics. The strife between trade-unions, fraternal, and profit-seeking insurance corporations has, perhaps, prolonged the difficulty of forming a united public policy. One great difficulty in the way of obligatory and universal insurance lies in the fact that our central government has so limited constitutional powers in this field. The manufacturers of Massachusetts opposed the compensation bill proposed in their legislature on the ground that it would handicap them in competing with manufacturers of other states. It is a long and weary way to unified and harmonious legislation to secure it by conference and agreement; the commissions appointed to promote uniform legislation have only advisory powers. There is no prospect that a constitutional amendment permitting Congress to enact a national insurance law could be secured. Congress has already exercised its constitutional powers in the field of interstate commerce by enacting rather drastic liability law for railroads, with results still in question, and certainly not satisfactory to any party involved. Dr. Zacher (Heft XVI of his *Arbeiterversicherung*

in *Auslande*, p. 6) has said of European countries what is applicable with full force to the United States: A survey of the tables of statistics in the *Guide to Workingmen's Insurance in the German Empire*, which shows the plans and results of industrial insurance in European countries, shows one immediately that those lands have approached most nearly the ideal of care for all working people which have committed themselves to compulsory insurance. With compulsory insurance laws the end is reached in a comparatively short time; while even with state subsidies voluntary plans have failed to help a part of the population imperfectly and those who most need the protection of insurance not at all. Our problem is essentially the legal question: how can we introduce obligatory insurance in this country without conflict with our written constitutions and with the traditions of the courts?

The problems of organization and administration might be difficult, but they would not be insoluble if the legal way could be opened. As all acknowledge, American institutions have shown a wonderful power to adapt themselves to new social demands and the inventive talent of the people goes into administration. Life in contact with nature made the pioneers ready to confront new situations without much regard for unfit precedents, and their spirit is not dead. As for courts, we have in the county courts, whose judges are chosen directly by the people, a popular, fair, trusted, and capable agency for deciding many of the questions which would arise in the interpretation and application of a new law. Their records would have public faith and their quarters would be convenient for the archives of agreements and statistics. Our experience with the new juvenile courts proves that our judiciary can easily rise above the routine of meaningless procedure when occasion requires and their hands are free. From early times various public duties have been assigned to local courts, as supervision of prisons and jails, poorhouses, and semi-philanthropic functions; and it would not be an absolute novelty if they were given some supervision over the judicial management of insurance business requiring regularity and legal instruction. A rational insurance law would clear the dockets

of a vast amount of hopelessly confusing damage suits and make room for the far more satisfactory and easy business of mediating without process in applying the principles of insurance. This would be a noble social function for judges.

Each state has already its insurance department which has supervisory and even administrative powers within state limits. The commissioners are supposed to be insurance experts, or to employ experts, and they have annual conferences and constant correspondence in relation to uniform methods of inspection and control. Every insurance company must now render reports to this insurance department, and it would be merely an extension of such departments if they were to be intrusted with collecting statistics about accidents, industrial diseases, fraternities, decisions of liability suits, and all schemes of compulsory industrial insurance. This department could also act, if necessary, as the depository of reserve funds, as it already does in case of certain insurance corporations whose principal office is outside the state.

The subject of industrial insurance has long been discussed as a burning question among charity workers. Visitors among the poor, residents of social settlements, officers of relief societies could not fail to discover that thousands of families fall a burden upon charity, a burden too heavy for their funds, in consequence of the disability or death of workingmen on whom the families were dependent. Even if the charitable societies could raise enough money to meet the need the distribution of charity would be humiliating and degrading on a vast scale. It is also the intelligent charity visitor who discovers the frightful cost and the entire inadequacy of existing methods of trying to provide benefits through the agencies described above. Those who have organized the movement to combat tuberculosis have come upon the discovery that industrial insurance is the only method thus far devised for providing a fund for the care of the afflicted and for establishing preventive means on a large foundation (thus Dr. A. C. Klebs, medical director of the Chicago Anti-Tuberculosis Society, article in *American Journal of Sociology*, September, 1906). The National Conference of Charities and

Correction, which counts among its members representatives of all forms of philanthropic enterprises, in the year 1901 appointed a committee to study and report on the methods of industrial insurance in this country and abroad, with a view to educating public sentiment on the subject. This committee made reports which may be found in the proceedings for 1905 and 1906, and the subject was so deeply interesting to the members that the same committee was kept in existence and requested to follow the subject in future reports. Various charity organizations have made local investigations into the extent and causes of poverty due to accidents and diseases of industries, and in publishing the results in the magazine *Charities and Commons* have urged the necessity of protection through some form of insurance.

We may describe the actual situation in a typical city with large industrial population in order to set forth the facts in more concrete form.²

Michigan City is a rapidly growing manufacturing town of Indiana situated on the Indiana port of Lake Michigan and near to Chicago. The population is composed chiefly of workingmen and their families, German, Scandinavian, Slavic, and Italian. The Barker Car Works employ 2,500 men; the Ford and Johnson Chair Factories employ 1,200 men and boys. There are many women wage-earners in small factories. There are about 500 railroad employees. Mr. Bill found four classes of beneficiary associations: fraternal life insurance orders, fraternal benefit orders not furnishing life insurance, parish mutual benefit societies, and workingmen's mutual benefit societies. He also found casualty companies and burial benefit companies ("industrial insurance"). (1) Fraternal societies or orders furnishing life insurance are governed by state laws. In this town 20 orders are represented by 26 lodges. The membership of each lodge varies from 15 to 300; the majority having 75 to 150. Inquiry was made to discover the ratio of wage-earners in the membership. In one lodge of the Maccabees, with a membership of 300, 60 were business men, 12 farmers, 9 professional,

² The facts are furnished from a yet unpublished paper of Mr. Ingram E. Bill, Jr.

219 skilled workmen with good wages. In a lodge of the North American Union having 297 members, over 50 were laborers, earning not more than \$2 a day. A lodge of the Modern Woodmen, with a membership of 210, had 193 wage-earners, 80 per cent. of whom receive \$1.50 to \$2 per day. In a lodge of the Royal Arcanum, generally regarded as a strong and safe order, 75 per cent. were workmen, and 20 per cent. of all did not earn more than \$2 per day. In the lodges composed of women nearly all lived upon wages. (2) The fraternal orders which do not furnish life insurance, but only sickness, accident, and funeral benefits, are not so numerous or strong as the others just described. In the Odd Fellows lodges, about 75 per cent. are wage-earners. In sickness they pay \$4 a week benefits and \$1.50 a day for nurse hire; the funeral benefit is \$100. The Order of Eagles is composed chiefly of artisans and professional men; few are low-paid laborers. The dues are 50 cents a month; the sick benefits \$5 a week, for 13 weeks; and the funeral benefit is \$100. The Order of Mutual Protection, the North American Union, and the Foresters provide a permanent disability benefit which is 10 per cent. annually of the amount of the death benefit. (3) In one factory with 600 to 700 employees there is a mutual benefit society with about 350 members. The members must be over 14 years of age and under 45, in good health and of moral character. The dues are 90 cents a quarter; in case of disability due to accident or sickness a weekly benefit of \$5 is paid for 16 weeks. The employers are said to contribute to this society, but no definite amount is mentioned. Wages are usually under \$2 a day. (4) In the Catholic and Lutheran parishes aid societies exist. The St. John's German Lutheran society was founded in 1855; has 260 members, mostly workingmen. The dues are \$6 a year; the benefits during disability from accident or sickness are \$8 a week; death benefit, \$800.

The immigrants more recently arrived, as the Italians, Syrians, and Turks, have not yet established mutual benefit societies. Among these the industrial companies send energetic agents who collect large sums in the aggregate for high premiums; but the burial benefits are meager.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS IN RELATION TO EACH METHOD OF
INSURANCE

Sickness insurance.—The present organs of sickness insurance are: local mutual benefit societies, lodges of the trade-unions and fraternal societies, relief departments of railroads, and casualty companies. Naturally this form of insurance is most widely developed among the workmen of cities. Everywhere the organization is voluntary, unless we may speak of constraint to enter the relief departments and other similar arrangements as a condition of employment as compulsion. The local societies are seldom united in groups, and each bears its burden alone. Central direction and supervision by the state are unknown. The lodges of the fraternal societies and of some of the trade-unions work under control from a central legislature. The administration of the relief departments is in the hands of committees representing both employers and employees. Those who simulate sickness are discovered by medical examination, or by visits of committees. None of these agencies rests on a strictly scientific basis approved by actuaries. Even the rates of the insurance companies rest chiefly on empirical foundations, may be changed at any time, and are determined largely by competition. Frequently the companies regard each other with such suspicion that a common registration is said to be impossible; a fact much to be regretted, since a comparison of experience would aid in giving the movement the light of the widest and most varied experience. For the settlement of disputes between members and the directors, or between holders and companies the courts are open; but this is a way too costly and tedious to be taken into consideration. It would be one of the advantages of compulsory insurance that the state could provide a simple and inexpensive arrangement for hearing and deciding cases impartially.

Accident insurance.—The employers' liability law remains in its ancient limits; it is behind the British compensation act of 1897 and much farther behind the German insurance law of 1884. The principle that social care in any explicit way is a duty of the community has never been openly recognized. The in-

jured man stands at once over against his employer as an enemy seeking damages even of a punitive character. Before he can recover damages he must prove, with the presumption against him, that the injury can be traced to the negligence of the employer and is actually due to such negligence. Compulsory insurance or even compensation is not a part of the legal provisions. Voluntary organizations, fragmentary and unfair in character, are further developed with the railroads than elsewhere. In agriculture there is hardly a discoverable attempt in this direction.³ The railroads have generally sought to insure their employees either through agreements with casualty companies or by relief departments; but the employees must carry the greater part of the burden. The employers in other dangerous trades have often organized accident insurance, but generally the schemes load the employees with premiums, cover only a part of the real loss, and lack full actuarial basis. There is nowhere state supervision, or direction, no obligation to insure, no unity or uniformity of method; mostly anarchy. The administration varies with the form of organization: in the mutual benefit associations the matter is directed by a committee with officers and clerks; in the trade-unions the lodge governs the direction; and in casualty companies all is administered by the central office.

In relation to the two methods of paying benefits and indemnities it may safely be said that American practice is at variance with the judgment of many men of experience. The temptation to squander a lump sum when indemnity is so paid is very great. Not much is left of the little fortune after a few months. Payment by instalments would seem to be far better except in rare instances. But the general custom of casualty companies, of employers' associations, and of courts is to settle a case of death or total disability as soon as possible by payment of a sum agreed upon by compromise. The relief departments, however, for temporary disability, pay a certain sum by the week

³ And yet agriculture bids fair to be reckoned among dangerous trades; the introduction of steam-driven machinery increases accidents. Bailey, *Modern Social Conditions*, pp. 247, 291, citing *Twelfth Census of U. S.*, 1902, Vol. III, p. 262 ff.; Zacher, *Arbeiterversicherung im Auslande*, Heft XVI, p. 18; *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften*, Bd. VII, p. 260, "Unfallstatistik."

or month during the period of need, and this is true of casualty companies.

Payment of income of funds.—In the relief departments of railroads and in the casualty companies the fund is provided by payment of premiums at intervals in advance. No example has been found of groups of employers federated to provide accident insurance; and, indeed, the motive is lacking for such organization. It is significant that employers have organized such associations for fire insurance, in competition with the companies, and these seem to have worked well. The assessment plan of payment is customary in some life insurance companies, in fraternal societies, and in trade-unions, certain sums being levied at a death or at intervals during the year. In settlement of disputes we have only contracts, conferences, and, in the last resort, the law suit.

Old age and invalidism.—A few of the trade-unions have begun to establish funds for old-age retirement benefits. The fraternal societies exhibit a serious defect at this point. Under their system they can carry life insurance only to the region of old age and then the "brother" must care for himself, a very inconsistent kind of fraternity, yet inseparable from present methods. The Mutualists of France have gone much farther in meeting this difficulty by establishing funds for old age and invalidism. Some of the railroad corporations and even private firms have founded funds for old-age pensions and this movement seems to be growing in the country. Cities have pension funds for policemen, firemen, and to some extent for teachers. The nation and the states have made the old age of veterans comfortable. It is perfectly clear that the common laborers of cities can never on present wages provide for old age without help of employers and the public; the outlook is simply hopeless. The income of the workingmen of cities is too small and too irregular to warrant any unaided attempt to provide for the last period of life. In the United States there is no example even of state subsidies to encourage voluntary associations, as in France and in Belgium. Powerful and wealthy corporations, as railroads, canals, ship builders, have not been above asking the gov-

ernment for subsidies to aid "infant industries," even when those industries have become aged and corpulent, but they would brand any attempt to subsidize old-age funds for workingmen as rank "socialism."

Mr. Frederick L. Hoffman⁴ argues against state pensions on grounds usually urged by opponents of advanced social legislation. He makes an estimate of the cost of a state old-age pension system:

Upon the basis of a careful estimate for January 1, 1908, the population of the United States aged 60 and over is 5,512,704, aged 65 and over 3,531,576 and aged 70 and over 1,981,128. . . . Adopting the estimate of a British Departmental Committee, that at ages 65 and over 32.4 per cent. would be entitled to pensions, the numbers pensionable in the United States at that age would be 1,144,230. . . . Assuming as a minimum a pension of \$5.00 a week, as the lowest amount at which support could be obtained, in conformity to the American standard of living, the annual cost to provide a pension of this amount for the probable number of aged poor at ages 65 and over throughout the country would be \$297,499,800. . . . If the age were reduced to 60, the corresponding amount would be \$464,390,160 per annum for the United States. . . . If the pension age were placed at age 70, the amount would be \$166,890,100 per annum for the United States.

Mr. Hoffman would provide guarantees in old age by security for their investments, by voluntary savings and insurance, by reliance on filial piety, and by such modifications of employers' liability laws as would make each trade carry the cost of the injury it inflicts by accident or disease.

As to the possibility of providing for old age by annuities paid for out of wages, he says:

Insurance could do much, if not most, to provide the necessary means of self-support in old age. The rational expenditures of the weekly income of American wage-earners should leave a sufficient margin to pay the premiums for an annuity beginning with age 60 or 65, according to circumstances and conditions, sufficient to meet reasonable needs in old age. If but 5 per cent. of the average income is paid out for insurance premiums, a sufficient sum can be secured which will provide as much, if not more, than the state can ever pay even under the most liberal system of old-age pensions. Let us take, for illustration, an income of \$900 per annum, 5 per cent. of which is \$45; commencing with age 30 and continuing to age 65, this sum paid to a responsible insurance company will purchase an annuity of

⁴ *Proceedings of National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1908.

\$454.09 per annum for a man, and of \$375.03 per annum for a woman. Or, to put the matter in another way, let a man begin at the age of 30 to pay annually \$42.65 and he will be entitled to receive an annuity of \$250 per annum for the remainder of his life, beginning at age 60; or, if he prefers, it will cost him only \$24.78 per annum to secure such an annuity, beginning with age 65. In the case of women the cost is somewhat greater on account of the superior expectation of life of women in old age. Let us suppose that the man is not able to commence at age 30, but that he begins to make his periodical payments at age 40, and continues for 25 years, then the cost of an annuity of \$250 per annum will be \$45.50 a year, or 6.50 per cent. of an income of \$700, or 5.05 per cent. of an income of \$900, or 3.79 per cent. of an income of \$1,200 per annum. These calculations are upon the usual plan of selling deferred annuities, and, of course, if death should occur during the intervening period the payments made would be forfeited, or accrue to the benefit of surviving co-contributors to the fund. Of course, the earlier in life the periodical payments begin, the smaller the amount required to be paid. Many other plans have been devised by which joint annuities can be purchased. A continuous instalment policy, for illustration, provides for the surviving wife in the event of the husband's death for the remainder of her life, or for the needs of children for a period of twenty years.

It is a question of historical fact whether there is any reasonable ground for expectation that the wage-earners either can or will take advantage of these methods. Some light on this matter is given in the first chapter of this series in which such data as exist have been studied. In other places Mr. Hoffman himself does not take an optimistic attitude. Thus in his paper before the New York State Conference of Charities and Correction, in 1901 (*Proceedings*, pp. 273-74), he says:

It is absolutely impossible at the present rate of wages and at the present cost of living for a workingman to save a sum sufficient to do away with all the social and economic misery of modern life. . . . The wages received by the average man are insufficient and will remain insufficient for many years to come to meet all the requirements which a healthy and happy social life imposes upon him.

Since sickness is always a remote contingency, the surplus earnings will be devoted to other purposes for the time being, rather than put aside for a possible occurrence which, however, may never take place.

(See also my paper on "Sickness and Invalid Insurance in Relation to Tuberculosis." *International Tuberculosis Congress* 1908, Washington.)

Various are the methods of providing funeral funds and life insurance. The poorest workmen of America count among their most necessary expenses the premiums which will provide money for a respectable funeral. Sickness and accident insurance come later, and the contingency of need in old age is to their imagination far more remote. The colossal sums poured annually from slender incomes into the coffers of the "industrial insurance" companies are witness of the spirit of sacrifice which is inspired by the sentiment of repugnance to burial at public expense. The benefit departments of the fraternal societies and fraternal insurance societies prove the interest of skilled artisans in providing for future want by insurance.

Comparatively little has been done for unemployment insurance. Apart from occasional gifts of cities, or hastily planned emergency works, the public has manifested no interest in this burning question. During the past years of unexampled and long-continued prosperity the occasion for such insurance has not been so clear as it would be in a period of depression. Of the trade-union methods of dealing with those out of work we have already spoken.

MUNICIPAL REVIEW 1907-1908.

CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF
Philadelphia, Pa.

In response to a recent inquiry an intelligent and thoughtful correspondent in a middle western capital replied in regard to the merchants' association there, that it was founded about a dozen years ago primarily to promote excursions to benefit the retail trade. After this, it took up and organized a credit system, with ratings of customers; then interested itself in such matters as the suppression of the smallpox epidemic and the elevation of railroad tracks. Next it organized and built an independent system to heat and light the business portion of the city, in competition with the old company. Finally, however, it was stirred up by the revelation of outrageous frauds in city and county business that had been brought to the surface by small and weak reform organizations, and this association, backed as it is by great wealth and animated by a growing patriotic spirit, has undoubtedly become one of the foremost reform agencies in the state.

It has had a curious evolution. Six or eight years ago when a devoted handful of public-spirited men were spending their time and money to oust thieves from office and put honest men in, they were unable to do more than obtain patronizing smiles from the men composing the Merchants' Association. Now, however, to quote my correspondent: "They have been baptized as by fire, and they are feeling the awakening of the public conscience and the sense of responsibility now prevailing in the United States."

The Missouri legislature, composed of many men who had been stung into bitterness and vengefulness by the keen and well-merited criticisms of the Kansas City Civic League, passed a law requiring, among other things, that all leagues, committees, associations, and societies, formed for the purpose of investigating the character, fitness and qualification of candidates

or nominees for public office, should state in full on what facts they based their report or recommendation *and give the names and addresses of all persons furnishing the information concerning such candidates or nominees, and moreover required them to state in full the information so furnished.*

This legislation was directed at the Kansas City League; but generally it had for its object the suppression of all such organizations as sought, like the Chicago Municipal Voters' League and kindred bodies, to lay, in a dispassionate way, before the voters of their respective communities the facts concerning candidates for public office.

The Supreme Court of Missouri, however, upset this clumsily devised scheme to throttle free speech, declaring the act to be unconstitutional because it was in contravention of that guaranty of the Missouri constitution that "No law shall be passed impairing the freedom of speech; and every person shall be free to say, write, or publish whatever he will, on any subject, being responsible for all abuse of that liberty." Inasmuch as the act transcended the power of the legislature, which is confined to the forbidding of blasphemy, obscenity, sedition, or defamation, it was held to be in conflict with the constitution, and therefore void.

In July last, at a time when the trend of public sentiment seemed to be against further prosecution of the San Francisco grafters, and at a time when the prosecution had been subjected to the grossest sort of abuse apparently for no other reason than it had dared to do its duty regardless of the standing or position of the men charged with crime, the President of the United States, at the exact psychological moment, wrote to Mr. Rudolph Spreckels, who had been the mainstay of District Attorney Langdon in his fight against iniquity and corruption, declaring in his letter that:

Now and then you and Mr. Heney and the others associated with you must feel down-hearted when you see men guilty of atrocious crimes who, for some cause or other, succeed in escaping punishment, and especially when you see men of wealth, of high business, and, in a sense, of high social standing, banded together against you.

My dear sir, I want you to feel that your experience is simply the experience of all of us who are engaged in this fight. There is no form of slander and wicked falsehood which will not as a matter of course be employed against all men engaged in such a struggle.

And this is not only on the part of men and papers representing the lowest type of demagoguery, but, I am sorry to say, also on the part of the men and papers representing the interests that call themselves pre-eminently conservative, pre-eminently cultured. . . .

You must battle on valiantly, no matter what the biggest business men may say, no matter what the mob may say, no matter what may be said by that element which may be regarded as socially the highest element. . . .

The most powerful ally of lawlessness and mob violence is the man, whoever he may be, politician or business man, judge or lawyer, capitalist or editor, who in any way works so as to shield wealthy and powerful wrongdoers from the consequences of their misconduct. . . .

If there can be any degree in the contemptuous abhorrence with which right-thinking citizens should regard corruption, it must be felt in its most extreme form for the so-called "best citizens," the men high in business and social life, who, by backing up or by preventing the punishment of wealthy criminals, set the seal of their approval upon crime and give honor to rich felons.

Not only were the San Francisco workers enheartened and encouraged, but every man and woman interested in the purging of our municipalities from the cancer of bribery and corruption. The San Francisco prosecutions are proceeding without abatement; public sentiment is rallying to the support of the district attorney and his assistant, Mr. Heney, and their colleagues; the women of the city are manifesting their interest by daily attendance at the trial of the former boss of the city, and, as throwing some light upon the significance and importance of their presence, we have only to note the efforts that are being made by Mr. Ruef's counsel to exclude them from the court-room, and to wear them out in their daily attendance by wearying delays.

Few men in this country have more trenchantly, successfully, or persistently exposed municipal corruption in all its various manifestations than Lincoln Steffens. A despatch from Boston, however, chronicles the fact that this keen observer and forceful writer is now staying in that city in order to make careful investigation and study of what he calls the quiet reform that is just beginning there. He is not looking for the bad things, al-

though not altogether overlooking them: his particular interest is in the methods followed by the finance commission and in the various movements that are at work there, quietly but effectively, for the creation of higher standards of municipal conduct. He has offered the opinion that these methods will prove more effective than the more noisy reforms of other cities; and he further expresses himself to the effect that the people at large in Boston have not yet awakened to the reform that is already in progress there.

Last spring the city of Grand Rapids had a revival, as it was called—a civic revival—to stir up the people of that community to a keener realization of the situation, and of their duty and obligation to improve the conditions which there existed. This revival, as one chronicler thereof puts it, had been preceded by years of patient effort that prepared the ground for the sower; but, nevertheless, while the city contained a large number of interested and public-spirited citizens able and willing to co-operate for public good, beyond them there seemed to be a thick and apparently impenetrable wall of apathy and indifference.

To break down this wall the revival was planned; and we are told that the wall has been broken; and while the parts of it are still standing, the breaches in it are too wide to permit of its ever being made whole again.

In addressing this year's convention of the League of Iowa Municipalities, Mayor Phillips, of Ottumwa, the entertaining city, declared:

We are trying to give our city, of which we are proud, a good, clean and economical government; and in our conferences together we shall gather from you, and by the experiences of our sister cities of the state in every way, that which shall make our city government still better.

For three days the mayors and councilmen of the Iowa cities (and they are a goodly number) counseled together how to improve municipal conditions and methods in that state; and what was done in Iowa by municipal officials was done in a dozen other states by the municipal officials therein, to the end that a wider degree of public interest on the part of those charged with

the duty of administering municipal affairs, has been awakened, and higher standards of efficiency established.

These instances, unrelated and uncorrelated though they are, have a deep and underlying connection, in that they are the surface manifestation of a swiftly-moving current or tendency in American municipal life. They are the straws, if you please, which show how the tide is moving; they indicate how the people of this country are waking up to their municipal duties and obligations, and how they are striving to meet them intelligently and successfully. They are not the only manifestations to be noted; but they are typical of a great mass of them, all interesting, all suggestive, and all indicative of a spirit in American life which is working mightily for an improvement of those conditions which, only a few years ago, were regarded, and very properly so, as a serious menace to the continuance of democratic institutions in our country.

To Massachusetts belongs the credit of establishing the first state division or bureau of municipal statistics. The first volume of statistics has been issued; and while considerable difficulty has been experienced in unifying and classifying the returns, nevertheless the report represents a distinct forward step. Already the work has had a beneficial effect; as it has resulted in a number of cities reconstructing their accounts on a sounder and more substantial basis. The plan of uniformity suggested by Chief Gettemy, who had charge of the work, is wholly commendable; and while its adoption may involve some temporary inconvenience to the local governments, it will eventually result in establishing standards of comparison that will be for the benefit of all concerned.

Among the interesting facts disclosed in the first year's volume are to be noted: first, that there is almost entire lack of system in handling the receipts and disbursements of the several cities and towns of the state. In many instances the financial transactions of the community are handled by a number of officers instead of by a single responsible official. It is quite likely that as a result of the report there will be an effort made to secure reform in this direction, as also in the further point of hav-

ing the fiscal years uniform. Now only about a third of the towns and cities end their fiscal year on December 31. The others are closed at different times during the calendar year.

In the second place, many defects in the treasurers' methods of accounting have been disclosed. The need for the consolidation of the administration of trust funds has been made equally obvious. The report points out that in many instances money left to the community for specific purposes has been used by the town trustees for general purposes; because it was felt that the fund was one which would never have to be repaid; and in some instances there was not even any evidence that it was a debt or obligation against the town.

Chief Gettemy, who was responsible for the gathering and reporting of the statistics, concludes his report by saying:

The first year's labor of the Bureau in this important field has been largely in the nature of missionary work, and has resulted in arousing a genuine interest throughout the commonwealth in systematic and comparable methods of municipal accounting. It is a pleasure to be able to report that the local officials have, as a rule, shown a cordial willingness to comply with the requirements of the law; and when the purpose of the act has been explained, and the desirability of keeping their accounts in a systematic, business-like, and, so far as possible, uniform manner has been pointed out, they have shown a warm interest in the subject. . . . A substantial beginning has unquestionably been made in a great reform.

The movement for uniform accounting proceeds without interruption. As was pointed out in the Massachusetts report, the organized effort toward this end, originating with the National Municipal League, was given momentum by the Bureau of the Census at Washington, and was accelerated by the action of Ohio in passing a law which provided for the systematic standardization of municipal financial reports, and by the action of the Massachusetts legislature in inaugurating a similar work in that state under the bureau of statistics, the first results of which are presented in the volume just mentioned.

Accounting investigations and reforms are being made the basis for an approach to the solution of important problems in Boston and New York, as has already been noted, and are being utilized to the same end in Minneapolis, where a comprehensive

effort is being made to secure results similar to those already achieved in the East. The point of attack in that city has been the administration of the school funds which seems to have been particularly inadequate and inefficient. A special grand jury that has been considering the whole question there, reports that it has found "a startling and deplorably loose state of affairs." In dealing with the school board, the grand jury in a formal report criticized not only the members of the board of education and their employees, but the American Book Company and its local agent, and arraigned them for their connection with the existing conditions of affairs.

Although in the judgment of those qualified to express an opinion there has not been so much rascality as incompetence in the management of the affairs, nevertheless, as the *Minneapolis Journal* points out, the showing that has been made as to the unbusinesslike and wasteful methods, to use no stronger terms, must arouse indignation. In a department expending annually a million and a half dollars, and entrusted with the conduct of "that dearest of our institutions, the public-school system," carelessness and confusion reign. Meager and inaccurate records are kept; textbooks, billed at inflated prices, are paid for without investigation or check; the whole matter having apparently been turned over by the committee nominally in charge to the secretary of the board, who is now under indictment. Provisions of the state law requiring textbook prices to be filed with the state superintendent, have been ignored for years. These are a few of the sample abuses which have been brought to light through the grand jury's investigation, which in turn was inaugurated as a result of an investigation begun under the auspices of certain public-spirited citizens and carried on by some of the trained investigators who had been at work in unearthing similar conditions on the Pacific Coast, and especially in San Francisco.

Wilmington reports that during the past year there has been a careful and thoroughgoing examination of the accounts of that city. The result is, that there has been presented, for the first time, to the taxpayers of the city, a reliable statement of the actual condition of the city's finances; and it is confidently ex-

pected that the disclosures will result in remedial legislation at the next session of the legislature.

So the good work of investigation and publicity goes steadily forward. The people are being educated as to the exact facts and are being aroused to take steps not only to correct present abuses, but to prevent their recurrence in the future. As Dr. Allen, who has been an efficient leader in the work of the Bureau of Municipal Research, has pointed out in another connection,

Social service by private agencies can never catch up with the antisocial service of any municipal government that tolerates an inadequate health policy, or inefficient health, street-cleaning and housing administration. The inefficient administration of American cities is every year doing more injury to home, character, and industry, than does alcohol, the social evil, or gambling. Improper methods of making city budgets produce more inequalities of character, wealth, and opportunity in a year than churches, schools, and philanthropies together will remove in a decade unless directly related to government agencies. Private social service is most productive when it creates and strengthens public social service, when it aims to insure efficient government and to prevent inefficient government from needlessly burdening philanthropist and taxpayer and from obstructing education and religion.

Charter-making and charter-reformation continue to occupy a large and increasingly conspicuous part in the efforts of leading American municipalities to secure better and more efficient government. Wherever we find a good-government club, a municipal club, or a civic federation we are almost certain to find some endeavor to secure either an entirely new charter or the adoption of amendments of existing charters in order to institute those reforms which are believed to be or which are considered to be essential and fundamental.

There are several tendencies in charter-making which are to be noted. In the first place there is an encouraging growth of sentiment in favor of a larger measure of local independence or home rule. The second development of importance and significance is the trend toward concentration of power and responsibility. No small part of the popularity of the Galveston-Des Moines plan, which is receiving increased attention and study, is due to the fact that the whole responsibility is centered on a

small group of men, in most instances not more than five, and there is no way for them to evade the responsibility.

Another development has been the reduction in size of the legislative bodies and the gradual abolition of ward lines or what is substantially the same thing, an enlargement of the representative districts. Herein lies another cause of the growing popularity of the Galveston-DesMoines plan, under which the council is made up of five men elected at large.

It is the testimony of one of Dubuque's best informed ex-officials that the elimination of ward lines in that city's government would save the taxpayer some \$20,000 to \$30,000 annually in the expenditures, which are now made without sufficient warrant, and in many cases actually wasted.

The elimination of ward lines and ward representatives does not depend upon the adoption of the commission form of government; but this has been thus far one of the most effective ways of achieving this end.

Kansas City is the most recent of the large cities of the country to adopt a new charter which marks some very important and distinct advances over the conditions prevailing under the old order; but these advances were rather of specific detail than of fundamentals. Yet along these lines substantial gains were made which will tend to simplify the transaction of municipal affairs and to lessen the hold of politicians on municipal service. A really effective merit system was achieved; municipal-accounting methods were improved; a franchise referendum was provided; but an alternative proposition for the recall of elected municipal officers received much less than a majority of all the votes involving the charter as a whole, although receiving four-sevenths of the votes cast directly concerning it. A judicial construction will be required to determine whether, under these conditions, the recall was adopted.

Ohio has adopted a new municipal code. While nominally maintaining that of 1902, it is really almost revolutionary in its scope, in that it establishes for the entire state the somewhat mistakenly called "federal" plan of government, which was the boast of Cleveland for ten years until destroyed, on the ground

that it was special legislation, by the supreme court in 1902. The uniform code then adopted established a divided responsibility. This in a measure has been corrected in the recent legislation. As part of the municipal legislation of the year in Ohio we must note the passage of an act providing for the establishment of the merit system in all the cities of the state on August 1, 1909.

Hand in hand with the movement for charter-revision there has been a steady increase in the number of cities which have adopted the merit system within the past half-dozen years. As the Kansas City board of freeholders recently declared, in presenting the new charter above referred to:

Any city in the present state of municipal advancement and progress which has not a provision for civil service reform, is as much behind the times as a city without electric lights, telephones or street-cars.

In 1904 the only progress to be noted was in Denver which adopted a new charter providing for the merit system in its municipal service. In 1905 the charter proposed for Kansas City was defeated by the politicians of both parties, largely because of its civil-service provision. The one forward step of that year was taken by Mayor Weaver of Philadelphia in removing from the secretaryship of the civil-service board one who had made of that system a farce and a byword, and replacing him by one Frank H. Riter, who made of the office an efficient instrument for promoting the best interests of the community and of protecting the municipal service from the intrusion of incompetent and inefficient men.

1906 saw the adoption, at a special session of the Pennsylvania legislature, of a comprehensive civil-service law for the city of Philadelphia and another law forbidding the political activity of municipal employees. The city of Norfolk, Virginia, adopted a new charter in that year providing for the application of the merit system to the entire municipal service.

1907 brought further progress. The city of Wheeling, by a popular vote, adopted charter amendments providing for the system in the fire and waterworks departments. Pennsylvania adopted another law extending, in a general way, the Phila-

delphia civil-service law to the cities of Pittsburg, Allegheny, and Scranton. Springfield, Illinois, by popular vote adopted the provisions of the Illinois civil-service law; and the city council subsequently extended the scope of the law by changing the methods of appointing city officers. In Des Moines a commission form of city government containing stringent civil-service provisions was adopted by popular vote. There was one setback to be noted in this year, namely: in Philadelphia, where the excellent civil-service board that had been appointed to put the new law into effect, was replaced by one more willing to heed the wishes of party leaders than the spirit and letter of the law.

Although the record of 1908 is yet to be completed, a great advance has already been accomplished. In the early part of the year a civil-service law was passed by the New Jersey legislature under which the various municipalities may adopt its provisions either by an ordinance of the governing body or a popular vote. So far three cities (Newark, Jersey City, and Bayonne) and one county (Essex) have adopted the law by ordinance.

Cedar Rapids adopted the same form of commission government as Des Moines. In April, civil-service rules were established under a charter provision by the city of Long Beach, California. Ohio, as we have already seen, passed a code containing admirable civil-service provisions, which, however, do not go into effect until 1910. August saw the adoption by Kansas City, which a few years previously had rejected the idea, of rigorous provision for the merit system. In Boston the finance commission disclosed the extravagance in the matter of salaries in the county offices not under the civil-service law, as well as in the unnecessary offices created to satisfy political demands.

The progress of the year and of the past five years has been distinctly encouraging, especially in that it shows that where people have a fair chance to decide, they will, with scarcely an exception, and with certainly no notable exception, overwhelmingly in favor of the merit system.

Except in Philadelphia, where the merit system has temporarily fallen upon evil days, the administration of the civil-service laws in the various cities shows by and large an honest effort to enforce them. In the larger cities the administration is increasingly efficient. San Francisco, because of its civic and material disasters, stands by itself; and although its civil-service rules have been indulgently administered in the last few years, the situation is improving.

Nomination reform has occupied a conspicuous place in the thought and consideration of state and city workers during the past year. Numerous laws providing for direct nominations, more or less completely, have become effective during the present year. As was to be expected with the introduction of a new system of procedure which eliminated many of the old conditions that had afforded favorable opportunity for the manipulations of the politician, the results have been questioned. The results on the whole, however, have recommended themselves to those who are striving for the elimination of nomination monopoly and for the inauguration of a simpler and more direct form of election machinery.

Direct nominations or primaries (as they are still sometimes called) involve an elimination of the old-time convention, and of the indirection which afforded ample opportunity for the skilful hand of corrupt politicians. Moreover, they involve the conduct of the preliminary election under the auspices of the state election machinery and of a carefully supervised return of the votes. They further involve the application of the principles of the Australian ballot to the primary ballot; and this in time will lead to the general adoption of those principles, both at general and primary election.

It is now generally conceded, except by a very small and diminishing group of men, that the preparation and distribution of the ballots at the general election is a proper state function and expense. The fact that old-line politicians do fight so strongly that particular provision of the direct-primary laws, is an indication that it destroys a part of their privilege and monopoly.

It is averred by some that the new system of nomination gives opportunity for all sorts of manipulation by members of one party casting their vote for a nominee to be placed upon the ticket of the other, thus leading to the nomination of weak candidates for the express purpose of overthrowing them. This was especially a weakness of the convention system, and is likely to disappear very rapidly under the new system as the people become accustomed to exercising their rights and the privileges of discrimination under the new system. While it must not be overlooked that the notorious Dr. Ames, of Minneapolis, was nominated under a direct primary and under just such manipulation as has been referred to, yet the fact that he was subsequently elected by a very large majority at the general election, indicated that the people of Minneapolis then wanted him. I do not know of any law by which a self-governing community can be saved from itself. It must bear the brunt of the exercise of its judgment. If it wants men of the Ames type, it must be permitted to have them and learn, by bitter experience, how unwise its choice is. There are people, and good people, too, who seem to think that direct nominations mean inevitably good nominations. They mean nothing of the kind. They simply mean that the people have a right to express their choice directly, and without the intervention of unnecessary machinery. If they don't know any better than to choose badly, the system won't save them.

A stock objection to direct nominations has been that it produces little men. The old system certainly produced its quota of little men, or (what was equally bad) of big men susceptible of manipulation and control. The line of progress lies in simplifying the machinery of nomination and election, and of protecting it against corruption and fraud, and then of educating the people in the exercise of the franchise. So far as I have been able to observe in the Western cities and states where direct nominations have been in operation for some considerable time, the results have on the whole been very satisfactory; and a very much higher grade of men, and men much more responsive to public sentiment, have been chosen.

Another objection frequently urged against the new system is, that it produces self-advertising on the part of candidates. It is difficult to consider this charge as a serious one, because there has been self-advertising under both systems. In the one case, however, it is a direct appeal. In the other, it is an indirect appeal by a party committee or a group of citizens. It would seem, however, that if there was any advantage in the one over the other, it was in favor of the direct appeal. Certainly, there is much to be said in behalf of the English system, in which the candidate makes his appeal without equivocation to those whom he seeks to represent. The system in vogue there seems to be much more truly democratic; and while mistakes may be made, as we know they have been in the past, in the long run it will work out best for the community, for democracy, and for the highest welfare of mankind.

There is considerable danger, it must be admitted, lest the bitterness engendered during the preliminary contest may be carried over into the general election; but, after all, if the people of a community do not want a man, he ought not to be forced upon them *nolens volens*.

We must realize that we are living in a democracy, and that the election machinery must be democratic and must record the wishes of the people and be responsive to their desires. The whole trend of our government from the beginning has been to strike off the fetters binding the people, although the process has often been a slow one. Direct nominations are a step in advance; because they enable the people directly to express their wishes. No doubt they have made their mistakes, and will continue to make them; but they have had to bear the brunt of them in the past, and they must continue to bear them in the future; and this in the long run will prove to be the most effective way of building up an enlightened and efficient democracy.

The election held last spring in Oregon presented many interesting features and, in a way, was one of the most remarkable and extraordinary events in recent years. The state went overwhelmingly Republican on every issue except that of United

States senator. There was a direct vote for that, as for other offices; and the present governor (a Democrat) was given a plurality of the vote. Notwithstanding the fact that the legislature is overwhelmingly Republican, Governor Chamberlain, the successful candidate for United States senator, will, in all likelihood, be elected United States senator; as "Statement No. 1," under which the representatives and state senators are pledged to abide by the popular choice of the people in the selection of United States senator, has become firmly established, a considerable majority of senators and representatives having either expressly or impliedly pledged themselves to it.

Someone may ask: Why refer to a fact relating to a state election of a United States senator in a review of municipal events and tendencies? Apparently, the incident has only to do with state and federal matters; but inasmuch as the National Municipal League and its members and affiliated societies contend that municipal affairs should be considered separately and apart from state and national affairs, and inasmuch as in the past it has been difficult to achieve this desirable end, for one reason because the state legislature not only was responsible for the administration of state affairs, but at the same time elected United States senators, and also determined the form and all too frequently the quality of municipal government—any step which will take out of the field of state and local politics the determination of federal questions, is a step not only in the right direction, but one in which municipal students and workers have a direct and profound interest. If we are to achieve the ideal of considering municipal issues from a municipal standpoint, we must provide for the elimination of all federal questions from our state and municipal machinery; so that no one can have excuse whatever for injecting national politics into local elections and issues.

The initiative and the referendum are coming to be regarded as effective instruments for securing an immediate expression of the people's will. Whether they will become permanent features of our political system, in view of its fundamentally representative character, is a question yet to be determined; but they

are unquestionably proving effective in breaking down some of the privileges and monopolies that have characterized corrupt political organizations for many years.

In the matter of public-utility franchises the Cleveland referendum on the street-railway three-cents-fare settlement and the workings of the New York Public Utility Commissions were easily the most important events of the year. The former was not a defeat of municipal ownership, as has been so widely heralded. While it was easy for an intelligent, disinterested person to comprehend the issues involved, it was practically impossible for nine-tenths of the voters to do so.

A very clear presentation was necessary to understand the many phases of the problem. It was easy for the grossest misrepresentation to find lodgment, and this misrepresentation was made the last week of the campaign by hundreds of thousands of circulars and hundreds of billboards and in paid newspaper advertisements made to imitate editorials. It is believed that the large amount of money for this was furnished by the other public-utility-enjoying corporations which feared that their turns would come next.

The courts may yet set aside the vote of several precincts because of serious failures of some of the voting machines to register correctly and because of the violation of the state law in other respects. A big battle is beginning as to whether the traction company has the right to retain the properties as leased. The mayor is hopeful and may yet be able to carry out his ideas. New developments will come rapidly.

The vote on October 22 was returned as 38,249 for to 37,644 against the franchise given by the city council on April 27 last as a security grant to the Cleveland Railway Company.

It is impossible to predict the future. A written agreement exists between the mayor and the representative of the old Cleveland Electric Railway Company, providing that if the security grant should fail the properties should revert to their original owners, the Forest City or three-cent-fare line on the one hand, and the Cleveland Electric, with its rapidly expiring franchise on the other. This eminently just and fair provi-

sion was not embodied, however, in any contract between the companies, and its validity is disputed by the attorneys for the Cleveland Electric Company. The latter claim they technically bought out the Forest City and are now the owners of both the three-cent-fare lines and the other and can operate the entire system, giving three-cent fare on the Forest City line and a higher fare on the other lines. If, however, the technical or purely legal aspects are to be pursued, the attorneys for the Mayor claim that the lease of the entire Cleveland Railway Company, including the Forest City, to the Municipal Traction Company did not legally have any provision for a reversion of the lessors' properties in case the security grant was not ratified. The outcome will be awaited with keen interest.

The working out of the New York and Wisconsin experiments is being watched with keen interest. It is too soon to predict the effect of their operation. It is sufficient to note that a public sentiment is being slowly but surely formed that will eventually work out a satisfactory solution of the whole difficult problem.

The New York investigations are yielding abundant fruit in the disclosure of existing conditions and in directing public attention to the question of the policies to be pursued. William M. Ivins, of counsel for Commission No. 1, has become convinced that private ownership and use of public franchises is a failure. He believes that the better way of handling the matter is through the public ownership of street-car lines—whether surface, subway, or elevated—and their operation by the private companies making the highest bids for a given term of years.

He does not favor municipal operation as well as ownership. Taking warning from the experience of the city in connection with the equipment of the subway, he would have lines municipally owned and equipped before any bids for their operation are received. But when the plants are ready for use he would have private companies manage them. So far as ownership equipment is concerned, the same conclusions were reached by a Massachusetts commission of prominent men (headed by

Charles Francis Adams) who made a careful study of the subject both in America and abroad.

In Minneapolis the conspicuous feature of the past year, municipally, has been the rapid development in the community of a distinct franchise program. Public sentiment is now more engrossed along this line than any other, the long drawn out controversy over the General Electric franchise being largely responsible for the present condition of affairs in this respect.

Missouri now has a law under which each city can create its own utility commission. Indianapolis has a law passed by the late Indiana legislature which forbids the present administration of the city from entering into any contract with the gas company whereby more than 60 cents per 1,000 cubic feet would be charged.

Another most significant development, or rather incident, was the declaration of W. Caryl Ely, past president of the American Street and Interurban Railway Association. Speaking of the supervision of public-service corporations by state commissions, he said, in part:

This movement is not confined to any state. It is sweeping over the whole world. The people are asserting themselves. We might as well seek to dam Niagara as to stop this. It is impossible to stop it. Deep down in our hearts we know it is right; let us be men enough to recognize it; let us co-operate with the people, and let them understand that we are working together; be frank with them, and we shall find that they are not unreasonable, but want only fair and square treatment.

We have had trouble because there was captious fighting against proper measures which would not have been so drastic in some cases if the proper spirit had been shown and the public-service side was presented in the right manner. Let us deal with the people in the most open way possible, and fare trouble and all other troubles will disappear.

More significant still is the fact that these words were received, we are told, with "great applause and general approval."

From every part of the country comes news of municipal interest in and more stringent regulation of the sale of alcoholic liquors. For instance, we learn that in Wyoming there is fast developing a local option sentiment and the present prospects

are that the next legislature will pass a local-option law. In Indiana and Ohio it has been an absorbing issue.

The saloon continues to be a disturbing factor in Minneapolis politics. Beyond half-hearted enforcement of the eleven-o'clock and Sunday-closing statutes, the present administration holds a rather passive attitude toward this and all other moral questions. The present mayor has gone on the theory that the law enforcement issue as regards the saloon is settled in Minneapolis, and is making his campaign on the issue of franchises. The city council passed a saloon-limiting ordinance in 1907, with the limit placed at 435.

From far-western Walla Walla comes a message that is typical of many another far and mid western community: it is that:

The influence of the saloon in local politics has been decidedly minimized. I think I correctly state the situation when I say that five years ago a candidate for office would seek the aid of the saloons and feel that he was not alienating the independent vote. At the present time I think every candidate is striving to convince the people that he is opposed to the saloons and in favor of local option. I believe that a local-option law would carry at this fall's election if submitted to a popular vote.

New Orleans reports a restrictive act which was accepted by the local representatives in the state legislature, not because they wanted it, but because they feared its rejection would mean prohibition, pure and simple, at the next session of the legislature.

The most pronounced incident in connection with municipal affairs in Richmond, Virginia, during the last year was the enactment of an ordinance limiting the number, regulating the conduct of saloons in the city and fixing the license fee at \$500, double the amount formerly paid. The friends of this ordinance are satisfied that it has proved a great success in eliminating the worst and most objectionable places and lessening crime in the city.

The prohibition law in Alabama has been in operation in Birmingham for nine months. In other communities in the state it has been in operation for many years, for they have had

local option laws in Alabama for fifty years. It has been demonstrated to the satisfaction of intelligent critics that prohibition decreases the consumption of liquor to a very considerable extent and decreases crime to a very great extent. In fact, in the smaller towns of the state, the closing of the saloons has meant the closing of the police courts, and many city prisons in Alabama have had no prisoners for months.

In Birmingham, which last year had in round numbers ten thousand arrests for various offenses, there is shown a decrease of nearly fifty per cent. (50%). The reports of the health department show a decrease in the number of deaths from accidents and violent causes that is quite remarkable, so much out of line with the usual reports that the health officer credits it to prohibition. The number of murders committed in the county has largely decreased, and the cost of maintaining the jails and feeding prisoners, the administration of justice and the operation of all of our industries of every character, have demonstrated that prohibition of the sale of liquor means economy, in Alabama at least, in the administration of affairs, both public and private.

A serious attempt is being made in Chicago to reverse the wide-open policy that has prevailed for more than thirty years. The city has a large population of foreign parentage which regards restrictions upon liquor-drinking as interference with personal liberty. This element, however, or at least a large portion of it, is not lawless in its instincts. It chafed at the taunts of the prohibitionists that it was a law-defying element. Consequently, when the Chicago Charter Convention was framing a draft of a charter for the city of Chicago, the keynote of which was municipal home-rule, the united societies, representing largely citizens of foreign descent, asked that the charter provide for home-rule on the Sunday question. The charter convention approved a bill vesting in the city council the power to say whether or not saloons should be open or closed in Chicago on Sunday. The legislature, however, refused to pass this particular bill. Consequently the united societies, as a means of showing their power, fought the approval of the charter on a referendum vote.

The charter was defeated by a large majority, and undoubtedly the united societies were an important factor in procuring that result.

From all the various cities of the country come encouraging reports of activity, important work undertaken, and accomplished results. Boston last December overthrew Mayor Fitzgerald, who had not only the advantage of being a Democrat in a Democratic stronghold, but the strong support of a vigorous, well entrenched machine based on a judicious distribution of the spoils of war. The Republican candidate was elected by a substantial majority, and since his induction into office has been fulfilling with a fair measure of success the ante-election pledges; so that Boston must have credit not only for having defeated Fitzgerald, but for having elected in his place a man who recognizes his duty and his obligation to the whole people.

The Good Government Association refers, in its last report, to the growing importance and influence of the publication of the records of all candidates for municipal office, which are regularly mailed to every voter in the city. This year, partly as a result of these records and of a large amount of definite, painstaking work, the association succeeded in securing the election of a better board of aldermen than the city has had for many years, and in defeating several most undesirable candidates. The epoch-marking work of the Boston Finance Commission, which has had the earnest and efficient support of the association from the beginning, has been noted in another connection.

The Boston Merchants' Association has been reorganized on lines which will make it a powerful factor in advancing not only the commercial, but the civic interests of the city; so that it is expected to take its place side by side with the merchants' associations of New York, Indianapolis, Chicago, and San Francisco and with the great chambers of commerce in Pittsburgh and Cleveland, all of which are now generally recognized throughout the country as being leaders in the work of civic advancement. The Boston association will have a municipal and metropolitan department, under the direction of a com-

mittee which includes in its membership a number of the most influential business men in the city.

Governor Hughes' triumphant renomination and re-election are the transcendently important events in New York State. They are important not only to New York but to the country at large. Hated and opposed to the uttermost by the corrupt politicians who saw, in the event of his re-election, the crumbling of their carefully devised plans and machinery, he was nominated by a hostile convention because it realized the fatuity of attempting to defeat the clearly and unequivocally expressed desire of the people of the state. To have defeated Governor Hughes for renomination would have foredoomed the Republican ticket to defeat; and for the people of the state to have refused him a re-election would have been to give all the corrupt and detrimental forces of the state a renewed lease of life.

The election means not only the overthrow of the forces of iniquity, but the defeat of the reactionary influences that have been making a great last stand for power and control. It means the ultimate success of his far-reaching program of reforms; it means encouragement to every person interested in the higher welfare of the community; it means the success—the ultimate success—of decent methods and more efficient government. Not only will every worker in the cause of municipal decency and betterment in New York state be helped by his victory, but likewise every one throughout the United States who has at heart the interests of the people and of the whole people.

There have been numerous incidents of local importance and somewhat general significance in New York which, however, have been more or less overshadowed by the Hughes campaign. Among these we may mention the passage of the Recount Bill a year ago at the hands of a reluctant legislature, and the demonstration in the courts of New York that the election of Mayor McClellan was not a forced or fraudulent one, but represented a clear plurality of the votes cast, and that he held title by right and not by control of the counting of the vote. The judge who presided at the recount, declared:

It must appear to you, as it does to me, that the accuracy of the original canvass was quite as complete and certain as the one reached here by this body. The evidence disclosed here that there was no fraud so far as the conduct of the election officers are concerned, appearing from direct evidence, and we found in the boxes votes that corresponded to the record they made of the official returns upon that night. I only speak of this for the purpose of exonerating those men from the charge of fraud that was made here.

It is encouraging to have demonstrated that the election machinery of Greater New York was responsive to the people's will and had not been subjected to the strain of fraudulent manipulation. While it was shown that there were some mistakes in the counting of the complicated ballot and some few frauds, there were not sufficient to affect the result, nor to justify the claim that the election had been a fraudulent one.

It is quite impossible in a review such as this to refer in detail to the persistent activities of organizations like the Citizens' Union in New York, which maintains a legislative agent at Albany and keeps close watch not only on all the bills introduced there, but on all legislation undertaken at the City Hall; nor to the numerous gains in local civic work such as are reported from Buffalo, including the inauguration of work similar to that of the New York Citizens' Union and the Bureau of Municipal Research. Suffice it to say, in this connection, for these cities and for all the cities of New York and practically for all the cities of any size or consequence in the United States, that there are local agencies constantly at work to give the voters definite information in regard to pending issues and to arouse the citizens to their civic duties. It is because of the great amount of work that is being done along these lines, frequently unheralded and unregarded, that the close students of municipal development feel encouraged not only about the present, but about the future of municipal government in America.

From Philadelphia comes word that at the recent election upwards of 72,000 voters took the trouble to vote for a candidate who was on neither the Republican nor Democratic ticket, and who represented in his candidacy the desires of the independently inclined citizens of that community. The Phil-

adelphia Party's candidate for sheriff in a campaign of little more than a fortnight secured this remarkable expression of public interest; and although he was not successful in securing the election, his vote demonstrates that the people of Philadelphia are not asleep at the switch, are not indifferent to their political duties, and are willing to stand up and be counted even though to do this requires the careful marking of a very complicated ballot.

Mayor Guthrie's splendid work in Pittsburgh has been told at length in other connections. It is sufficient in this connection to say that he has more than justified the confidence reposed in him at the time of his election. He has introduced new standards of public administration; he has labored incessantly for the best interests of the community; he has sought in every way within his power to fight corruption, to advance the interests of the city, to place the community and its interests above all other considerations.

In every department of municipal activity the influence of his personal character and his devotion to duty is to be seen, and his influence will be felt for many years to come; because he has made the repetition of old conditions in many instances impossible and has established new standards, which will soon harden into custom.

Mayor Guthrie is ineligible for re-election, so he cannot in his own person continue the work which he has inaugurated; but, irrespective of whom his successor may be, there can be no doubt that the next administration will be influenced by the present in every particular. There may be some reaction, due to a feeling of security upon the part of the people; but the reaction is destined to be a shortlived one, and then the splendid forward movement will continue and sweep on to larger and completer victories that not even Mayor Guthrie himself anticipated.

Everett Colby won a significant triumph in the primaries against the reactionary forces in his senatorial district in northern New Jersey. Although he was defeated by a slight margin at the general election, it was only brought about by the machine

establishing a record of independence in local and state affairs that will come back in the very near future to plague those who established the precedent. Verily, Senator Colby's defeat is a victory in disguise. Men like him and the ideas for which he stands may suffer temporary setbacks; but, founded as they are upon a firm basis of public policy, they cannot be permanently defeated. They must sooner or later come to the front. The delay in establishing them will in the nature of things be but brief, and will in all likelihood prove to be for the best in the long run.

South of Mason and Dixon's line municipal development, although slow, continues to grow steadily. The Baltimore Reform League has had a useful year's activity. From Louisville comes word of improvement in municipal administration as a result of the recent overthrow of the machine there. An active member of the National Municipal League is authority for the statement that they have

a most excellent set of men on the Board of Safety and of Control. These boards have charge of the police and fire departments and the public buildings, and construction of streets, sewers, etc. The police and firemen have been taken out of politics, so far as it is possible to do so. We are therefore practically sure of fair elections. We have the most efficient department of police since my recollection of such matters; our aldermen are a fine set of men—our best citizens; and their efforts have been along high lines.

When one compares this with what prevailed in the city only two short years ago, and recalls that fraud and corruption held high carnival at the election, he cannot help but feel that progress is being made even if the report above quoted is somewhat enthusiastic; although it comes from one who is not a political partisan of the administration in power.

We must not overlook, however, that there has been no effort made to change the method of the nomination of officials in Louisville or Kentucky; and that there has been no improvement in municipal accounting or reporting, nor, indeed, along any of the legislative lines which are regarded as helpful to the permanent introduction of improved conditions. Nevertheless, it is a decided gain to have a competent administration succeed

a bad one, even if its control of affairs is but temporary; for it will certainly make the recurrence of the old conditions more difficult, and the return of improved conditions easier.

Birmingham, Alabama, is enjoying the benefits of a clean, decent, honest, aggressive administration.

Efforts were made to bully the mayor on the one hand, and persuade him when that policy was not effective. Various efforts to embarrass him were made; and there was no stickling at the methods adopted. He kept steadily before him, however, his public duty, and appealed to the moral element of the community; and now he is winning out, not only along political lines but along civic lines as well; and he has made the name of Birmingham known throughout the length and breadth of the country, in many places where it was unknown before, by his successful method of enlisting the people in personal activity along lines of definite civic endeavor.

Mayor Malone, of Memphis, Tennessee, another independent mayor, has had similar troubles—and a few more. Indeed, he had to defend the very life of the city government against the legislature, a bill repealing the law under which he was elected having been passed and a new system established. The supreme court, however, declared the effort to be illegal and unconstitutional; and Mayor Malone was permitted to carry on his far-reaching reforms. Although nominated by a mass meeting and defeating the former mayor, who claimed to be the regular nominee of his party, he has now been endorsed by those who formerly most bitterly opposed him.

Cincinnati took an encouraging step forward at the election on November 3, wherein it defeated the "Cox nominees" for the judge of the common-pleas bench and for prosecuting attorney. They are to be supplanted by City Party men. The independent forces of the city have been put in control of the most important engine for the exposure of municipal evils in our whole scheme of government; and if it cannot now expose the municipal corruption and break up the pernicious machine that it has for years been working to destroy, there will be, very naturally, keen disappointment. It is not likely, however, that

Henry T. Hunt, the new prosecuting attorney, who has long been identified with forward movements in Cincinnati, and who as a member of the National Municipal League has shown his interest in the wider work for municipal improvement, will disappoint those who have placed confidence in him.

There is plainly a progressive interest in Indiana in all that relates to local government reform. It has been steadily spreading from the larger to the smaller communities of the state during the past few years. There has been an exposure of graft and bribery in many local offices, followed by indictments, trials, and in one case a conviction and a penitentiary sentence and in another case a most suspicious acquittal, which really did more to accentuate the need for further effective work than a conviction would. Public sentiment is in an excited and sensitive state on the whole subject of local conditions. The influence of the brewery in politics has assumed a commanding importance in the public mind; and zeal for the restriction of the liquor traffic has assumed proportions almost unprecedented. Out of such public excitement much good may confidently be expected; but it is somewhat difficult to forecast what line of work will be the one in which reform may make itself permanently effective.

Although the preliminary report of the Chicago Municipal Voters' League was somewhat pessimistic regarding the local situation, the league was never more successful than in the election of last April, which showed that the people were prepared to support a progressive movement that is vigorous and courageous without being crazy. In a number of contests at the primaries the league was successful in about half of the cases in which it took action; but the situation is better than those figures would indicate, for the reason that the contests which were won, were among the most important.

Twenty-four of the thirty-five aldermen chosen in April, carried the league's endorsement; while nine were elected in opposition to the league. As to the remaining two neither opposition nor endorsement was offered. The league made especially important fights in three wards, winning two and

losing the third by a narrow majority. In each case the voters sustained the league's contention that non-partisanship should govern purely municipal elections.

The Legislative Voters' League, which proposes to do for the state legislature what the Chicago league has done for the local legislature, took a more active and extensive part in the campaign just concluded than at any previous period in its history. It took a specially prominent part at the primaries held on August 8. The following summary of its performance in this connection is interesting and suggestive:

Endorsed usually on their legislative records.....	55
Commended having no legislative records.....	31
No comment for lack of necessary information.....	63
Condemned on their legislative records, in most cases without hope of defeating them owing to political conditions.....	40
Opposed for other reasons.....	5
Not recommended	11
Records mixed as in parts unsatisfactory.....	9

Owing to the Illinois cumulative voting system on candidates for the house of representatives nominations in most cases were practically equivalent to election. The results above tabulated indicated that the league accomplished about twenty times as much as in the previous seven years of its existence put together. This was due to the opportunities afforded by the new direct-primary law at its first test.

Milwaukee's municipal election offered practically no ground for encouragement. It was a clean Democratic sweep, reactionary in its character and discouraging in its results. In a way it was a rebuke to the recent administration which was not taken seriously, but was also due, in large part, to the weaknesses of the existing electoral system and contrivances. The reactionary impulse alone would not again have elected, for the fifth time, David S. Rose as mayor of the city, had it not proved that many thousand voters, educated as well as illiterate, found it more convenient and comfortable to vote a straight party ticket on the voting machine than to take the time and trouble to vote their convictions. Moreover, there was a fear lest the Socialist candidate, who had a large personal following, should succeed

and inaugurate a radical administration, notwithstanding that the Social-Democratic candidate was generally conceded to be personally the best qualified and cleanest of the three. As it was, he ran second in the contest.

Notwithstanding the tendency just noted, we are told that there was never a greater sentiment nor a larger intention to split the ticket, and even the primaries showed a large independent vote; but the feature of the law which confined the voter's independent expression to selecting the party ticket which most appealed to him, and confining himself to it at the primaries, defeated the best candidate for the mayoralty nomination; and then the restriction in the law that no voter could remain more than sixty seconds at the voting machine, forced many an otherwise independently inclined elector to vote a straight ticket.

The same story of the inadequacy of the voting machine comes from Minneapolis, where in the recent primaries and general election several thousands of voters left the polls without voting, because the machines were so difficult of operation. In a large number of precincts, voters waited from one to three hours to get a chance at the machine. This, of course, is too much to ask of every business, professional, or working man. Within the limitations of rapidity, the machines otherwise worked successfully: 166 were used and 31,000 votes were recorded at the primary election, a falling off of 13,000 from the primary election of two years ago. A factor in the situation, however, was the large size of the election districts.

Minneapolis is in the midst of another great upheaval which in the judgment of those who are studying the situation "Will discount the old 'Doc' Ames mess of 1902 by a large margin."

Des Moines is trying the experiment of a modified form of the Galveston plan. The commission which was elected has entered with vigor and intelligence upon the discharge of its duties and, with the co-operation of the newspapers and the people of the city, is seeking to inaugurate the system in the spirit in which it was enacted. Two groups endeavored to control the election: one known as the old "City Hall gang," and the other as the "silk-stocking crowd," which had much to do with

originating the now widely known Des Moines plan. The election, however, resulted in the defeat of both factions and a victory for John McVicar, a former mayor, who for many years has been the Secretary of the League of the American Municipality, and has a well deserved reputation as a specialist in municipal subjects—and several other radical candidates, including two labor candidates. The mayor was the only one of the “City Hall gang” who succeeded; and he is known as an excellent man. The public-utility people tried to defeat him with a man of their own; but were not successful. The mayor, as he is known, was generally regarded as a “wide-open” candidate; but as the new city government announced a policy of strict enforcement of the law, which policy it is adhering to, “it would appear that the item of mayor is not overwhelming important under the Des Moines plan.”

A determined effort was made in Kansas City to re-elect Mayor Beardsley, who had made an enviable record during the last two years. He had accomplished more in actual results than any mayor the city had ever had. His advocates pointed out that he had secured natural gas for the city at 25 cents per thousand feet and in so doing had fought and defeated not only the local gas company but the United Gas Improvement Company of North America, and the Kansas Natural Gas Company—all backed up by the Standard Oil Company; that he had fought and defeated the Metropolitan Street Railway Company in an important contest, and that the Metropolitan in the campaign was fighting Mr. Beardsley: that in the contest for a new union depot and terminal facilities, Mr. Beardsley had held his own against 27 railroads and had protected the rights of the people at every point and was about to close negotiations for these important improvements; that he had been largely instrumental in securing the passage of the law by the last legislature known as the Enabling Act, which gave to the cities of Missouri power to regulate public utilities; that when he had taken office, there was a deficit in the public treasury of \$310,000; that this had been paid off and over \$700,000 had been spent in pub-

lic improvements out of the general revenue and there was a \$100,000 surplus.

It is plain to be seen that to accomplish these important results, Mayor Beardsley had made many enemies, who not unnaturally, as all too frequently occurs, pooled their issues to defeat him. It is doubtful, however, whether the man that they used to defeat Mr. Beardsley will prove to be a pliable tool. Indeed, there are not many who believe that the successful opponent will dare to throw open "the gates of graft as they were at one time in Kansas City." Whether Mayor Crittenden justifies the confidence of his supporters or of his well-wishers, it nevertheless remains that Kansas City has lost the services, in the defeat of Mr. Beardsley, of a man who was rapidly becoming a municipal expert, and who from the standpoint of character was absolutely true and unswerving. As one observer who is not a political partisan of Mr. Beardsley declared: "He comes nearer being the ideal man for the position than any man I have known in this city or any other city; and yet the people rejected him with their eyes open."

There is no reason, however, to be discouraged over the situation in Kansas City, any more than there is reason to feel downhearted by the defeat of Everett Colby. These men and their followers and their prototypes in the various parts of the country are soldiers in a great battle: they have enlisted for the war and they expect occasional defeat. Naturally they do not crave it; but when it comes, they view their defeat philosophically and gird on their armor for more vigorous warfare.

Denver has demonstrated its independence by re-electing Judge Lindsey as a county-court judge over the regular Republican and Democratic candidates; and word comes from the same city that the election before last was considered by many of the leading citizens to have been the first honest election held for many years.

San Francisco has taken a great step forward within the last year. From a wicked and corrupt administration, well up in the first rank of all cities which have indulged in that direction, it has advanced, to quote a thoughtful observer, to the

other extreme of an almost ideal administration. The entire board of supervisors and the mayor of the city are now beyond reproach; and the city has men engaged in its affairs who could not have been induced to take the positions except for the support of a full body of good men working together, and from the genuine patriotism aroused by the previous corrupt administrations. May this spirit of patriotism and self-sacrifice continue until it becomes the established practice of the community!

San Francisco has a huge undertaking, however, to re-establish upon a really high plane a government which has been so thoroughly run down; and much time will be required to work out its salvation. If, however, its competent men are willing to place the community's interests above their own and will continue in the course they have already begun, there can be no question as to what the results will be. Already there is difficulty experienced in securing, in the various subordinate places, men of an equally high type. The various commissioners' terms of office expire but one at a time, and year by year; so that they are replaced only gradually. It will therefore be some time before they are placed on so high a plane as the legislative branch of the government.

This concludes the annual survey of municipal events. It must be admitted that, taken by and large, it presents grounds for reasonable encouragement. The municipal millennium is not at hand; but the developments which we find on every side are such as to justify the expectation that the cities of the country are rapidly freeing themselves from the opprobrium that they were the worst governed municipalities in the world.

BIBLICAL SOCIOLOGY. III.

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In the first instalment of material under this head it was proposed to begin by treating ancient Israel in its earlier character as a system of institutions common to Semitic antiquity. The second instalment accordingly took up the subject from two standpoints, "The Approach to Israelite Society," and "Kinship Institutions of Israel." Carrying with us the facts thus far brought out, we shall now investigate this ancient society from two other points of view in succession—the economic, or industrial, and the religious, or ecclesiastical. Having accumulated these data as the fundamental terms of our treatise, we shall then be ready to consider the central problem of biblical sociology—the process by which the original Semitic institutions of Israel were transformed into the distinctive system of Judaism.

I. INDUSTRIAL INSTITUTIONS OF ISRAEL

The Israelites present the spectacle of nomadic, desert clans invading and occupying a circumscribed area. In so doing they left behind the primitive life of the wilderness and gradually acquired the habits of settled civilization. In leaving the desert, they were drawn into the complex network of ancient eastern culture. They were forced into the center of a great stream of progress which had carried oriental society upward from barbarism into the earliest of the great historic civilizations. The incomers could no longer live the life of petty, self-centered clans of the wilderness. They found themselves in the midst of new conditions in which their environment contrasted greatly with the desert. They must now face new problems, and must bear their part on the broader stage of world-history, whether they would or not.

This being the case, it follows that in order to grasp the sig-

nificance of Israel's problems in the new home, we must envisage the larger social process with which Israel became involved upon entering the land of Canaan. It is now a commonplace that civilization is the result of a development, or upward evolution, from lower levels. This movement began long before the times of written record; and it goes on around us today. It commenced below the level of that rough-stone age whose remains are widely distributed over the world. It went on through the smooth-stone age, and passed into the age of metals. At this period a *part* of the human race entered the age of written history. The earliest of the great historic civilizations came upon the stage of the world; and it is with this movement that we must articulate the problem of ancient Israel.

Whether or not human progress runs back to some lower animal species, we must at least accept the view that men once lived on the earth without knowledge of the industrial arts, and scattered about in small, wandering groups. We have pointed out that the clans of Israel in the desert were necessarily small groups of people. Now, the conditions that made it impossible for the nomadic Israelites to live together in large masses also held men apart everywhere before the dawn of civilization. Extensive societies—large organizations numbering thousands and millions—were impossible in prehistoric times for two very good reasons: (1), the uncertain food supply offered by the uncultivated earth; (2), ignorance of the material arts by which the earth's resources are adapted to the use of man. With reference to the dispersed condition of primitive man we reproduce evidence given by Mr. Lewis Morgan, a sociologist and a careful student of Indian life, who was adopted into the Seneca tribe. The bearing of these facts on the condition of the nomadic Israelites is clear:

Numbers within a given area were limited by the amount of subsistence it afforded. When fish and game were the main reliance for food, it required an immense area to maintain a small tribe. After farinaceous food was added to fish and game, the area occupied by a tribe was still a large one in proportion to the number of the people. New York, with its forty-seven thousand square miles, never contained at any time more than twenty-five thousand Indians, including the Iroquois, the Algonkins on the east side of

the Hudson and upon Long Island, and the Eries and Neutral Nation in the western section of the state.¹

Not only were great social bodies impossible in prehistoric times; but, as we saw in the last paper, the earliest records and traditions of all peoples tell of migrations. It is, indeed, plain that the Israelites of the Arabian desert could not remain long upon one spot. For, ignorant of the industrial arts, dependent upon the uncertain gifts of the uncultivated ground, they were forced to wander about restlessly in search of food.

These considerations take us on to another important point: The early records and traditions of all peoples tell of conflicts which resolve themselves into struggles about the *natural base of supplies*. The facts of savage life tell the same story. The small, nomadic societies of prehistoric times must therefore have struggled with each other for the means of subsistence. The traditions of Israel tell of many fierce battles before and after the settlement in Canaan.

We know that natural goods, like water, fruit, and game, are not equally spread over the earth at the present time, and that the food supply could not have been equally distributed in prehistoric times. Thus, while some groups were finding enough to sustain life, others were getting little or no food. It is easy to see how natural inequalities, and human ignorance of industrial art, were at the basis of early struggles over the source of supply.

The issue of a conflict between two groups over the possession of a locality that would furnish food for but one group was of course the extermination of the vanquished by the victors. The defeated group could not be suffered to live, or the purpose of the struggle itself would be frustrated. Generally speaking, the attitude of competing societies in prehistoric times must have been that of absolute hostility, leading to utter extermination of the vanquished.

These conclusions respecting early society may be set with profit alongside some concrete pictures of the lowest savages at present on earth. We cite first the testimony of Mr. Darwin,

¹ Morgan, *Ancient Society* (New York, 1878), p. 111.

whose travels find record in his *Journal of Researches*. He is describing the Fuegians of South America. After showing the primitive conditions under which they live, he goes on to say:

The different tribes have no government or chief; yet each is surrounded by other hostile tribes, speaking different dialects, and separated from each other by a deserted border of neutral territory. The cause of their warfare appears to be *the means of subsistence*. In this extreme part of South America, man exists in a lower state of improvement than in any other part of the world.²

Crossing the Pacific into Australia we find savage tribes but little advanced over the Fuegians. We cite now from Ratzel's work, describing the races of mankind:

It is impossible to understand the Australians apart from their extensive nomadism, to which all the natural qualities of the land contribute. At the bottom of it lies the deficiency of water and the *unequal distribution* of food, plants, and animals, which partly results from this. The dry season causes a large number of places otherwise favorable to habitation to be simply impossible. . . . There are few permanent oases, and the arrival of damp monsoons, few and far between as they are, is an insufficient check upon *nomadism*. Vegetable food-stuffs are often to be sought at great distances. . . . The lack of mountains and large rivers over the largest part of the country makes for migration, and if we further regard its isolated position, the conditions of Australia are as unfavorable as we can conceive for the development of a settled population. Thus the nomad tribes go about, the men with their weapons in front, the women with the baggage and children in the rear. The length of stay at any place depends upon the quantity of food, water, and other conveniences; but even so they seldom remain in one place longer than a fortnight, owing to the pressure exerted by *other groups*. One can hardly speak of agriculture among the Australians. Only traces of it have been observed. The life of the Australian native affords little room for industrial activity. Infanticide was and is very widespread, and in any case the number of births is out of all proportion to that of the children who survive. . . . Nature, being for the most part unpropitious, renders *dispersion* compulsory; but, at the same time, knits the bonds of the *family group* closer.³

Very similar to the above is the primitive life of the Semitic

² Darwin, *Journal of Researches* (London, 1894, Ward, Lock and Bowden), pp. 213, 214, 215, 228.

³ Ratzel, *History of Mankind* (London, 1897, Butler's translation), Vol. I, pp. 347, 348, 363, 365, 377.

race from which the Israelite clans emerged. The following passage is part of a quotation made elsewhere; but it is worth repeating:

The peculiar conditions of life which the Arabian deserts and oases have presented for millenniums are the matrix in which the Semitic character, as it is known to us, was born. It is a land of barren and volcanic mountains, of broad stretches of dry, waste, unproductive soil, and wide areas of shifting sand, interrupted by an occasional oasis—a land where, for the most part, water is difficult to obtain, where famine is always imminent, where hunger, thirst, heat and exposure are the constant experiences of the inhabitants. The Bedawi are always underfed. They suffer constantly from hunger and thirst; and their bodies thus weakened fall an easy prey to disease.*

Passages like these, carrying us far back toward prehistoric social conditions, could be multiplied indefinitely. The evidence is overwhelming that mankind once lived without knowledge of the industrial arts, widely dispersed in small, nomadic, intensely hostile societies, each of which was bound together by the ties of kinship.

The proposition upon which we are now advancing is this: The achievements of civilization are possible only when large numbers are embraced within the same social organization. The higher material and intellectual progress which is distinguished from barbarism has not been generated within dispersed and isolated societies. Accordingly, we must inquire what were the conditions under which the human species was crystallized into nations and empires. We shall find that economic factors of tremendous importance were involved in the process by which prehistoric family groups were consolidated into the vast social bodies of historic times. Moreover, we shall find that the underlying economics of Israelite society agree perfectly with corresponding items in the ancient Semitic world at large. The relation of biblical sociology to the facts now under consideration will shortly become clear.

Rising slowly above the savage condition, man learned how to fashion rough tools of wood and stone, then utensils of polished stone, and at length implements of metal. Meanwhile he became expert in hunting and fishing, acquired the use of fire,

*Barton, *Semitic Origins* (New York, 1902), p. 28.

domesticated some of the lower animals, and learned to save seeds for planting. Material progress, however, has not been achieved by mankind at an equal rate: some have shot ahead, while others have lagged behind. Progress, therefore, made more conspicuous the earlier inequality of natural advantages already emphasized. This must have operated to increase warfare. But it nevertheless increased the sum total of peace; for, through the greater and more certain food supply it secured the enlargement of societies by affiliation of clans and reduction of infanticide. The number living at peace with each other *inside of group limits* was therefore greater than before.

But in a profounder and more dramatic way did material progress change the direction of the social forces. Prehistoric warfare at its earliest verge, as already noted, was merely a struggle for *extermination*, wherein the vanquished were slain by the victors. But one of the effects of material progress upon society was to transform war from a struggle for extermination into a struggle for *control*. Let us notice closely the situation here developing, for it carries us upward by a direct route through the mists and uncertainties of prehistoric times into the light of that ancient civilization in which the people of Israel had their career.

Material progress endowed labor with the power of creating *surplus goods* over and above immediate needs. In war, the victors instead of slaughtering the vanquished, as hitherto, now began to spare life and to enslave their enemies. Thus we see that along with the rise of slavery came the rise of a ruling and proprietary class. In the struggle for existence, the larger, better organized, and more powerful groups conquered and absorbed the smaller and less powerful. And thus there came to be societies embracing affiliated clans, with an upper layer of freemen and a lower stratum of slaves. At last there appeared social bodies of national dignity, permanently settled in favored regions like the valleys of the Nile, the Tigris, and the Euphrates; and the curtain had risen on the stage of history. The ancient oriental civilization comes forward through the haze of myth and legend, out of the darkness of prehistoric times, with all the

marks of its earlier history strong upon it. The nations of the ancient East were engaged in wars of defense and conquest; and they were stratified into two principal classes, whereof the lower was the property of the upper.⁵

Before the beginnings of material progress the institution of slavery was not a factor in human life. It does not prevail, for instance, among the backward Fuegians of South America. The prime condition of slavery is that labor have the power to create a surplus over immediate needs. Slavery comes with surplus goods.⁶ Generally speaking, it originates when society passes over from the nomadic to the settled state; and it continues until social evolution advances to higher levels. Slavery was one of the fundamental institutions of ancient Israel. It was one of the pillars upon which the structure of society in Old Testament times was based. Its prevalence in Israel is hardly realized unless we study the biblical narratives and laws critically. Many times the Hebrew term rendered "servant" should be translated "slave." The fact of human bondage in ancient Israel should be approached, not in the light of modern ideals, but from the standpoint of the social process at large. It is well understood by scientific investigators that slavery was a great step in progress. We can truthfully represent ancient civilization under the figure of an *oasis* in the midst of a desert of savagery and barbarism. One of the functions of upper classes in ancient civilization was to undertake military campaigns against outside barbarians in order that the lower classes might enjoy the peace necessary to productive industry. If the enslaved classes had withdrawn, and attempted to set up conditions of equality and liberty, they either would have reverted to the primitive struggle for existence, or would have at once formed a new stratified society. No race ever could, or did, work its way up from the stone age into civilization on the basis of equality and liberty. It would have been impossible for free societies to organize and achieve

⁵ Cf. paper by the present writer, in this *Journal* for May, 1902 (Vol. VII, pp. 763 f.), entitled "The Capitalization of Social Development."

⁶ Cf. Nieboer, *Slavery as an Industrial System* (The Hague, 1900), p. 387: "Slavery as an industrial system is not likely to exist where subsistence depends on natural resources which are present in limited quantity."

the progress that has led up through the oriental, classic, and western civilizations into the social system of today. Modern democracy is as yet ignorant that it is a heavy pensioner upon despotic institutions.

In surveying the social process already sketched, we naturally go on from prehistoric beginnings into the circle of communities which included Israel as a late comer among them. Oriental civilization was the first group of societies to come forward into the light of history and work out a culture of sufficient strength to propagate itself onward in human experience. Here we discover the earliest beginnings of organized industry, education, politics, religion, and law that are known to us from written records. The Israelites themselves, upon settling in Canaan, became the beneficiaries of many centuries of progress.

We saw that when the people of Israel invaded Canaan they were unable to sweep the land clear of its earlier inhabitants. The walled cities mostly remained in possession of their former owners. But the incomers appropriated a large part of the country districts in the highlands. Some of the country Canaanites were, of course, killed in battle. But some were enslaved. The institution of slavery was already established in Canaanite society, as it was throughout the Semitic world. After the settlement of Israel, and the reduction of many Canaanites to bondage, later generations tried to account for the servile condition of the Canaanites by circulating a story about their putative ancestor, the youngest son of Noah. In accordance with the ideas of punishment common at that period, the Canaanites were said to be doomed to bondage as the penalty of a mistake made by their father Ham, wherefore the sentence was pronounced, "Cursed be Canaan. *A slave of slaves* [i. e., lowest of bondmen] shall he be unto his brethren" (Gen. 9:25). In this passage, as in many others, the English versions render by the word "servant" a Hebrew term, *ebed*, עֶבֶד, which is more accurately translated "slave." For instance, Ex. 21:2 is commonly translated "If thou buy a Hebrew servant," etc. Now, it is manifest that a servant, according to the modern idea of that word, cannot be *bought*. The Hebrew term here is the same as in

the other passage; and the Revised versions candidly put the word "bondman" in the margin.

In building up our conception of Israelite society, then, we must put the idea of slavery alongside the idea of kinship. Society consisted primarily of kinship groups, each of which was held together by the facts and fictions of the blood bond. The distinctions between the groups themselves had no reference to superiority or subordination, but merely to nearness or remoteness of kinship. The dividing lines were drawn through the vertical plane, so to speak, and left the groups on the same level with reference to each other. Within the groups, however, lines were drawn through the horizontal plane, above and below which were masters and slaves. In a community like ancient Israel a slave had to be attached to a family. Ancient society was always the political union of kinship groups which accumulated a lower class of slaves.

Slavery, however, is not the only basis for economic superiority and subordination. At first glance it does not appear that the social situation can be much affected by individual possession of the soil. But the institution of private land ownership is a great factor in the social problem. When the Israelites entered Canaan, the earlier population of the open country was in part exterminated, as the Book of Judges testifies, and partly enslaved, as in Gen. 9:25, cited above. The farm lands which thus became the spoil of war fell into possession of the heads of the families, or "father's houses," composing the clans of Israel. The upper class, therefore, in addition to its ownership of slaves held ownership in the soil. The effect of this institution was not so noticeable in the first few generations after the settlement as it was two or three centuries later, for instance at the time of Elijah. The amount of land was, of course, limited; and in time, through various causes, ownership of the soil concentrated in the hands of a small, wealthy class.

The leading industries among the ancient Semites were agriculture and cattle raising. These occupations were organized under the proprietorship of the upper class. The head of each Israelite family held land in the interest of his immediate circle

of relatives and dependents. So far as we can learn, there were no isolated farmhouses where single families dwelt alone. Such an arrangement would have been dangerous at that period of the world's history. The unsettled state of society, and the frequent inroads of desert clans, make a single establishment impracticable. Instead of this, a number of related families, constituting part of or all of a clan, would unite to form a rustic village. This was not a city in any sense, but merely a rural hamlet set in the midst of the fields and hills. The country districts were dotted with these tiny villages. They were collections of houses built close together without regard for architectural beauty or symmetrical arrangement of streets. Every morning all who could do so went forth to work in the adjacent fields; and at night they returned to the shelter and protection of the hamlet. A good illustration is found in the village of Gibeah, which lay a few miles northeast of Jerusalem in territory pertaining to the Benjaminite clan. This was a very small place, having only one main street. In Judges 19:16 we read, "And behold, there came an old man from his work *out of the field* at even." Gibeah was the home of Saul, who became one of the rulers of Israel. In I Sam. 11:4, 5 is the following: "Then came the messengers to Gibeah of Saul. And behold Saul came following the oxen *out of the field*." Israelite life in the country has this disposition wherever we catch sight of it. The boy David cares for the sheep of his father Jesse in the Judean hills; but the family headquarters are at the little village of Bethlehem (I. Sam., chap. 16). The home of Nabal the sheepmaster was in the village of Maon; but his work was in the adjoining fields of Carmel, "the garden land" (I Sam., chap. 25). The home of the great prophet Elisha was in the village of Abelmeholah; but his work was in the fields outside; for we read that when a visitor came to seek him at the village "Elisha the son of Shaphat was plowing with twelve yoke of oxen before him" (I Kings 19:16, 19). Likewise, the residence of the prophet Amos was at the hamlet of Tekoa; and his business was that of a shepherd and a dresser of sycamore trees (Amos 7:14). The identification of the unwallled villages with the open country is nowhere

more clearly indicated than in Levit. 25:31, thus: "The villages that have no wall round about them shall be reckoned with the fields of the country." To the inhabitant of the walled city, with its broad ways and streets, the villages were likewise a part of the rural districts: "Let us go forth into the fields; let us lodge in the villages" (Song of Sol. 7:11, cf. 3:2, etc.).

All of the leading characters of the times covered by the books of Judges and Samuel were men belonging to the upper class in the country districts. They had kinship connections with the family system of Israel; and they were usually well-to-do with reference to material goods. Some were, of course, wealthier than others. We reproduce a highly instructive passage concerning the sheepmaster Nabal, mentioned above. The quotation comes from I Sam., chap. 25:

And there was a man in [the village of] Maon, whose business was in Carmel [the garden land]. And the man was very great. And he had three thousand sheep and a thousand goats. And he was shearing his sheep in Carmel. Now the name of the man was Nabal; and he was of the clan of Caleb. And David heard in the wilderness that Nabal was shearing his sheep. And David sent ten young men, and said, Get you up to Carmel, and go to Nabal, and greet him in my name. And Nabal answered them and said, Who is David? And who is the son of Jesse? There be many slaves now-a-days that break away every man from his master.

This passage exhibits a number of the characteristic social factors already pointed out: Nabal was a free man of the Israelite upper class. He belonged to a clan which was known as "Caleb." His home was in the rustic village of Maon. His business was in the neighboring fields. He possessed much property, which included slaves, as the narrative indicates. His reference to the truant habits of slaves was probably suggested by personal experience within his own establishment. Nabal's wealth may have been above the average. He is, nevertheless, a type of the class that controlled ancient Israelite society.

Another good example is the patriarch Abraham, whose religious and theological significance has been so much emphasized that the importance from other standpoints of the biblical material referring to him has been overlooked. In the first place, it needs to be borne in mind that while the Book of Genesis relates

to prehistoric times, it was not written until after the Israelites had been settled in Canaan a long time. This point was brought out in our study of the nature of the biblical material. The Bible is not to be taken as a historical narrative in the ordinary sense, but as a narrative written for an ulterior, non-historical purpose. Not only this, but the Israelites were nomads during the period covered by Genesis; and in the nomadic state there is no writing of history. Although the Abraham narratives are not now accepted as prehistoric authority by the foremost scholars, they are excellent sources of information about the structure of the society in whose midst they were composed and circulated. We have classified Abraham with Nabal from the sociological standpoint; and we will now examine the data in order to see how the two cases compare. It is said that when the patriarch heard that his nephew Lot was taken captive, he went forth to the rescue at the head of three hundred and eighteen men, born in his own house, or family (*beth*, בֵּית, Gen. 14:14). Evidently, he was not the lonely wanderer sometimes pictured, but rather the "noun of multitude" of the critics. In accordance with this we read that "Abraham was very rich in cattle, in silver and in gold" (Gen. 13:2). Of like wealth was Lot. "And the land was not able to bear them, that they might dwell together; for their substance was great. And there was strife between the herdsmen of Abraham's cattle and the herdsmen of Lot's cattle" (Gen. 13:6, 7). With the exception that Abraham was a wanderer, while Nabal had a fixed location, the social status of the two men is identical. Abraham's nomadism was imposed by the conditions of the narrative, which purported to deal with the patriarchs of Israel before the invasion and settlement of Canaan; but otherwise Abraham and Lot could have been leading nobles of the time of David.

In the same class comes the famous Job, another great biblical character. It is entirely beside the point to ask whether Job was a real historical person or not. He is a typical figure, whether real or ideal; and the material relating to his position in society can be handled as in the case of Abraham. In the first chapter of the book bearing his name we read that he had eleven

thousand cattle, and a great multitude of slaves. Although deprived of his possessions, he became, according to the story, doubly rich in the end.

Owing to the fact that characters like Nabal, Abraham, and Job stand in the forefront of the biblical scene, it is no easy matter to learn how far the economic activity of that period was developed along the lines of commerce and manufacture. For these men were identified with pastoral and agricultural pursuits. The more advanced forms of industry, which have had such a tremendous development in western civilization, were comparatively backward in Semitic society. Nevertheless, long before the arrival of Israel in Canaan, a large trade in manufactured goods and natural products had sprung up between Egypt, Arabia, Canaan, Mesopotamia, Greece, and outlying barbarian tribes.⁷ The conditions promoting commerce and manufacture are everywhere the same. No locality is likely to supply everything that its inhabitants want or can utilize. Differences of soil, climate, and mineral deposits result in more products of a given kind in one region than its people can use. At the same time another part of the world has a deficiency in respect of the same products and an over supply of something else. Such differences lead to the exchange of goods. In connection with trade it becomes convenient to have definite centers where exchange can be regularly carried on. Hence the growth of *cities*. Another stimulus to city life is manufacture, which tends to centralize at the points of exchange.

We have seen that the land of Canaan was dotted with walled cities long before the Israelites came in from the desert; and it has been pointed out in the course of our survey that they were unable to take these Canaanite strongholds. The confinement of Israel to life in the country districts for many generations excludes notice of commerce and manufactures from the narratives of Judges and Samuel. And although country and city were at length politically united under the kings, the narratives of the Books of Kings are preoccupied with the interests of re-

⁷ Breasted, *History of Egypt* (New York, 1905), pp. 260, 237; Rogers, *History of Babylonia and Assyria* (New York, 1901), Vol. II, p. 280.

ligious conflicts; so that even at the later period, when cities played a more direct part in the social situation of Israel, we find much difficulty in tracing out the influence of commerce and manufactures. One fact, however, is clear: The country people soon made peace with the Canaanites of the cities and came into economic relations with them. The Israelite rustics are said to have had such goods as axes, forks, mattocks, plowshares, spears, knives, goads, razors, locks, cords, ropes, wagons, harness, yokes, harrows, sickles, baskets, dyed stuffs, etc. They might have made the rougher and simpler forms of these goods at home. But they could hardly resist the temptation to exchange country produce for the better-made articles that were to be found in the ancient cities. And it is certain that they could not have manufactured such iron implements as those mentioned in I Sam. 13:20, 21. In time the relations between the Israelites and the inhabitants of the walled cities thus became closer.

The Semitic families of ancient descent usually retained personal control of commerce and manufactures, managing these forms of industry through their slaves. Even the kings were not ashamed to become traders by proxy, as in the case of Solomon, who in this respect merely followed the example of the rulers of Egypt and Babylonia (I Kings, chaps. 9, 10). In the management of industry through slaves there were of course distinctions made between the slaves. Some were necessarily of higher position than others. The steward of Abraham, as already noticed, was Eliezer of Damascus. He was the chief slave, who ruled over all that Abraham had (Gen. 15:2; 24:2). The figures of the noble and his steward are familiar in the literature of both the Old and the New Testaments. The chief slave of Abraham typifies an entire class which, by reason of talent, stood near the top of the social system. Leading slaves of this kind were favored in proportion to their importance. In order to stimulate them to the most faithful service they were given commissions on the business which they handled; and they were thus able to acquire property of their own. Such men might buy their freedom, and set up independently of the ancient nobility, as in Lev. 25:49: "If he become rich he may redeem himself." But they

generally preferred to stand connected with some old family of established social position.

There was thus a tendency in Semitic society toward the formation of a distinct merchant and manufacturing class, or "third estate," as it has been called in European history. But this tendency never got full expression because the currents of ancient eastern trade never became powerful enough to detach commerce and manufactures from the old clanships. Much can be learned at this point by comparison. In ancient Greece and Rome, and again in modern Europe, commerce and manufactures began under the conditions just outlined; but their evolution proceeded so much farther that the tendency toward the formation of a new social class became irresistible. The third estate sprang into existence outside the limits of the old noble families. An interesting situation resulted. The machinery of government is always at first in charge of the ancient clan organizations; and the nobility discriminated against the new social class through its control of the taxing power and the courts. Great historic collisions resulted, the outcome of which was the admission of the new class to a voice in the government. The basis of the state, in Greece, Rome, and modern Europe, was thus transferred from Family to Property regardless of descent.⁸ In Semitic society, however, nothing of this kind occurred. Government remained on the family basis, controlled by the ancient clanships, and there never appeared a third estate over against the old nobility. The noble class always has a limited capacity for assimilation. That is to say, it offers family connections to talented persons of humble birth who have succeeded in acquiring wealth. This holds true not only of ancient Semitic society, but of all civilization. Among the Semites the assimilative capacity of the ancient families kept ahead of the tendency toward the formation of a new social class. The chief slave of Abraham is recognized as his heir in case the master dies without male issue (Gen. 15:2). Likewise the aristocrat Sheshan, who had no sons, gave one of his daughters to

⁸ With the further transfer of political power from Property to Manhood we are not, of course, here concerned.

his chief slave as a wife (I Chron. 2:34). In the same way, the slave Joseph married a daughter of a priest belonging to the nobility (Gen. 41:45).

It has been claimed that under the ancient system of slavery there could be no "mobility of labor," as there is in modern times when the lower class enjoys personal liberty and can come and go in response to the demands of the market. As a matter of fact, however, an active trade in slaves located skilled and unskilled labor where it was wanted, and the mobility of labor was perhaps as great, in proportion to the development of the world, as it is today among the most advanced nations. This is an example of the erroneous ideas that gain currency in modern times respecting the social economy of the ancients. We are often tempted to think of ancient society as immovably fixed, when it illustrates the law of development in its own way as fully as does modern civilization.

The earliest legal codes in the Old Testament make no mention of hired labor, but assume that slavery is the universal condition of the lower class. These codes are in Ex., chaps. 20 and 21. Worthy of special notice is the seventeenth verse of the former chapter. In our English translations it reads: "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house, nor wife, nor man-servant, nor maid-servant, nor ox, nor ass, nor anything that is thy neighbor's." The words rendered "man-servant" and "maid-servant" would be much better translated "bondman" and "bondwoman," or "man-slave" and "woman-slave," respectively. For, even without the help of the Hebrew text, the slightest inspection of this familiar law is enough to show that it has no meaning with reference to the terms in question if the persons referred to are not held as property. There is nothing wrong in desiring, or "coveting," your neighbor's hired help. An employer can have no property right in a free laborer. Manifestly, then, this famous injunction presupposes property in human beings. Likewise, wherever the words "servant," or "man-servant," or "maid," or "maid-servant" occur in the English translation of Ex., chap. 21, they should be replaced by "slave," or "bondman," or "bondwoman," or terms to the same effect. These in-

stances are in vss. 2 (once), 5 (once), 7 (twice), 20 (twice), 26 (once), 27 (twice), 32 (twice). In some of these passages the English and American Revised versions explain correctly in the margin. Sometimes the context itself is enough to show the nature of the term without the help of the Hebrew. Thus, in vs. 2, "If thou *buy* a Hebrew servant," the servant must be a slave or he could not be subject to sale and purchase. Likewise, in vs. 7, "If a man *sell* his daughter to be a maid-servant." And in vs. 26, "If a man smite the eye of his servant, or the eye of his maid, he shall let him go *free* for the eye's sake." So much for the earliest legal codes of Israel.

Provisions for slavery are also found in later documents. A notable passage occurs in Lev. 25:44-46, in the translation of which the very nature of the material forces *all* the versions to make use of the terms which all avoid as far as possible.

And as for thy bondmen and thy bondmaids whom thou shalt have. Of the nations that are round about you, of them shall ye buy bondmen and bondmaids. Moreover, of the children of the strangers that sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy, and of their families that are with you, which they have begotten in your land; and they shall be your possession. And ye shall make them an inheritance for your children after you, to hold for a possession. Of them shall ye take your bondmen forever. But over your brethren the children of Israel ye shall not rule with rigor.*

* An important fact in this connection reveals the animus of the King James translators. We remarked that none of the versions of this passage could escape using the term "bondmen." Even the King James version is compelled to render correctly the identical Hebrew words which it elsewhere incorrectly translates "servant," etc. Our quotation, however, is from the Revised versions, which, although they give these terms correctly in common with the King James Bible, differ therefrom in one important particular. The revisions make the last part of Lev. 25:44 to read as follows, the italics being ours: "Of the *nations* that are round about you, of them shall ye buy bondmen," etc. The old version at this point reads: "Of the *heathen* that are round about you, of them shall ye buy bondmen," etc. Being forced in this passage to show that slavery was sanctioned by the laws of the Old Testament, the translators try to set afloat the idea that slavery is a punishment for heathenism. This is not only gratuitous; it misrepresents the Hebrew text itself. For the term here in question is the word *goy*, גוי, meaning "nation," or "people," exactly as the Revised versions have it. *In other cases where this term occurs the King James translators render it correctly*, as in Gen. 12:2, where the promise is made to Abraham, "I will make of thee a great *nation*." If they were here consistent with their practice in Lev. 25:44, they would have to make the promise to Abraham read,

Provision is made for the free hired laborer in Deut. 24:14, 15 thus:

Thou shalt not oppress a hired servant that is poor and needy, whether he be of thy brethren [the children of Israel], or of thy sojourners that are in thy land within thy gates. In his day thou shalt give him his hire; neither shall the sun go down upon it; for he is poor and setteth his heart upon it.

Likewise Lev. 19:13 lays down that the wages of a hired servant shall not remain with his employer over night. These laws were made in full view of a condition in which the status of hired labor was fixed by the overshadowing influence of slavery. When slaves were plentiful and cheap, as in Israel, it would not profit the upper classes to pay free labor much more than slaves got—that is, a bare living. This deduction agrees with the laws just cited; for laborers who had to be paid from day to day could not have stood above the economic level of slavery.

Our general conclusions regarding the industrial phase of Israelite society may now be summed up:

The industrial institutions of Israel developed under the forms of the clan state. In spite of a progressive tendency, the economic side of life always remained primitive. The social classes which became prominent in later civilizations were nascent in Israel and throughout the Semitic world. The Bourgeoisie and the Proletariat were never differentiated within the social mass. They existed potentially; but they acquired no machinery for

"I will make of thee a great heathen." Again, in Gen. 25:23, where Yahweh says to Rebekah, "Two nations are in thy womb," they would have to translate, "Two heathen are in thy womb." We make these explanations because the old version is in the hands of many of our readers; and its defects ought to be advertised as widely as possible. It has been of great service in the past when better versions could not be had; but it ought now to be everywhere replaced by the better translations. The sociological student should by all means avoid the King James version. Its defects are due to ignorance rather than to dishonesty. In the present case, for instance, the seventeenth-century scholars do not understand that the law in question, prohibiting enslavement of Israelites but permitting enslavement of foreigners, is a manifestation of primitive group-selfishness. For in the seventeenth century the nature of primitive society was not known to the scholars of western civilization. The law in question is in the same category as the law of tainted meat: "Ye shall not eat of anything that dieth of itself. Thou mayest give it unto the sojourner that is within thy gates that he may eat it. Or thou mayest sell it to a foreigner" (Deut. 14:21).

*self-expression and therefore no class-consciousness. Society being conceived only as a brotherhood group, the social problem is formulated in the Bible only in terms of individualism.*¹⁰

II. PRIMITIVE RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS OF ISRAEL

We now take up another standpoint with reference to our material. It was observed in our first paper that one of the most remarkable and interesting suggestions of modern scholarship is that the distinctive religion of the Bible is a growth on the basis of ideas and practices common to the ancient world. On this view, the *official* religion of Israel down to the Babylonian exile was level with the religions of antiquity, and not until some time after that epoch did it become distinct from the religions of surrounding peoples. We are aware that our indorsement of this proposition carries us into the center of the controversy over the so-called "higher criticism." But it will become clear that biblical sociology is more than a mere indorsement and reformulation of the results of previous investigation. It represents the passage of higher criticism into a form which its opponents will have less difficulty to understand and more difficulty to overthrow. All great truths are fundamentally simple. The movement of biblical scholarship is in the direction of a great truth which will be reduced to such a form as will find easy lodgment in minds of average culture. We are content, then, to take our stand with the critics in drawing the outlines of Israel's earlier institutions of religion, believing that the future course of our treatment will answer the objections of opponents.

According to the view here taken, the facts of Israel's early religion must be cited with reference to the common religious ideas and practices of Semitic antiquity—it would be better to say, with reference to *all* primitive religion. For, in substance of doctrine and ritual, the ancient Semite had little or nothing

¹⁰ This apparent contradiction in terms is due to the fact that the clan was disintegrating when the distinctive religion of Israel was coming into existence. Hebrew society outgrew the swaddling clothes of the clan without being measured for a new suit. Hence, the social problem was expressed as a matter lying between the *individual members* of society (i. e., the clan brothers) when, in reality, the problem had become an institutional matter outside the purview of the clan.

to distinguish him. His gods were no more powerful, or more base, or more spiritual, than the other deities of the pagan world. His mode of approach to them was not distinctive. His conception of the influence of the gods upon human life and the world was not peculiar to the Semitic race. Since all religions turn upon ideas concerning relations between gods and men, we will commence our discussion by considering the general subject—the *gods*.

It is a commonplace that all ancient nations had religions of some kind, and that they all worshiped what were supposed to be real, objective beings called "gods." The same is true of present-day savages who have not been converted to a higher faith. Ancient nations and modern savages, then, have this in common: they are what we call "pagans," or "heathen." From the standpoint of primitive religion, there is no single, true God, beside whom no other god exists. For in the view of primitive religion all gods are objective realities: one god is as much a real existence as another. All written records, including the Bible itself, are prepared in view of this impressive fact. The idea *that there are gods* became established in the human mind before the dawn of history. No book—not even the Bible—has ever laid open to us, as a matter of record, how the human mind became possessed of the god-idea. As we emphasized at the outset, it is no part of the work of biblical sociology to account for the existence of religion in general. Biblical sociology presupposes the idea of the gods and the practices of religion. Its task is to show the objective social conditions under which primitive ideas of the gods were displaced by the distinctive religious ideas of the Bible. In other words, biblical sociology is that phase of pure sociology which exhibits the transformation of primitive religion into a form adapted to the universal demands of social life.

It is a matter of profound significance for the sociologist that in primitive religion the gods were always conceived as members of the social body. According to the belief and practice of their worshipers, the gods had as real a place in the social fabric as the worshipers themselves. In modern terms, church and state were always united in ancient society; religion and politics were in-

timately connected. The separation of church and state was unknown to the ancient mind. The divorce of religion and politics was impossible. Everybody was religious. Atheism, skepticism, and agnosticism in the modern sense of these words were absent. The practice of religion was held to be vitally necessary to the welfare of society. If a man refused to participate in the religion of his group he thereby ostracized himself. As non-conformity could not be tolerated he became an outcast. The good-will and blessings of the gods depended upon the customary acts of worship on the part of all members of the group. Each group was responsible, as a corporation, for the maintenance of religion. It was the sense of corporate responsibility that was outraged by refusal to participate in the customary acts of religion; and it was this that led to expulsion of the non-conformist. If he were not cast out as a visible expression of disapproval, society would be sympathizing, or having fellowship, with impiety; and this would bring down the divine wrath upon all. The sense of corporate responsibility had a great deal to do with persecution of Protestants by Catholics at the time of the Reformation. For at that period the idea of the union of church and state was one of the controlling social doctrines.

In view of the ancient connection between religion and politics, it is not surprising that primitive thought looked upon the gods in a very intimate and familiar way. There was, indeed, no essential, or qualitative, distinction made between divinity and humanity, as there has been in later times. The gods were, in fact, magnified men. In the ancient mythologies they are said to have lived with men on the earth in early days. The gods were looked upon as personal beings, essentially like men, but more powerful. The root meaning of the Hebrew term which we translate "god" is *power*, or *might*. There is a great deal of uncertainty regarding the significance of this word and its derivatives. In the singular it is *el*, אֱל or *elo*, אֱלֹהִים. In this form it appears in Ex. 6:3, and is transliterated in the margin of the Revised versions, where the reader is told that "*El Shaddai*" is the equivalent of "*God Almighty*." In the New Testament it reappears many times, for instance in the words of

Jesus on the cross: *Eloi*, meaning "My God" (Mark 15:34). It is found in many Hebrew proper names, for instance Beth-*el*, meaning "house of God" (Gen. 28:19). A striking illustration is the name Isra-*el*, which is said to mean "God strives" (Gen. 32:28). Consideration of this word *el* introduces one of the most important factors in the biblical problem, for there is much uncertainty about the meaning of the word in its various forms.

In the first place, one who is not acquainted with Hebrew would seem to have good grounds for supposing that the term *el*, or *eloh*, in the singular form, is the term which we always translate by the word "God" in the singular. This assumption, however, is not correct. For it is not the singular *el*, but the plural *elohim*, אֱלֹהִים, which is most frequently rendered "God." We have already learned that the syllable *im* is a plural suffix in Hebrew; so that, if we have regard to appearances alone, the word *elohim* should always be rendered "gods." This, however, is wrong again. For in the picturesque Hebrew usage the plural is sometimes only a kind of superlative of the singular, heightening its function, but not changing its number. In most cases where the plural form *elohim* occurs, the evident reference is not to many gods, but to one God. Thus, in the opening sentence of Genesis we read that the heavens and the earth were created by *elohim*. In this case the context proves that the writer intends the singular usage. And since *el* indicates *power*, the use of the plural form in this passage means merely that the creation of heaven and earth was accomplished by Superlative Power, i. e., God.¹¹ In other cases precisely the same plural form, *elohim*, has the plural sense. Take, for instance, the words of David in I Sam. 26:19: "They have driven me out this day. . . ., saying, Go, serve other *elohim*." Here the word is correctly translated "gods" by all versions; yet it is the same combination of letters that occurs in the opening sentence of Genesis referred to a moment ago. We have to judge the meaning in many cases from the context alone.

While there is no difficulty in most cases, this term is fre-

¹¹ The singular forms occur about 200 times; while the plural is found over 2,500 times.

quently used in ways that embarrass translators who seek to produce popular versions. But the difficulty of those who try to make a translation that will not shock modern conventionality is the opportunity of scholars whose problem is interpretation of the material from a purely scientific standpoint. Consideration of these embarrassing *elohim* passages takes us a step farther into the subject.

The first case that we shall take up under this head occurs in the account of King Saul's visit to the witch of Endor, an ancient spirit medium (I Sam. 28:7 f.). The king wanted to consult the ghost of the prophet Samuel, who had recently died. We reproduce a part of the passage:

Then said Saul unto his slaves, Seek me a woman that hath a familiar spirit, that I may go to her, and enquire of her. And his slaves said to him, Behold, there is a woman that hath a familiar spirit at Endor. And Saul disguised himself, and put on other raiment, and went, he and two men with him, and they came to the woman by night. And he said, Divine unto me, I pray thee, by the familiar spirit, and bring me up whomsoever I shall name unto thee. Then said the woman, Whom shall I bring up unto thee? And he said, Bring me up Samuel. And when the woman saw Samuel, she cried with a loud voice. And the king said unto her, What seest thou? And the woman said unto Saul, I see *elohim* coming up out of the earth. And he said unto her, What form is he of? And she said, An old man cometh up; and he is covered with a robe. And Saul perceived that it was Samuel. And he bowed with his face to the ground, and did obeisance. And Samuel said to Saul, Why hast thou disquieted me to bring me up?

We are not concerned here to discuss the truth or falsity of this narrative as a matter of history, but merely to examine the ideas attaching to the term *elohim* which occurs in such a startling way in this remarkable passage. In modern versions prepared for the masses a case like this tries very sorely the patience of the translators; and the result serves only to distract the devout. In the King James Bible the translators make the woman say, "I saw *gods* coming up." This is immediately followed by the question "What form is *he* of?" or "What is *his* form?" If the word *elohim* ought to be rendered "gods," then the question ought to be, "What is *their* form?" But the Hebrew text would not permit this, for it goes on with singular constructions

to talk about one person, i. e., *Samuel*. Accordingly, both Revised versions change the main text of the translation to the singular, and make the woman say, "I see a *god* coming up." This brings the text into agreement with the inquiry, "What is *his* form?" But the Revisers thereupon indicate "gods" in the margins. So that the wayfaring man is left in much perplexity. No only this; but he is given a shock to encounter the term "god," or "gods," in application to a human being. Leaving this matter open we proceed to another interesting case in the same category.

The term *elohim* occurs in Gen., chap. 6, in a passage which we quote in part:

And it came to pass, when men began to multiply on the face of the earth, and daughters were born unto them, that the sons of *the elohim* saw the daughters of men that they were fair; and they took them wives of all which they chose. There were giants in the earth in those days; and also, after that, when the sons of *the elohim* came in unto the daughters of men, and they bare children to them, the same were mighty men which were of old, the men of renown.

In this case the old and the new versions alike turn the Hebrew phrase "sons of *the elohim*" into "sons of God," omitting all marginal reference to the troublesome term here under consideration. The Hebrew text of this passage, as we have indicated, places the definite article *the*, *ha*, הַ before the plural *elohim*.¹² In justice, therefore, the phrase "sons of the *elohim*" ought to be rendered "sons of the gods." What we have here, in fact, is a fragment of primitive religious literature, standing in the same class with the passage already quoted from *Samuel*. It is a bit of ancient mythology which came down to the editor of *Genesis* from Semitic heathenism. The sons of the gods mingle with men, choose wives, and beget a progeny of giants. The passage is too embarrassing for even the Revised versions to attempt a marginal explanation.

This discussion prepares us to take up a passage in *Ex.*, chap.

¹² It is true that the definite article, when placed thus, is intended sometimes to indicate *the* one, true God, as in *Isa.* 37:16 and 45:18. But would any Hebrew scholar assimilate these lofty spiritual passages in *Isaiah* with the sensually suggestive passage in *Gen.*, chap. 6?

21, which was considered from another standpoint in our study of kinship institutions. It relates to the liberation of Hebrew slaves after six years of service, but provides that if the slave shall say plainly that he loves his master and will not go out free, "then his master shall bring him unto *the elohim*, and shall bring him to the door, or unto the doorpost, and his master shall bore his ear through with an awl, and he shall serve him forever" (vs. 6). The question here is, What is the meaning of the phrase *the elohim* in this passage? How is it to be translated? The King James version replies with the rendering "His master shall bring him unto the judges." Both revisions, however, translate "His master shall bring him unto God," saying in the margin, "or *the judges*." Here again the plain reader, who desires to fathom all the meaning of the Bible, is left at sea. As a matter of fact, it should now be pointed out and emphasized that the word *elohim* is applied both to divine and human beings. The ghost-story in Samuel gives us a hint of this, when the spirit of the prophet is called *elohim*. But in the passage under discussion it is not certain whether the term has a human or a divine application. Hence the difference between the new and the old versions: the translators reveal their perplexity, and know not which way to turn. If the Revisers have their suspicions they dare not incorporate them either in text or in margin. It should be noted that the Hebrew text of this passage puts the definite article before the noun, as indicated in our quotation: "His master shall bring him unto *the elohim*." This fact will come up again presently.

In considering the interpretation to be put upon this passage it should be borne in mind that the Bible, as it now lies before us, consists of ancient material which has come down through the hands of editors and authors who occupy a late historical standpoint. In many ways they are out of sympathy with their forefathers. They judge earlier stages of the social process from the standpoint of later stages of the process. The law of Ex., chap. 21, regarding master and slave is not peculiar to Israel. It formulates a general Semitic usage going back to remote antiquity. In our study of kinship institutions we saw that the

adoption of an outsider by an ancient family carried with it acceptance of the family worship on the part of the newcomer. In harmony therewith we have emphasized, in the present part of our work, the rule that all the members of a primitive social group should conform to the religious institutions of that group. Consequently, when a slave became part of a household he had to accept the family religion. This is presupposed by the Deuteronomic law (Deut. 12:18 and 16:11). To the same general effect the priestly code incorporated in Genesis commands the circumcision of slaves: "He that is born in thy house, *and he that is bought with thy money*, must needs be circumcised. And the uncircumcised male *shall be cut off from his people*" (Gen. 17:13, 14).¹³ These data are sufficient proof that the religious usages of Israel, as regards the integrity of the social group, were similar to those of primitive society in general. As we conclude that the Exodus passage here in question points to a primitive religious rite, it will be clear that we side with the Revised versions rather than with the older translation. For the later versions, as we have seen, prefer to contemplate the slave's master as bringing him before "God" and not before "the judges." The ceremony prescribed by this law is the sign of a permanent connection between the Hebrew slave and his master's family. He has been previously taken into the family for a period of six years only; but he is now solemnly received into a covenant which lasts until death. The master takes him to *the elohim* (the gods), to the door of the house. If we interpret the passage correctly, it introduces one of the most common practices of primitive religion, according to which the slave swears allegiance forever to his master and to the family religion.¹⁴

¹³ Cf. Driver, *The Book of Genesis* (Westminster Commentaries, Methuen, London), pp. 187 f.

¹⁴ Discovery of the significance of *the elohim* in this passage is complicated by the fact that the editor is working from the standpoint of the later Israelite monotheism, and adapting a primitive regulation to consistency with a higher form of religion. He makes no provision for a lasting covenant on the part of the slave at the *beginning* of service because, according to the late legal theory presupposed by the editor, the time of service is limited and the slave, being a Hebrew, is already an adherent of his master's religion. *This part of the regu-*

Whether our interpretation of this particular case be correct or not, it is absolutely certain that the most fundamental form of primitive religion is worship of the gods peculiar to the family or clan. For ancient society is always an amalgamation of clanships, and although there were national and imperial gods in ancient history, claiming the adherence of many clans, yet the nature of society is such that the more humble and intimate forms of religion came first. Family religion at first is ancestor worship. This is well represented by the Chinese, with their "ancestral tablets," before which they bow in worship and leave offerings of food. In ancient Rome we find the "lares and penates," which were nothing more than private, family gods. Concerning these the historian Mommsen writes:

Of all the worships of Rome that which perhaps had the *deepest hold* was the worship of the tutelary spirits that presided in and over the household and the store-chamber. These were in family worship the gods of the household in the strict sense, the Lases or Lares, to whom their share of the family meal was regularly assigned, and before whom it was, even in the time of Cato the Elder, the first duty of the father of the household on returning home to perform his devotions. In the ranking of the gods, however, these spirits of the house and of the field occupied the *lowest* rather than the highest place.¹⁵

A careful study of primitive religion has been made at first hand by the Rev. Duff Macdonald, a Presbyterian missionary in central Africa. His work among the Soudanese natives brought him into contact with ideas and practices that carry us far back toward the origins of pagan religion. Mr. Macdonald shows that the prayers and offerings of the natives are presented to the spirits of the important dead. "It is here," he says, "that we find the great center of the native religion. The spirits of the dead are the gods of the living." To the same effect, Weber, the historian of philosophy, writes: "We find the belief in immortality and the worship of the dead, as beings that continue to live

lation had, therefore, to be recast; but the part relating to the actual ceremony at the door of the house is the really significant feature; and it is here that *the elohim* are found.

¹⁵ Mommsen, *History of Rome* (New York, Dickson's translation), Vol. I, pp. 213 f.

in spite of all, intimately connected with all religions."¹⁶ In view of such facts, we now begin to see why it is that primitive religion always regards the gods as actual members of the social body. Mr. Macdonald writes:

In all our translations of Scripture where we found the word God we used *Mulungu*; but this word is chiefly used by the natives as a general name for spirit. The spirit of a deceased man is called his *Mulungu*, and all the prayers and offerings of the living are presented to such spirits of the dead. It is here that we find the great center of the native religion. The spirits of the dead are the gods of the living. Where are these gods found? At the grave? No. The villagers shrink from yonder gloomy place that lies far beyond their fields on the bleak mountain side. Their god is not the body in the grave, but the spirit, and they seek this spirit at the place where their departed *kinsman* last lived among them. It is the great tree at the verandah of the dead man's house that is their temple; and if no tree grow here they erect a little shade, and there perform their simple rites. The spirit of an old chief may have a whole mountain for his residence, but he dwells chiefly on the cloudy summit. There he sits to receive the worship of his votaries, and to send down the refreshing showers in answer to their prayers. It is not usual for anyone to approach the gods except the chief of the village. It is *his relatives* that are the village gods. Everyone that lives in the village recognizes these gods; but if anyone remove to another village he changes his gods. He recognizes now the gods of his new chief. Ordinary ghosts are soon forgotten with the generation that knew them. Not so a few select spirits, the Caesars, the Napoleons, the Charlemagnes and Timurs of savage empires. A great chief that has been successful in his wars does not pass out of memory so soon. He may become the god of a mountain or a lake, and may receive homage as a local deity long after his own descendants have been driven from the spot. When there is a supplication for rain the inhabitants of the country pray not so much to their own forefathers as to the god of yonder mountain on whose shoulders the great rain-clouds repose.¹⁷

In the worship of the dead it is usual to prepare some physical token or symbol toward which the worshiper may direct his prayers and offerings. Thus the idols of paganism originate, and they take many forms. The dead body itself, or part of it, is sometimes embalmed and worshiped. In ancient Egypt the gods are frequently represented by a mummy. In that country the god Osiris was said to have lived on the earth in early

¹⁶ Weber, *History of Philosophy* (New York, 1904, Thilly's translation), p. 17.

¹⁷ Macdonald, *Africana*, quoted by Allen, *Evolution of the Idea of God* (New York, 1897), pp. 25-28.

ages and to have been killed by his brother. Of this god, Professor Breasted writes:

The original home of Osiris was at Dedu in the Delta; but Abydos, in Upper Egypt, early gained a reputation of peculiar sanctity, because the head of Osiris was buried there. He always appeared as a closely swathed figure, enthroned as a Pharaoh, or merely a curious pillar, a fetish surviving from his prehistoric worship. The external manifestations and symbols with which the Egyptian clothed these gods are of the simplest character, and they show the primitive simplicity of the age in which these deities arose.¹⁸

Bearing in mind the facts adduced above, we shall now consider the traces of household, or family, religion in ancient Israel. The private gods of the Hebrews were known in their language as the *teraphim*. It will be noticed that this is a plural form, but it may indicate many gods or one, as its usage is similar to that of *elohim*. We find a very instructive illustration of household religion in the family of Micah, an Israelite peasant living in the hill country of Ephraim. His date is not known; but he is said to have lived before the time of the monarchy. We quote a part of the text of Judges, chap. 17:

And there was a man of the hill country of Ephraim whose name was Micah. And the man Micah had a house of *elohim* (gods), and he made an *ephod*¹⁹ and *teraphim*, and consecrated one of his sons, who became his priest. And there was a young man out of Bethlehem-Judah who was a Levite. And the man departed out of Bethlehem-Judah to sojourn where he could find a place; and he came to the house of Micah as he journeyed. And the Levite was content to dwell with the man. And Micah consecrated the Levite, and the young man became his priest.

The following chapter (Judges, chap. 18) relates the circumstances under which the tribe of Dan, consisting of six hundred warriors, robbed Micah of his priest and his *teraphim*. At first the Levite objected, but the Danites bade him hold his peace, asking, "Is it better for thee to be a priest unto the house of one man or to be a priest unto a tribe and a family in Israel?" No answer to this question is recorded, but the narrative continues: "And the priest's heart was glad; and he took the *ephod* and the *teraphim* and the graven image, and went in the midst of the people."

¹⁸ Breasted, *History of Egypt* (New York, 1905), p. 60.

¹⁹ A plated image.

Here we find the cult of the *teraphim* in a private family, after which it is indorsed and appropriated by an entire tribe. Another trace of the *teraphim* is found in the home of David. We reproduce I Sam. 19:11-16:

And Saul sent messengers unto David's house, to watch him, and to slay him in the morning. And Michal, David's wife, told him, saying, If thou save not thy life tonight, tomorrow thou wilt be slain. So Michal let David down through the window. And he went and fled and escaped. And Michal took the *teraphim* and laid it in the bed, and put a pillow of goat's hair at the head thereof, and covered it with the clothes. And when Saul sent messengers to take David, she said, He is sick. And Saul sent the messengers to see David, saying, Bring him up to me in the bed, that I may slay him. And when the messengers came in, behold the *teraphim* was in the bed, with the pillow of goat's hair at the head thereof.

From this passage we learn that the *teraphim* must have been images having a human form, or they could not have been put to the use indicated. Another instance is found in Gen., chap. 31, which we quote in part:

Now Laban was gone to shear his sheep; and Rachel stole the *teraphim* that were her father's. And Laban said to Jacob, Wherefore hast thou stolen my gods? And Jacob answered and said to Laban, With whomsoever thou findest thy gods, he shall not live. For Jacob knew not that Rachel had stolen them. Now Rachel had taken the *teraphim* and put them in the camel's furniture, and sat upon them. And Laban felt all about the tent, but found them not.

The real nature of the *teraphim* is involved in obscurity. They were clearly a species of god. Laban asks, "Wherefore hast thou stolen my gods?" They were represented by images, probably human in form. They were a part of the private household religion that is found in all ancient societies. Before them were cast lots (Ezek. 21:21). Their worship could be transferred from the auspices of the private family to those of the clan or tribe, as in the case of Micah, whose religious outfit was appropriated by the Danites. But beyond these considerations we know nothing about the nature of household religion in ancient Israel.

Above this humble form of worship there developed in ancient times a great superstructure of religious institutions which commanded the devotion of many families in common. The

genesis of these more extensive cults is easily understood, for we can often see them in process of construction. A god who has at first but a few adherents may attract a wider circle of worshippers. We have seen illustrations of this not only in the case of Micah and the Danites but in the African evidence brought forward by Rev. Duff MacDonald. It should be emphasized that, since the gods are members of society, a god can do anything a man can do. In other words, if a man can be chosen chief of a clan or tribe, or king of a nation, so can a god be chosen as a tribal or national deity. If this very simple rule is once mastered, it will clarify a large part of the mystery of primitive religion. A number of clans may unite against their enemies, taking the god of the leading clan as an object of common worship for all the clans in the confederation. Or, as Mr. Macdonald writes, in the passage already quoted, "a great chief that has been successful in his wars does not pass out of memory soon. He may . . . receive homage as a local deity long after his own descendants have been driven from the spot." The rise of a wider worship outside the limits of the household group does not imply abrogation of the humbler forms of religion. Two or more grades, or degrees, of religious institutions may thus coexist within a social body.

When the Israelites entered Canaan they adopted from the older inhabitants a form of worship that stood midway in degree between family and national religion. This was the worship of the *Baalim*, already noticed incidentally. We have seen that this term in the singular form indicates the master and proprietor of the Hebrew family. In the same way, each of the Canaanite districts had its local god who was its divine Baal, its owner and proprietor. The Israelites intermarried with the Canaanites, and adopted the worship of the Baalim quite naturally as a part of their system of religion. This notice is introductory. We shall recur to the highly important subject of Baal worship at different points in the course of our study.

We now come to the widest form of Israel's religion—to a cult which overtopped that of Baalim and teraphim. At the time the Hebrew clans entered Canaan there was diffused through

all of them a general, or common, worship. When they finally succeeded in forming a nation under the kings this worship became the national religion. The name of the national deity of Israel has not yet become familiar to the modern ear. Its first syllable is found in Psalm 68:4, as follows: "His name is JAH." This is pronounced as in the Hebrew phrase *hallelu-jah*, which means, "Give praise to Yah." The syllable is frequently a part of the names of Israelite persons, thus: Isaiah (Yah is help), Hezekiah (Yah is strength), Elijah (Yah is my god). The full form of the name is *Yahweh*. It occurs in the Hebrew text more than 6,800 times as the peculiar name of Israel's national god.²⁰

This notice of the name is preliminary to a view of Yahweh himself in his earlier character. The idea of him found in the earlier parts of the Old Testament is primitive. The later documents (like Genesis) regard him as the creator of heaven and earth, and the one, true God. It is from these later parts of the Bible that we derive our conventional impressions. But the earlier documents embodied in Judges, Samuel, and Kings are identified with a different view. Here he is called "the elohim [god] of Israel." For, just as the Israelites were only one people among the nations of the earth, so Yahweh was at first regarded as a god among other gods. Not only were the Baalim and the teraphim worshiped along with him; but the Israelites also admitted the reality of the gods of other peoples. His original character in this respect comes out with startling distinctness in several passages. Thus, in the time of the Judges, one of the

²⁰ All that we have in the original Hebrew is the *consonants* Y-H-W-H. The *vowels* were not written at the time the Old Testament was composed, but were supplied many centuries later. In many cases there is uncertainty about the original pronunciation of words. Nobody knows just what is the correct pronunciation of YHWH. Sometimes vowels have been inserted making it read Yehowah, sometimes Yehowih. Again, modern translators have often rendered it Yehowah, or Jehovah. Although we do not know the correct, or original, way of pronouncing this name, we do know that the last is wrong, and should be avoided in a scientific treatise. When the King James translators found the word YHWH they generally rendered it "the LORD." This practice was followed by the English Revised; but the American Revised consistently translates "Jehovah."

military chiefs of Israel addresses the king of the neighboring Ammonites to this effect: "So now, Yahweh, the god of Israel, hath dispossessed the Amorites from before his people Israel, and shouldst thou possess them? Wilt not thou possess that which Chemosh thy god giveth thee to possess?" (Judg. 11:23, 24). The argument of Jephthah, the Israelite leader, is based upon the divine right of conquest. Israel ought to keep the territory which has been won by the help of Yahweh, and in the same way the Ammonites ought to keep the territory which has been given to them by their god Chemosh. This god appears to have been worshiped both by the Ammonites and the Moabites.²¹ He reappears in another passage: "Woe to thee, Moab! Thou art undone, O people of Chemosh. He hath given his sons as fugitives, and his daughters into captivity" (Num. 21:29). The early Israelites believed in the reality and power of Chemosh and other foreign gods just as they believed in the reality of Yahweh.

Another instructive reference to the god of Moab is given in II Kings, chap. 3, where a battle between Israel and Moab is described. The conflict was going against the Moabites. "And when the king of Moab saw that the battle was too sore for him, he took with him seven hundred men that drew sword, to break through unto the king of Edom, but they could not." So closely were the Moabites besieged in their capital city that they found it impossible to break out and escape. Goaded to desperation, King Mesha now resolved upon a measure of the last extremity: "Then he took his eldest son, that should have reigned in his stead, and offered him for a burnt offering upon the wall." This was done with all solemnity upon the wall of the city in full view of the Israelites, who knew just what it meant. The king was giving up to the god Chemosh his dearest son in the hope that the god of Moab would thus be stimulated to fight harder for his people and pour his wrath upon the Israelites. After giving full details up to this point, the biblical narrative ends abruptly in embarrassment. King Mesha had seized the psychologi-

²¹ Other passages name the god of the Ammonites as *Milcom*; but the point is not worth discussing here.

cal moment for his awful sacrifice: "And there came great wrath upon Israel; and they departed from him and returned to their own land" (vss. 26, 27).

The gods of Moab and Israel reappear in the background of the first chapter of Ruth. An Israelite widow, Naomi, who had been living in Moab, set out to return to Israel. Seeing her two daughters-in-law following, she bade them return to Moab. One of them obeyed; but the other, whose name was Ruth, refused. Naomi thereupon said to Ruth: "Behold, thy sister-in-law is gone back unto her people *and unto her god*. Return thou after thy sister-in-law." In other words, Naomi urged her Moabite daughter-in-law to return to Moab and to the worship of Chemosh. But Ruth replies, "Where thou goest, I will go; where thou lodgest, I will lodge; thy people shall be my people; and thy god my god." From these words the older commentators deduced that Ruth was a convinced worshiper of the god of Israel. But we have to judge her attitude, not from the standpoint of what she says about Yahweh, but from the standpoint of her devotion to Naomi. She emphasizes that whatever people, or place, or god Naomi chooses will be chosen by Ruth. As Rev. Mr. Macdonald says, in the passage already quoted, "If anyone remove to another village he changes his gods. He recognizes now the gods of his new chief." Exactly the same attitude was taken both by Ruth and by Naomi. Any interpretation which does not proceed in view of the admitted reality of both Yahweh and Chemosh does violence to this beautiful tale of ancient Israel.

Our present object is to become acquainted with the atmosphere of primitive religion before taking up the social process of the Bible. To this end we shall find it instructive to consider a few passages from the famous Moabite Stone. One of the factors in the consolidation of the Israelite clans under a national government was the pressure of external social groups, among whom the Moabites were prominent. Anything that illustrates the religious ideas and practices of the Moabites helps us to reconstruct the social situation of the Old Testament. The Moabite Stone was discovered in 1868 in the territory of an-

cient Moab. Its language differs but little from the Old Testament Hebrew. The translation, which we quote in part, is by Professor Driver, of Oxford University:

I am Mesha, son of Chemosh, king of Moab. And I made this high-place for Chemosh because he had saved me from all the assailants. Omri, king of Israel, afflicted Moab for many days because Chemosh was angry with his land. And Chemosh said unto me, Go, take Nebo against Israel. And I went by night, and fought against it from the break of dawn until noon. And I took it and slew the whole of it. And I took thence the vessels of Yahweh, and I dragged them before Chemosh. And the king of Israel had built Yahas and abode in it while he fought against me. But Chemosh drave him out from before me. And Chemosh said unto me, Go down, fight against Horonen. And I went down.²²

The inscription explains itself. The king and the god have been previously introduced by the Old Testament. The attitude of the Moabites toward Chemosh is the same as the *earlier* attitude of the Israelites to Yahweh; and if the name of the god of Israel were substituted for that of Chemosh one might suppose the inscription to be taken out of the Bible itself.

The Israelite conquest of Canaan signified not only that Israel had acquired the land, but that Yahweh, their divine leader, had acquired it also. In time, Canaan became "the inheritance of Yahweh" (I Sam. 26:19); and Yahweh became "the god of the land" (II Kings 17:26). Removal from a country was equivalent to leaving the presence of the god of the land, as in the case of Ruth and Naomi, who thought it a matter of course to worship the deity of any people among whom they took up their abode. This idea is illustrated by David's attitude at the time King Saul was pursuing him to take his life: "They have driven me out this day that I should not cleave unto the inheritance of Yahweh, saying, Go, serve other gods. Now therefore, let not my blood fall to the earth *away from the presence of Yahweh*" (I Sam. 26:19 f.).²³

²² *Encyclopedia Biblica* (New York, 1902), Vol. III, cols. 3045 and 3046.

²³ This is the correct translation and is given so by the English and American Revised versions. The King James Bible renders the last sentence incorrectly thus: "Let not my blood fall to the earth before the face of the LORD." This is due rather to general ignorance than to dishonesty. It seemed incredible to the

The god of the Old Testament, then, was not at first regarded as the only God of the Universe. Originally he was, at the most, what the older documents call him, "the god of Israel," just as Chemosh was the god of Moab, and as Dagon was the god of the Philistines. His worship was not thought to be incompatible with worship of the local teraphim and Baalim, nor with service of the gods of other lands if Israelites removed from their own country. Not only this, but a foreign god could be worshiped within the limits of Israel if his altar were built on earth imported from his own land (II Kings 5:17). Even in some of the stories that seek to exalt Yahweh over other gods, the basis in primitive religion is clearly to be perceived. In Ex., chaps. 7 and 8, there is a contest between Aaron and the magicians of Egypt. Aaron, working by the power of Yahweh, casts his rod on the ground, and it becomes a serpent. The Egyptian magicians, working by the power of their gods, cast down their rods and turn them into serpents. Then the serpent of Aaron swallowed up the serpents of the magicians. This proved, according to the logic of the story, that the other gods had power to do great things; but that Yahweh could do still greater and more wonderful things. The early Israelites knew nothing of any commands to worship Yahweh to the exclusion of other gods, as provided in the so-called laws of Moses. There was no movement against the other gods until about two hundred and fifty years after the Israelites had settled in Canaan. Not until the time of Elijah did any man arise in Israel whom we can identify with that struggle of Yahweh against other gods which is characteristic of the Old Testament. Not only this, but in the period of Elijah there began to be *social* movements, in harmony with his claims; and a careful examination of the biblical data shows that the causal factor of the situation was the state of society, and not the man Elijah. The prophet gave expression to social forces which began to operate in his day to an issue unlike anything in the previous history of Israel.

scholars of three centuries ago that David could suppose that the jurisdiction of the God of the universe was limited to Canaan, and that by leaving Canaan one passed away from his presence.

This is not the point at which to show why affairs took a new turn in the time of Elijah. We are simply calling attention to the *fact* in order to emphasize that before the age of this great prophet there was no movement against the other gods. This movement finally succeeded in establishing the official religion of Israel upon the proposition that the service of other gods beside Yahweh is heresy. But until this purpose was accomplished, Elijah and his successors were themselves treated as heretics; and the worship of Yahweh was held to be compatible with service of other gods.

Our preliminary view of this phase of the subject may be brought to a close by the following statement:

*Study of Israel's primitive religious institutions is valuable to us because the distinctive religion of the Bible grew out of them. Their main features, as well as the fact of their development into a higher form, have been emphasized by the literary and historical criticism of the Bible. But it is impossible to show how and why the distinctive biblical religion developed unless the history of Israel is treated categorically as a social process.*²⁴

²⁴ The inability of literary and historical higher criticism of the Bible to solve the problem of Israel's religion has at last been acknowledged by Wellhausen, the leader of the critics, as follows: "Even if we could trace the development [of Israel's religion] more closely and more surely, at the most only a very inadequate explanation would really be given. Why, for example, did not Chemosh in Moab become the god of righteousness and the creator of the heavens and the earth? A satisfactory answer to this question cannot be given." Quoted in the *Biblical World* (University of Chicago Press), July, 1908, p. 71. We of course take direct issue with Wellhausen; but his statement is a frank admission of what we have been claiming about literary and historical higher criticism.

REVIEWS

Social Education. By COLIN A. SCOTT, PH.D., head of the Department of Psychology, Boston Normal School. Ginn & Co. Pp. 300.

The aim of the book "is to put at the disposal of its readers a point of view or method of thinking rather than a completed system of thought." Two introductory chapters dealing with social relationships and tests for the school are followed by three chapters dealing respectively with Dr. Cecil Reddie's school at Abbotsholme, The George Junior Republic, and Professor Dewey's Laboratory School. In the two chapters following these Dr. Scott gives an account of his own work and that of others associated with him, and attempts to show that it embodies some features of the social spirit more completely than any of the three schools discussed. In the concluding chapters there is an attempt to show that the best teaching of various subjects depends upon a recognition of social facts.

The book is one which it is difficult to estimate as a whole. Its parts are of varying degrees of merit. In those chapters in which the author deals with the experiences of himself and his co-workers, there is much that is suggestive and it would have been well worth the while to have developed the subjects presented. As it stands, the treatment of social education is confined to self-organized groups of children or young people only. Teachers are not included in these groups. No attempt is made to give an account of the origin and development of the social instinct. The treatment is static, not dynamic.

In those chapters dealing with the experiments of others, notably those of Professor Dewey and his co-workers in the Laboratory School, it would seem that Dr. Scott would limit the term *social* to such activities as spring from the mutual interactions of a self-organized group. Social forces which operate through parents, teachers, and a course of study made by anyone outside the group, are rejected; and yet, in the discussion of the work of himself and his associates, these very factors nearly always appear although they are not always consciously recognized. Hence the difficulty in determin-

ing the connotation of the term *social* as used by the author. And this difficulty is further increased by the illustration of social education, given on pages 110-12, in which a child named Bessie figures. This child, for failing to take responsibilities, was dropped from the group to which she belonged; and as long as she stayed in the school was never invited to join another. Although the situation was relieved by the removal of Bessie's parents from the neighborhood before the close of the term, we are told nothing of the remainder of her life in the school aside from the statement that she was "not depressed in the least" by the treatment accorded to her. It would seem that the illustration embodied social problems well worth the attention of the teacher and the group.

There is one idea which is insisted upon with considerable uniformity throughout the discussion—that of the importance of self-organized groups. If this admirable idea has been overworked it is doubtless due in part to the fact that it needs emphasis in order to find an entrance into our educational system.

With regard to the course of study, it is not enough, according to the author, for the teachers to select materials carefully with reference to their fitness to meet the needs of the child, even when such materials are tested with children who are perfectly free to accept or reject. The group must furnish its own course of study. The general character of these and similar statements made throughout the discussion of the Laboratory School, makes it exceedingly difficult to understand what Dr. Scott's notion of the function of the teacher really is. He is not a member of the group and the group seems to be self-sufficing. He must keep his hands off the course of study; he must not suggest a problem, and it would seem (and here possibly we may catch a suggestion of a negative function) that he must not permit a child to get more out of a process than he sees in it when it is in the stage of the impulse. An illustration that points in this direction is the objection raised when the children of the Laboratory School who at first wanted to cook merely to "mess around" were led through the expression of this impulse under social conditions, to acquire a certain skill in cooking and a rational insight into the process. It would seem from this that Dr. Scott interprets the act of teaching the child so that he learns more than he had dreamed of learning from a given process, as taking an undue advantage of his ignorance and depriving him of the opportunity to remain in that blessed state. And yet, there are indications,

even in the treatment of this topic, that Dr. Scott would have the group do more than merely "mess around."

In failing to recognize that there are two factors in education, an *individual* and a *social* and in failing to recognize that the subject-matter, and the guidance of teachers and parents are just as truly social in their proper place as the first-hand experiences of the group, Dr. Scott strikes against a hard rock which has obstructed the way of many an enthusiast in education. Such misconceptions are responsible for the waste which comes from *ending* as well as beginning with the experience of the individual or the group; with ending as well as beginning with purely instinctive expressions; one factor in education—first-hand experience—is recognized, but the failure to recognize the situations which give this experience an opportunity to function deprives it of its real value.

The merits of the work as a careful and accurate statement and interpretation of facts may be illustrated, perhaps, from the following extracts:—On page 80 Dr. Scott, when discussing the Laboratory School, states on his own authority, "New adaptations in the course of study were constantly being made." But when he wrote page 83 he evidently lost sight of his recent statement for, after strong words of disapproval, he states, ". . . the realization of any theory of education always meets with serious obstructions in practice . . . but these difficulties should return upon the theory and modify it, if it is to maintain itself as a guide and remain free from the suspicion of being *a priori*." This last thrust, with an expression borrowed from Professor Dewey's philosophy, tends to give to the situation an element of humor.

KATHARINE E. DOPP

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO EXTENSION DIVISION

Colonization: A Study of the Founding of New Societies. By ALBERT GALLOWAY KELLAR, professor of the science of society, Yale University. Ginn and Co., 1908. 1 vol. Pp. xii+632; with six maps.

Dr. Kellar has here brought together, primarily "to provide a textbook for the study of colonization," certain least known and least accessible data of colonial history. He states that "the book is based almost entirely on treatises rather than sources." He has made a clear, readable history. The dry bones are not reshaped out of

scientific recognition by the personality of the author, but they are vitalized by his sane and frequently sage interpretations.

Because of the accessibility of data on British, French, Russian, Belgian, Japanese, and American colonies these nations are not treated in the book; of the moderns only the Germans and Italians are given space, and "they in something of the appendix style." No attempt is made to give a fast and fixed definition of a colony, but Dr. Kellar uses the word in the sense of "a political dependency, settled or prospectively to be settled, to some degree, by the citizens of its dominant state."

Chapter i (20 pages) is given up to "Definition and Classification." The essential differences between colonies in tropical regions (plantation colonies) and those in temperate regions (farm colonies) are clearly presented.

Chap. ii (57 pp.) presents facts on the colonies of the Chinese, Phoenicians, Greeks, Romans, and early Italians; chaps. iii and iv (88 pp.) treat of Portuguese colonies in the East and in Brazil; chaps. v-ix (197 pp.) are given up to a discussion of Spanish colonization; chaps. x-xii (129 pp.) treat of Netherland colonies; chap. xiii (20 pp.) deals with "the colonies of the Scandinavians," viz., Danish East and West India companies, and polar colonies; chap. xiv (79 pp.) presents "modern Italian and German colonization."

From three years' experience in the tropics, I heartily agree with Dr. Kellar's views on tropical colonization—his discussion of which, in chap. i, may be tersely, though not adequately, summed up in his sentence, "The conditions of the tropical colony are . . . extremely unfavorable to both individual and society [from a temperate climate]." However, his statement regarding Europeans in the tropics seems not to be true of Americans in the Philippine Islands: "Pregnancy and parturition constitute a grave danger to European women, and, as is natural, the infant death-rate is high."

Dr. Kellar seems to me to have been shrewd in his several characterizations of the various peoples considered. Of the Spanish and Portuguese he says: "For a nation like the Spaniards . . . the first and most engrossing interest in any new world must have lain in the large element of hazard and adventure which is offered. The expeditions and conquests were motived by the desire for wealth won speedily in the opening up of a mysteriously attractive unknown." Again he says: "The spirit of conquest was commingled

with that of crusade; the Iberian soldiers went out to win the temporal empire for the sovereign, and the spiritual dominance for the faith."

Of the Dutch (the Netherlands) Dr. Kellar notes, "The Dutch continued to regard Java . . . from the standpoint of what is in essence almost unmixed national egoism. Hence it is that the narrative of Dutch colonization seems so barren and sordid, so unrelieved by the dramatic or romantic, almost empty of the play of passion, of personal highmindedness and renunciation in the pursuit of perhaps unwise ideals; for it is almost exclusively a record of accountings and cheatings, a tale of consistent exploitation. Thus the topics to be considered, as period follows period, are variations upon the same monotonous theme: commercial policy."

Of the Scandinavian Danes he says, "The Danish programme was trade pure and simple; it included no political aims of any kind." He notes of the Norwegian Scandinavians: "Evidently the Norwegian colonists [in Iceland] were an industrious people . . . desiring above all, from the government to which they had sworn allegiance, conditions of peace and order." Again he says of these people: "It would be an evidence of narrow interest on the part of any narrator of Icelandic affairs to neglect to mention the astonishing intellectual and especially literary productiveness of these northern islanders. . . . They are more Norse than the Norse."

Of the Italians we are told: "Italy is a nation which hoped, by taking thought, to add unto her stature;" but Italy was not prepared for successful colonization. She lacked internal political cohesion, capital, population, and knowledge of lands, people, and processes necessary for colonial success. "The Italians, together with other Latin nations, suffer from a race-temperament unfortunate in colonizers. They are generally dominated too much by feeling and too little by judgment; they are attracted too much by abstract theory, military glory, and all that which caters to national vanity."

The Germans have cried that they got into the colonizing game "too late;" but Dr. Kellar says the "German was surpassingly fitted for scientific colonization—absolutely and relatively better equipped than any other country has been." "Little false sentiment is to be found and few grandiloquent expressions of purely humanitarian aims. The problem is approached with cool head and with a method that is scientific." "The vital error in the German policy has been the attempt to carry over to the colonies the complex military and

administrative system of the homeland—[almost a national characteristic].”

An excellent 12-page bibliography, six specially prepared maps, and a good index add to the value of the book.

As treating a special topic of the broad subject of sociology the book will be welcomed both inside and outside of the university.

ALBERT ERNEST JENKS

The Privileged Classes. By BARRETT WENDELL. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908. Pp. vii+274.

The Privileged Classes consists of four essays: “The Privileged Classes,” delivered as an address before the Twentieth Century Club of Chicago in January, 1908; “Our National Superstition,” delivered as the Commencement address at Haverford College in 1904; “The American Revolution,” and “Of Education,” the latter two being now published for the first time.

The essay-address on “The Privileged Classes” presents the laboring man as the privileged class because he often occupies two seats in the street car although he has paid for only one, because he outnumbered property owners and can vote tax levies upon property he does not own, being himself free from any direct tax, because he demands from politician and public the protestation of unhesitating and enthusiastic loyalty; because he does not “use a shovel twice without a good long rest between the shovelfuls,” because his prices are higher and his work poorer than a German tailor; because he combines to limit the hours of work and its quantity and to exclude all competition with their associated selves; because he favors the “fellow-servant clause” in the employers’ liability act; and because he believes in a progressive income tax.

With the exception of the combination to regulate conditions of employment and competition, these reasons seem to the reviewer to be of little significance. They are such things, perhaps, as “a man of letters”—which the author calls himself in a dozen places—might seize upon, but they are too inconsequential to have much force with men who are close to the battle.

“Our National Superstition” is that popular education is the cure for all our ills. The author criticizes the modern theory of practical education and defends the older cultural theory.

The essay-address is suggestive and at times convincing. The

other essays are not more significant than the two already reviewed, being rather academic and general.

The author's style is most excellent, the book being very delightful from a literary standpoint. The argument lacks convincing power, being sometimes overburdened with qualifying phrases as for example "Popular feeling, a pretty serious fact in an immemorially democratic political society, expresses itself as if, with various degrees of wisdom and folly, the people in general were disposed, at least for the while, to believe the antagonism profound" (p. 102).

THOS. J. RILEY

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

Our Irrational Distribution of Wealth. By BYRON C. MATHEWS, PH.D. New York: Putnam, 1908. Pp. vi+195. \$1.25.

This little book is significant, because it is another excursion of a professional economist into the precincts of sociology. The thesis of the book is, that while there has been an enormous change in the methods and quantity of production, distribution has not changed, but is still on the old basis of manager taking the lion's share. The panacea for the ills of distribution is found in public ownership, and this thesis is argued interestingly in ten chapters: Introduction; The Sources of Wealth; Capital's Illegitimate Function the Key to Distribution; Basis of Distribution Wrong; Land-Rent, a Gratuity; Interest Makes No Discrimination; The Wage System, the Step from Legal into Economic Slavery; Profits, a Gratuity; The Second Distribution; Public Ownership the Source of Permanent Improvement. The following are the conclusions of Dr. Mathews:

1. The methods of business and the methods of producing wealth have been revolutionized. This necessitates a revolution also in the methods of distribution of wealth.

2. Land-rent, the return for the use of natural agents, as an agency of distribution, takes a portion out of social income and gives it under various names, such as rent interest, dividends, to landlords who do nothing for society in return for it. They secure it through private ownership of natural resources.

3. Land-rent is produced by the increase of population and the development of society. Resulting from social growth it ought to be devoted to social purposes, primarily to defraying the expenses of government.

4. Interest, paid for the use of capital, as an agency of distribution, takes a portion out of social income and gives it under various names, such as interest, dividends, rent, to the owners of capital, but it makes no discrimination between the man who has the moral right to his capital and the man who has no moral right to his capital. It makes no distinction between the man who earns and the man who inherits, between the man who produces and the man who steals.

5. Profits, secured in a field of competition, are a gratuity to those who get them; they may even be the spoils of robbery. Logically profits belong in the form of wages and salaries to those who perform all services in industrial operations, since they produce all wealth included in profits.

6. Wages, including salaries, paid as compensation for services in industrial operations, are utterly inadequate as an agency of distribution to determine the worker's share of social income. The wage system, originating in the worker's necessity, is only the step out of legal into economic slavery, making the workers dependent on the owners of the instruments of production for the very means of existence.

7. The present method of distribution produces two classes of social parasites, tramps and the idle rich, and reduces our wage-earning people to the condition of economic slaves by compelling them to contribute to the living of the owning classes before they are permitted to earn a living for themselves.

8. The "labor problem" is such a readjustment of the worker's relation to natural agents and all other instruments of production as will enable him to earn a living for himself without first being compelled to contribute to the living of landlords and capitalists.

9. Social income consists of values inhering in goods produced by deliberate effort of men and of values inhering in natural agents produced by social growth. Those who through labor or other sacrifice make contribution to the production of values have a right to a portion of such values. Those who make no such contribution have no right to any portion of such values, unless perchance they receive them as compensation for services they have performed for society or for individual members of society, and so receive them through "second distribution."

10. The highest right of ownership of goods and of values inhering in them is vested in the producer. The same thing cannot belong at the same time to both the man who produced it and to

the man who did not produce it. Rent, interest, and profits, as agencies of distribution, take the larger part of the values produced away from producers and give it to non-producers.

11. This social wrong cries out for correction. The source of permanent improvement lies in the direction of public ownership, which will transfer the power over distribution, which now rests with the individual owners of the means of production, to the hands of the people. Ownership is the key to distribution.

All of which is, as said above, a very interesting contribution of a professional economist to the sociological doctrine of the conflict of classes. The one-sided over-emphasis on the economic struggle is significant, because it once more furnishes silent, but potent evidence for the *raison d'être* of modern sociology as an academic discipline, and a factor in the intellectual life of society.

HUGO P. J. SELINGER

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Ein mittelbürgerliches Budget über einen zehnjährigen Zeitraum.
Nebst Anhang "Die Verteuerung der Lebenshaltung im
Lichte des Massenkonsums" VON HENRIETTA FÜRTH.
Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1907.

The first and more unique part of this work can be presented best perhaps by a free translation of the author's introduction,

The household budget [she says] brings the economic life of the economic unit, the family, to the basis of figures.

Considerable attention has been given for some time to statistical studies including production, consumption, income expenditure, census, average number in families, religious connection, etc.

Attention was first paid, and properly so, to classes whose work was of uniform kind and whose mode of living was necessarily very much of the same type.

This monograph undertakes to do the same sort of work in a less explored field by studying a family of the middle class whose income puts the members upon a basis of plenty without superfluity but which appears to afford a special freedom from ordinary economic limitations.

It is also suggested that the study will take on an added interest, perhaps, from the fact that during the period of observation the father of the family changed his business from that of an indepen-

dent merchant to a salaried position in a commercial office. As a matter of course, this change secured to him a definite income. His former appearance of independence was in reality one of dependence upon and a struggle with capitalists.

During the time, also, the wife became a contributor to the income as did each child as soon as old enough, remaining in the home, however, and giving his earnings into the family. But even this total income did not provide for anything like extravagance in expenditure.

As indicated in the title the study covers a period of ten years beginning October 10, 1896. Budgets of previous years were obtainable, but were lacking in detail. The woman entered into the new bookkeeping, however, with great interest and intelligence, appreciating the value of such an exact picture in figures of the division of the income. The consent of the family to publish the results was not obtained until later.

Perhaps the most admirable feature of the study is the faithfulness with which every change of circumstance is noted. Health, sickness, journeys, marriages, birth of children, entertainment of guests, changes in household policy due to the wife taking up her old business of dressmaking, hiring of additional help are all taken into consideration in making up what proves to be a most comprehensive key to the fluctuations in the different tables of figures which show the division of expenditure along various lines. This, together with the sensitiveness with which a given curve of expenditure responds to a special circumstance in the family history, gives the work an interest which studies of the household budgets of the poorer classes cannot possess by reason of the fact that the economic limitations of the latter force their expenditures to the dead level of bare subsistence, while the prudence exercised by the former in order to meet the demands made upon them by reason of their higher standard of living fills the record with variety at least.

It is to be hoped that similar studies may be undertaken in this country where absence of definite class distinction has unhappily given rise to strong temptation to disregard even the economic bounds which do in a way mark the limitations of the standard of living.

The second part of the work consists of a general study of the increasing cost of the necessities of life. Some of the tables of prices cover a period of twenty years, viz., from 1886 to 1905 in-

clusive. While the prices quoted are for Germany alone the value of the study is not by any means confined to students of economics in that country.

ANNA R. VAN METER

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

Soziologie: Untersuchungen über die Formen der Gesellschaft.

Von GEORG SIMMEL. Duncker and Humblot. Leipzig, 1908. Pp. 782.

This is one of the books with which every professional student of sociology must make himself familiar. To be sure Professor Simmel restricts the content of the term "sociology" to a limit which no other first-rate sociologist in Europe, with the possible exception of Professor Toennies, accepts, and no one in this country, so far as I am aware, is inclined to adopt his proposed usage. To Simmel sociology is merely the analysis of the forms of human groupings; it is a sort of social morphology, or crystallography. It is thus a mere fragment of the sociology which Americans have in mind when they use the term. This difference of terminology of course implies restrictions in method to which few sociologists are prepared to conform. On the other hand, even if we reject Simmel's conception of the proper scope of sociology, there can be no question that the relations which he treats are of cardinal importance for the interpretation of the social process. It is also true that Professor Simmel is without a rival in the special division of analysis represented in the present work.

The principal topics treated in this book are (1) the problem of sociology, i. e., an account of the author's point of view with reference to the scope of the subject; (2) the quantitative determination of the group; (3) superiority and subordination; (4) conflict; (5) secrecy and secret societies; (6) the intersection of social circles; (7) the pauper; (8) the self-maintenance of the group; (9) space and the spatial institutions of society; (10) the expansion of the group and the development of the individuality.

As the author states in a note to the Table of Contents, each of these chapters is a sort of focus around which numerous discussions are organized which would not be suggested by the chapter titles. Readers of this *Journal* have already seen forestudies for portions of several of the chapters, especially the second, third, fifth, and eighth.

It would be impossible with the ordinary limits of a review to characterize the work as a whole more precisely. It is not extravagant to predict that it will mark a distinct stage in the evolution of sociology. Its type of analysis must be adopted into our procedure. As indicated above, this judgment is quite independent of the question whether there is much or little to be said for Simmel's attempt to confine the application of the title "Sociology" to the particular sort of analysis of which he was the first to show the importance.

ALBION W. SMALL

New Worlds for Old. By H. G. WELLS. New York: Macmillan, 1908. Pp. 333. \$1.50.

One socialist does not make socialism any more than one swallow makes a summer. If all socialists had the broadmindedness and the vision of Mr. Wells, much that characterized historical socialism would never have been. He sees clearly that socialism is conditioned by a growth of intelligence and social conscience much beyond the present stage of development. He rejoices in every enlargement of governmental function because he believes, not only that in that way socialism will be brought nearer, but also that the present evil conditions will be ended. He is sane also in his appreciation of the benefits, historically considered, of the present stage of civilization as contrasted with that of the past. It is the best in many respects which has ever been. The present régime is a necessary, though transitory, step to a better, viz., socialism. Private property is not theft to him, as it was to Proudhon; the family does not need to be abolished—only mended; competition is not to be destroyed—simply limited in its scope to fame, service, position, authority, leisure, love, and honor (p. 107). Thus far Mr. Wells, the student of history and the man of compromise.

In spite of all this, connecting so naturally with the present state of things, there constantly appears a spirit of protest against the present system. This appears in two aspects: (1) hot revolt against the injustices of our present system, against the evils incident to our social organization, evils bewailed as earnestly by the most earnest advocates of the system as by its enemies; (2) against the very foundations of the system.

If brilliant indictment of the evils attending the present régime were sufficient ground for condemning it, certainly we all should

join him, for Mr. Wells lays them bare with a hand which spares nothing. The individuals who are the scapegoats of our present organization of society, who vicariously pay the costs of progress in themselves and their families, have yet to find a more eloquent champion of their wrongs. Against these incidental evils Mr. Wells cries out with passionate earnestness.

From this, however, he passes over at once to a condemnation of the competitive system and a glorification of socialism as a scheme which would do away with all the ills and have more than all the benefits of the former. The chief trouble with the present system is an exaggeration of the idea of property (p. 85). "Land, all raw materials, all values and resources accumulated from the past" must be owned and administered by the community as a whole (p. 86). As a result the present waste will be stopped and the people will receive vastly more of all things than possible now. The spirit of service will displace as a motive to activity the present lure of gain, while making labor vastly more productive.

That is the second great generalization of socialism. The first is like unto it. The state will take control of the family in the interest of womanhood and childhood. It will free the family from its present proprietary status and make it a union of equals. Children will be born only of such people as are fitted to produce and train citizens of the best type.

How the abolition of private property in the things mentioned will increase its productiveness and insure its proper distribution; how the state will bring it about that only the right kind of couples will produce children and that these couples shall not only be healthy but wise, or else commit the training of the children to those who are wise, and how the latter shall be selected; how men shall become such that they will prefer work to leisure; how the spirit of service shall supplant the lure of gain in the average man, Mr. Wells does not inform us, unless it be in those passages where he says socialism must wait upon education. But, if education can make men such as socialism demands for its success, all that is needed is extension of our present system in scope and method. And if such men may be produced by such means, and if socialism must wait until such are brought forth by the present system, is it not probable that socialism would not be needed to cure our ills? They would cure themselves with such people populating the world.

Moreover, Mr. Wells fails to break away from the old socialists

in his economic theory. He shows the same lack of understanding of present social and economic science as his more rabid brethren. For example, he shows no comprehension of the law of population when he suggests that the state pension every mother; he manifests no conception of the theory of wages when he assumes that a worker by working harder and producing more makes life harder for another worker (p. 295); of the theory of rent when he says rent is fixed by what people will give (p. 307). He makes sheer assumptions in saying the nationalization of property would greatly increase the production of the world (p. 55), that there is now and would continue to be under socialism enough to house and feed the population of the world (p. 59). One might ask, What population? That now existing or that which would exist when a premium was put upon increase of population by means of a pension to motherhood? He assumes that prices are fixed by the avarice of owners and ability of the buyer to pay (p. 64), that a profit is levied upon the poor for which the *entrepreneur* has given no utility in return, that the evils incident to stock-watering are necessary to private ownership (p. 73 ff). It is worth while, furthermore, to suggest, in antithesis to his assumption that every effort to regulate the powers of great wealth so as to abolish abuses is socialistic, that, perhaps, such a thing is a chief means of preserving the competitive system. The trouble with Mr. Wells is that he has attempted in this book to ride two horses going in opposite directions, competition and socialism. He decries the competitive system in some things and retains it in others. In one breath he tells us that "self-interest never took a man or a community to any other end than damnation," while in the next he says that men shall be left to seek their self-interest in such things as fame, honor, leisure, etc. Has he failed to see that most of the evils incident to seeking for gain today rest upon desire of social prominence in fame, honor, leisure, etc.?

Mr. Wells has told us well what our troubles are, a thing we are well aware of already. We shall need some other man, however, to tell us how to cure them than Mr. Wells with his advice to let the present system produce a social conscience and character and then adopt socialism as the panacea.

J. L. GILLIN

Confessions of a Railroad Signalman. By J. O. FAGAN.
Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1908. Pp. 181.

All the world knows the unenviable reputation of American railroads as killers and mutilators of men. Most citizens have given considerable attention to protective devices, patent couplers, block signals and short-hour laws. Commissions have been appointed to regulate rates and report slaughter. Mr. Fagan says the public is off the scent; that commissions do not understand the technique of railroading and that managers are in secret agreement with trade unions in the interest of "harmony" to permit shameful negligence to go unpunished. The remedy is expert control by the government, public punishment of the guilty party, and rigid enforcement of discipline. The trade unions, the railroad managers and the State and federal commissioners will be heard in defense. In the meantime they are put on the defensive by a fearless man who has won a right to be heard by mastery of his field and by the devotion of a trained and philosophic mind to a problem of vital significance.

C. R. HENDERSON

The Principles of Anthropology and Sociology in Their Relations to Criminal Procedure. By MAURICE PARMELEE. New York: Macmillan, 1908. Pp. 410.

Mr. Parmelee's book comes at a very opportune moment, for it will be a distinct aid to the movement to secure the study of anthropology and sociology by lawyers and judges. The argument is too clear and convincing to be ignored and it will make its appeal to all lawyers who have any insight whatever into the modern requirements in respect to the treatment of criminals. The suggestion in regard to a judicial board for the periodical revision of the sentences of convicts is well supported, and had already been proposed by the American Prison Association in 1902.

The philosophic basis of the argument is found in the familiar ideas of Lombroso, Garofalo, and Ferri. Justice is not done to such American authors as E. C. and F. H. Wines, Z. R. Brockway and many others whose ideas are found in this book. The discussion of the jury is very impressive and convincing and his suggestions for a new criminal procedure, based upon modern social science, must win friends for these studies.

C. R. HENDERSON

The Speaking Voice. By KATHERINE JEWELL EVERTS. New York: Harper & Bros., 1908. Pp. x+218. \$1.00.

Miss Everts says in her introduction:

Next to that primary instinct, the instinct for self-preservation, the strongest instinct of the human heart is for self-expression. The failure of society to provide simple and natural means of self-preservation has led to the American anarchist. The failure of education to provide for the training of the simple and natural means of self-expression has led to the American voice. We cram the student's mind with a knowledge of beauty and truth, but do not free the channels of communication and expression through which, in the act of sharing the knowledge he has acquired, the student assimilates and recreates that beauty and truth and finds it a vital force in his soul life and a vital index of his culture. . . . Our first step then is to tune the instrument; to put the voice in proper condition for use; to learn to support, free, and re-enforce the tone which is to be converted later, not into slovenly, careless gossip, but into beautiful and effective speech.

Evidently a book undertaken in this spirit, by one who is herself a most accomplished actress and a master of the art of speaking which she here undertakes to present, has something of interest for the sociologist. The ultimate practical object of sociology is control, and speech is perhaps the most important medium through which control is secured. Words represent the whole of our cultural and mental life, and through the spoken word or the printed page we transfer to the child and to society all that life is and all that we wish it to become. The use of speech is in a real sense our method of creating the mind, for certainly the human mind in its actual condition would not exist without this aid. And certainly we have to value every effort to make speech a more effective instrument of social control.

This volume of Miss Everts is to be commended from every standpoint. It is not a technical treatment of the anatomy and physiology of the voice and has none of the tediousness and impracticability of such treatises. The whole presentation is made in admirable literary style, and this, together with the excellent judgment shown in the selection (in Part III) of the materials to be used in practice, makes a volume of interest even to those not primarily interested in the cultivation of the voice.

W. I. THOMAS

First and Last Things: A Confession of Faith and a Rule of Life.

By H. G. WELLS. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1908.

Pp. vi+307. \$1.75 net.

Mr. Wells has written another delightful book. This time it covers everything from metaphysics to practical life. It is his personal beliefs about God, nature, and man. Taken as a whole, it may be characterized as a system of philosophical individualism. Yet Mr. Wells calls himself a socialist. It may seem paradoxical that one should base a socialistic programme upon a system of individualism in morals and metaphysics; yet in this respect Mr. Wells is at one with the radical socialists, with whom, in most other respects, he disagrees. He finds that individuality, uniqueness, is the great fact which characterizes all things, from atoms to men. The individual is the only reality. Every species is vague, every general term "goes cloudy at its edges." From this it follows that logic is a clumsy, yes, a faulty, instrument for getting at truth. "Relentless logic is only another name for stupidity." Therefore, the only test of truth is what will work *for me*. Truth and rightness are essentially like beauty; they are conceptions resting upon indefinable individual preferences. Thus Mr. Wells accepts a sort of individualistic pragmatism. Truth and right are not what will work in the long run, in the history of the race, but essentially what will work *for me*.

How this philosophy works out in practice is well shown in Mr. Wells' chapters on the family. He would have divorce by mutual consent, and he regards it as an absurdity that society should insist upon monogamy as the only permissible form of sexual relation. Still he believes in the family as "the normal group of fathers and mothers and children." From the plural, "fathers," one would infer that Mr. Wells would indorse variations of the family toward polyandry as well as toward polygyny. One wonders whether Mr. Wells is judging these questions merely from a "personal point of view," as he accuses people in general of doing, or from the point of view of the race. He certainly offers no arguments from the history of the race in support of his views.

Quite inconsistent with all this are other chapters in which Mr. Wells discusses the organization, or rather, the reorganization of human society. But a man who has thrown logic away needs not to trouble himself about consistency, and Mr. Wells would probably

agree with Emerson that consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds. The chapter on "Individuality an Interlude" supplies in part the needed corrective for Mr. Wells' philosophical premises; but he nowhere attempts to reconcile the two. "The race flows through us," he tells us, and individuality, so far from being the only reality, is only an incident in a greater reality. Likewise he personally conceives of duty, he tells us, as the "contributing to the development of the collective being of man," while the socialism he advocates is merely "the awakening of a collective consciousness in humanity, a collective will and a collective mind." How such social unity is consistent with such individualism in family relations and in intellectual beliefs as we noted above, Mr. Wells does not explain.

It is difficult to estimate such a book from a scientific point of view. Primarily it is a literary rather than a scientific production; and it is no unkindness to say that Mr. Wells is a literary rather than a scientific man. The aesthetic element always dominates in him, even in his philosophy of society. This book, like all his writings, abounds in suggestive and elevated passages, but it is also filled with inconsistencies and with premises that would not bear searching criticism.

CHARLES A. ELLWOOD

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

Chicago City Manual. Compiled by FRANCIS A. EASTMAN, City Statistician, Bureau of Statistics, Municipal Library, 1908.

The municipal statistician of Chicago has offered in this volume a list of the city officers, giving all their duties and some other facts relating to the county and state government.

C. R. HENDERSON

American Charities. By AMOS G. WARNER, PH.D., revised by MARY ROBERTS COOLIDGE, PH.D., with a biographical preface by GEO. E. HOWARD, PH.D. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Co., 1908.

It is exceedingly fortunate for the students of public and private charity that Professor Warner's noble treatise has been revised and the facts brought up to date by a very competent and sympathetic editor. Every practical worker and teacher in this field owes a debt of profound gratitude to the distinguished pioneer, and now to the

patient student who has given the work a new lease of life and a new career of usefulness as far as the English language is read. It is unnecessary, in the case of a book so well known, to repeat the table of contents. The work is recognized as indispensable for every teacher and administrator. The bibliography is a valuable feature.

C. R. HENDERSON

The State and the Farmer. By L. H. BAILEY. New York: Macmillan, 1908. Pp. 177.

The veteran leader of American agricultural education has discussed in clear, popular style topics of supreme interest in connection with the social life of farmers in this country. No one of the topics is very fully treated, but every chapter contains valuable suggestions from a man of ripe experience. The main details are the shift in agricultural methods and institutions, the social problems relating to rural life and the various agencies and methods for improving the situation. The fact is emphasized that the more urgent task now, is not to improve the economic condition of the farmer, but to give him a share in the larger life of the world.

C. R. HENDERSON

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We currently speak of the "institution" of marriage. We also use marriage instead of wedding, nuptials, or matrimony. The result is confusion. A wedding or even nuptials occur as a ceremony or festival, on a day, and as the commencement of wedlock or matrimony. Wedlock may be an institution, but a wedding is not. A wedding lacks the duration or recurrence which belongs to an institution. It does not provide for an enduring necessity. It has no apparatus for the repeated use of the same couple. Wedlock is a permanent relation between a man and a woman which is regulated and defined by the *mores*. It brings the pair into co-operation for the struggle for existence and the procreation and nurture of children. Wedlock therefore forms a family, and a family seems to satisfy our idea of an institution far better than marriage or matrimony. The family institution existed probably before marriage. A woman with an infant in her arms is what we see as far back as our investigations lead us. She was limited and burdened in the struggle for existence by her infant. The task of finding subsistence was as hard for her as for a man. The infant was another claimant of her time and labor. Her chance of survival was in union and co-operation with a man. Undoubtedly this

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gives us the real explanation of the primitive inferiority of woman. They needed the help of men more than men needed women and if a union was made it was made on terms of which the woman got the disadvantage. It certainly is a great mistake to believe that the women were put down because the men were physically stronger. In the first place the men are not always stronger; perhaps it is, as a rule, the other way.

Mr. H. H. Johnstone says of the Andombies on the Congo that the women, though working very hard as laborers in general, lead a very happy existence; they are often stronger than the men and more finely developed, some of them having splendid figures. Parke, speaking of the Manyema of the Arruwimi in the same region, says that they are fine animals, and the women very handsome. They are as strong as the men. In North America an Indian chief once said to Hearne, "Women were made for labor; one of them can carry, or haul, as much as two men can do." Schellong says of the Papuans in the German protectorate of New Guinea that the women are more strongly built than the men.¹

Kubary² says that a man has the right to beat his wife but the women are so robust that a man who tries to do it may well find that he will get the worst of it. Fights between men and women are not rare in savage life and the women prevail in a fair share of them. Holm mentions a case where a Greenland Eskimo tried to flog his wife but she flogged him.³ We hear of a custom in South Eastern Australia that fights between the sexes were provoked when

there were young women who were marriageable but were not mated, and when the eligible bachelors were backward. The men would kill a totem animal of the women or the women would kill a totem animal of the men. This led to a fight of the young men and young women. Then, after the wounds healed they would pair off and the social deadlock would pass away.⁴

Another case, from higher civilization, shows how the woman was weakened by considerations of another kind. Sieroshevski, a Pole, who lived for twelve years among the Yakuts says that he knew a Yakut woman who was constantly abused by her husband although she was industrious and good-natured. At

¹ H. Ellis, *Man and Woman*, p. 4.

² *Nukuoro*, p. 35.

³ *Angmagslikerne*, p. 55.

⁴ Howitt, *South Eastern Australia*, p. 149.

last the European asked her why she did not fight. He assured her that she would succeed and he argued with her that if she would once give her husband a good beating he would not misuse her any more. She, however, answered that that would never do. Her husband's companions would deride him as the man whose wife beat him and their children would be derided by the other children for the same reason. She would not do anything which would produce that consequence and would make her worse off. This case has many parallels. A characteristic incident occurred at the Black Mountain station on the Snowy River about the years 1855-56.

A number of Theddora (Ya-itma-thang) blacks had come across from Omeo and there met a woman, known to me as Old Jenny, of their tribe, who had broken their law by becoming the wife of a man to whom she stood in the tribal relationship of *Najan* (mother). She had been away for some years, and this was the first time that her kindred had encountered her. The wife of one of them attacked her first with a digging-stick, but she defended herself so well with the same weapon that the woman had to desist, and her husband continued the attack on Old Jenny, who had divested herself of all but one small garment. He commenced with a club, but finding he could not hit her, changed it for a curved club with which he tried to "peck" her on the head over guard. After a time he also had to give it up, and they had to make friends with the invincible woman. This is an instance of the manner in which the women are able to defend themselves with their weapon the "yam-stick," being no mean opponents of a man armed only with a club.⁵

The status of women was generally sad and pathetic in savage life but we may accept it as an established fact that that was not because she was physically inferior to man but that it was due to inferiority in the struggle for existence on account of maternity. In the family the man often tyrannized over the woman, and the woman came into the family unwillingly, driven by a greater necessity, but the family was not a product of force. It was a product of contract. It was controlled by the *mores* which soon established notions of the right way to behave and of rights and duties which would be conducive to prosperity and happiness.

In this primitive society the family became the arena in which

⁵ Howitt, p. 197.

folkways were formed and taught, traditions were handed down, myths were invented, and sympathies were cultivated. The mother and the children were in the closest association and intimacy. The instruction of example was the chief instruction, without spoken command or explanation. It makes little difference whether we think of a family in a horde or of a monandrous family of Australians or Bushmen. The children learned from their mothers the usages which were domestic and familiar, which underlie society and are moral in their character. At puberty the boys went with their fathers into the political body and became warriors and hunters. Then they were disciplined into the life of men and left the family. They got wives and founded families, but the father, in his own family, was an outsider and a stranger with few functions and little authority.

Mohammed gave approval to the father-family which seems to have been winning acceptance in his time. Islam is founded on the father-family. In the Koran women are divided into three classes in respect to marriage: First, wives, that is, status-wives with all the rank, honor, and rights which the name implies; second, concubines, that is, wives of an inferior class, in a permanent and recognized relation but without the rank and honor of wives; thirdly, slaves, whose greatest chance of happiness was to "find favor" in the eyes of their master or owner. This classification of the wives was also a classification of the mothers and it produced jealousy and strife of the children. Only men of rank and wealth could have households of this complex character. Those of limited means had to choose which form of wife they would take. The full status-wife could make such demands that she became a great burden to her husband and it appears that the Moslems now prefer concubines or slaves. In Mohammedan royal families the jealousies and strifes of children, where the son of a slave might be preferred and made heir by the father, have reduced kingdoms and families to bloodshed and anarchy.

In general, in the mother-family, the family must have lacked integration and discipline. The Six Nations or Iroquois had the mother-family in well-developed form. Each woman

with her husband and children had a room about 7 feet square in the "long house." This room was separated from others inhabited by similar families, not by a partition but only by a pole three or four feet from the floor over which skins were hung. Each family shared fire with another family opposite. Evidently privacy was only imperfectly secured. Any man who did not bring in what was considered his fair share of food-supply could be expelled at any time. A husband had to satisfy not only his wife but all her female relatives if he was to be in peace and comfort. He could withdraw when he chose but he must leave his children which belonged to his wife. He must also keep the peace with all the other husbands in the house while it is easy to see that frequent occasions of quarrel would occur. In short, the man had constant and important reasons to be dissatisfied with the mother-family. He always had one alternative; he could capture a woman outside the group. If he did this he distinguished himself by military prowess and the woman was a trophy. He was not limited in his control of her or their children by any customs or traditions and he could arrange his life as he pleased. We should expect that great numbers of men would try this alternative but it does not appear that many did so. If they had done so they would have speedily introduced man-descent and the father-family. As we well know uncivilized men do not freely reflect on their experience or discuss reforms or speculate on progress. They accept custom and tradition and make the best of it as they find it. The change to the man-family was brought about by some great change in the conditions of the struggle for existence or by the invention of a new tool or weapon used by the men or by war with powerful neighbors. This much, however, can be said with confidence about the family under woman-descent: It was the conservative institution of that form of society in which traditions were cherished and education was accomplished. It did not encourage change or cherish reforms. It preserved what had been inherited and protected what existed.

Probably the change from mother-family to father-family was by far the greatest and most important revolution in the

history of civilization. This was so because the family, especially in primitive society, is such a fundamental institution that it forces all other societal details into conformity with itself. Miss Kingsley, speaking of the negroes of West Africa, describes societal details as follows:

The really responsible male relative is the mother's older brother. From him must leave to marry be obtained for either girl or boy; to him and the mother must the present be taken which is exacted on the marriage of a girl, and should the mother die, on him and not on the father, lies the responsibility of rearing the children. They go to his house and he treats and regards them as nearer and dearer to himself than his own children, and at his death, after his own brothers by the same mother, they become his heirs.⁶

These details are all consistent with the mother-family and perfectly logical deductions from its principles. There never was any such thing as woman-rule if by that it should be understood that women administered and conducted in detail the affairs of house or society, directing the men what they should do or not do, but the women of the Iroquois regulated the house life, they owned the land, in the only sense in which Indians could conceive of land-owning, because they tilled it, they established the reputation of warriors and so determined who should be elected war chief in any new war, and they decided the treatment of captives. Women, however, never made a state, and war, so long as the woman-family existed, was always limited and imperfect. It was never decided whether a man must fight with his wife's people or go back to the clan in which he was born and fight with that. War was oftenest about women, or about blood-revenge. It was, as among our Indians, a raid and not a persistent campaign. It was mean, cowardly, savage, and marked by base bloodshed.

Much of this seems strange and inverted to us, because our society has long been on the father-family. The state has long been the institution, or set of institutions, on which we rely for our most important interests and our notions of kinship, of rights, of moral right or wrong, and our ways of property, inheritance, trade, and intercourse have all been created by or

⁶ *Travels in West Africa*, p. 224.

adjusted to the system of man-descent. We can see what a great revolution had to be accomplished to go over from woman-descent to man-descent. Christian missionaries now often find themselves entangled in this transition. In West Africa the native tie between mother and children is far closer than that between father and children. The negro women do not like the change which white culture would bring about. In native law husband and wife have separate property. If white man's law was introduced, the woman would lose her property and would not get her husband's. The man also objects to giving his wife any claim on his property. At the same time he does not want the children saddled on him. It seems to him utter absurdity that it should be his duty to care more for his wife than for his mother and sister.⁷ At every point, in going over to the father-family, there is a transfer of rights and power and a readjustment of social theory.

In the long history of the man-family men have not been able to decide what they ought to think about women. It has been maintained that woman is man's greatest blessing and again that she is a curse. Also the two judgments have been united by saying that she is a cheat and a delusion. She looks like a blessing while she is a curse. Each of those exaggerated views supported the other. Every blessing may appear doubtful, under circumstances; every curse will sometimes appear to be a blessing. What was most important about both these views was that man was regarded as independent and complete in the first place and the woman was brought to him as a helpmeet or assistant; at least as an inferior whose status and destiny came from her position as an adjunct. That was the position of woman in the man-family. We have abandoned part of the harshness of this construction of the status of woman and all the unkind deductions from it. The moral inferences, however, remain, and we regard them as self-evident and eternal. Loyalty to her husband is the highest virtue of a woman and devotion to her family and sacrifice for it are the field of heroism for her. We speak of the Christian family as the highest form of the family and,

⁷ Kingsley, *West African Studies*, p. 377.

in our literature and our current code the Christian family is considered as furnishing women with their grand arena for self-culture and social work. I cannot find that Christianity has done anything to shape the father-family. The Old Testament tells us hardly anything about the Jewish family. In Proverbs we find some weighty statements of general truths, universally accepted, and some ideal descriptions of a good wife. The words of Lemuel in chap. 31 are the only didactic treatment of the good wife in the Old Testament. She is described as a good housekeeper, a good cook, and a diligent needlewoman. Such was the ideal Jewish woman. In the New Testament there is no doctrine of marriage, no description of the proper family, and no exposition of domestic virtues. Down to the time of Christ it appears that each man was free to arrange his family as he saw fit. The rich and great had more than one wife or they had concubines. The Talmud allowed each man four wives but not more. In fact at the birth of Christ among Jews, Greeks, and Romans, all except the rich and great had one wife each, on account of the trouble and expense of having more. Yet, if circumstances, such as childlessness, seemed to make it expedient, anyone might take a second wife. Therefore it became a fact of the *mores* of all but the rich and great that all practiced pair-marriage and were educated in it.

Christianity took root in the lowest free classes. It got the *mores* from them and in later centuries gave those *mores* authority and extension. This is the origin and historical source of the Christian family. The Pharisees are credited with introducing common-sense into domestic relations. They made the Sabbath an occasion of "domestic joy," bringing into increasing recognition the importance and dignity of woman as the builder and guardian of the home. They also set aside the seclusion of women at child-birth, in spite of the law.⁸ A leader of the Pharisees introduced the *Ketubah*, or marriage document, "to protect the wife against the caprice of the husband." The Shammites would not allow a wife to be divorced except on suspicion of adultery, but the Hillelites allowed more

⁸ Lev. 12:4-7; 15:19-24.

easy divorce for the "welfare and peace of the home."⁹ The ancient Romans practiced pure monogamy but after they developed a rich leisure class, in the second century B. C., they practiced luxurious polygamy. The traditions which came down into the Christian church were confused and inconsistent and various elements have from time to time got the upper hand in the history of the last 1,900 years. Gide says:

In a word, the law of the gospel accomplished a radical revolution in the constitution of the family. It broke domestic tyranny and recomposed the unity of the family by uniting all its members under mutual duties. It elevated and ennobled marriage by giving it a heavenly origin, and it made of marriage a union so intimate and so holy that God alone can break it.¹⁰

This is a good literary statement of what is generally taught and popularly believed, but it is impossible to verify it. We cannot tell what was the origin of our modern pair-marriage, but it grew up in the *mores* of the humble classes in which Christianity found root. In the first centuries of the Christian era the leading classes at Rome went through rapid corruption and decay, but the laboring classes had little share in this life. Christian converts could easily hold aloof from it. During the first four centuries Christians believed that the world was about to perish. Evidently this belief affected the whole philosophy of life. Marriage lost sense and the procreation of children lost interest. This may be seen in I Cor., chap. 7. It also helps to explain the outburst of asceticism and extravagant behavior such as the renunciation of conjugal intimacy by married people.

Paul also, as is well known, discusses the renunciation of marriage, but he speaks with remarkable restraint, and urges objections. John of Asia Minor appears in tradition as the apostle of virginity, and the glorification of virgins¹¹ confirms this view of his. But it is something quite different from this when false teachers are said in the Pastoral Epistles to hinder marriage.¹² Procreation as such was considered sin, and the cause of death's domination. Christ came to break away from it¹³. Hence,

⁹ *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. IX, pp. 663 f.

¹⁰ *Condition privée de la femme*, p. 195.

¹¹ Apoc. 14:4.

¹² I Tim. 4:3.

¹³ *Saturnil apud Iren.*, i, 34. 3; *Tatian, ibid.*, 38. 1; Gospel of the Egyptians.

on the other hand, we have the idealizing of Christian motherhood.¹⁴ Woman fell into sin but shall be saved through child-bearing. Sexual impulse is a foul frenzy, something devilish.¹⁵ Stories of the lust of the devil and his companions after beautiful women make up the gnostic romances. The horribleness and insatiableness of the sensual passions are illustrated by all sorts of terrible tales.¹⁶

It may indeed have happened, as the Acts of Thomas report, that bride and bridegroom from the very marriage-day renounced wedlock, and man and wife separated from one another. In particular, the continually recurring narratives of a converted wife avoiding common life with her unbelieving husband seem to be taken from life. We have the express witness, not only of Christian apologists, but also of the heathen physician Galen, that among the Christians many women and men abstained all their life from the intercourse of sex. It is not possible for us to estimate the actual spread of this kind of absolute renunciation.¹⁷

On the one hand the women are little thought of. In the Clementine homilies (3:22) it is expressly declared that the nature of woman is much inferior to that of man. Women, except the mother of Clement, play almost no rôle in this romance.¹⁸

Professor Donaldson¹⁹ shows the error of supposing that Christianity raised the status of women.

It is rather a formulation due to dogmatic than historical interests to assert that the worth of women came to recognition first in Christianity and in Christianity from the very beginning.²⁰

Renan says that Christianity, in the second century of the Christian era, "gave complete satisfaction to just those needs of imagination and heart which then tormented the populations" around the Mediterranean. It offered a person and an ideal. It made no such demand on credulity as the old mythologies which had now lost their sense. It joined stoicism in hostility to idols and bloody sacrifices and the faith in Jesus superseded ritual. Renan thinks it a wonder that Christianity did not sooner win control, but at Rome, all the civil maxims were against it.²¹ The

¹⁴ I Tim. 2:15.

¹⁵ Act Joh., 113, p. 213.

¹⁶ Dobschütz, *Christian Life in the Primitive Church*, pp. 261, 262.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 263.

¹⁹ *Contemp. Rev.*, September, 1889.

²⁰ Tscharnak, *Der Dienst der Frau in den ersten Jahrhunderten der christlichen Kirche*, p. 5.

²¹ Renan, *Marcus Aurelius*, pp. 582-85.

latest scholars also recognize the strong rivalry between Christianity and Mithraism.

Tertullian (born A. D. 160) was an extremist among Christian ascetics, but he was one of the ablest and most influential men of his time. Addressing women he says:²²

Woman, thou shouldst always be dressed in mourning and in rags, and shouldst not offer to the eyes anything but a penitent drowned in tears and thus shouldst thou pay ransom for thy fault in bringing the human race to ruin! Woman, thou art the gate by which the demon enters! It was thou who corruptedst him whom Satan did not dare to attack in face [man]. It is on thy account that Jesus Christ died.

It was the doctrine of the church fathers who lived about 400 A. D. that marriage is a consequence of original sin, and that, but for the first sin, God would have provided otherwise for the maintenance of the human species.²³ "Let us cut up by the roots," said Jerome, "the sterile tree of marriage. God did indeed allow marriage at the beginning of the world, but Jesus Christ and Mary have now consecrated virginity." Virginity thus furnished the ideal in the church and not honest wedlock.

Juvenal and Tacitus give us pictures of Roman (heathen) society in the first centuries of the Christian era which would make us doubt if there was any family at all, but some of our later historians have well pointed out that we ought not to take the statements in Juvenal and Tacitus as characteristic of all Roman society.

Let me quote two or three passages from Dill about Roman women of the empire:

Tacitus, here and there, gives glimpses of self-sacrifice, courageous loyalty, and humanity, which save his picture of society from utter gloom. The love and devotion of women shine out more brightly than ever against the background of baseness. Tender women follow their husbands or brothers into exile, or are found ready to share their death. Even the slave girls of Octavia brave torture and death in their hardy defense of her fair fame. There is no more pathetic story of female heroism than that of Politta, the daughter of L. Vetus. . . . Vetus him-

²² *De Cultu Feminarum*, i, 1.

²³ See Chrysostom, *De Virginitate*, i, 282.

self was of the nobler sort of Roman men, who even then were not extinct. When he was advised, in order to save the remnant of his property for his grandchildren to make the emperor chief heir, he spurned the servile proposal, divided his ready money among his slaves, and prepared for the end. When all hope was abandoned, father, grandmother, and daughter opened their veins and died together in the bath. . . .

The bohemian man of letters (Juvenal) had heard many a scandal about great ladies, some of them true, others distorted and exaggerated by prurient gossip, after passing through a hundred tainted imaginations. In his own modest class, female morality, as we may infer from the *Inscriptions* and other sources, was probably as high as it ever was, as high as the average morality of any age. There were aristocratic families, too, where the women were as pure as Lucretia or Cornelia, or any matron of the olden days. The ideal of purity, both in men and women, in some circles was actually rising. In the families of Seneca, of Tacitus, of Pliny, and of Plutarch, there were not only the most spotless and high-minded women, there were also men with a rare conception of temperance and mutual love, of reverence for a pure wedlock, to which S. Jerome and S. Augustine would have given their benediction. Even Ovid, that "debauchee of the imagination," writes to his wife, from his exile in the Scythian wilds, in the accents of the purest affection. . . .

Dion Chrysostom was probably the first of the ancients to raise a clear voice against the traffic in frail beauty which has gone on pitilessly from age to age. Nothing could exceed the vehemence with which he assails an evil which he regards as not only dishonoring to human nature, but charged with the poison of far-spreading corruption. Juvenal's ideal of purity, therefore, is not peculiar to himself. The great world was bad enough; but there was another world beside that whose infamy Juvenal has immortalised. . . .

From the days of Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, to the days of Placidia, the mother of Honorius, Roman women exercised, from time to time, a powerful, and not always wholesome, influence on public affairs. The politic Augustus discussed high matters of state with Livia. The reign of Claudius was a reign of women and freedmen. Tacitus records, with a certain distaste for the innovation, that Agrippina sat enthroned beside Claudius on a lofty tribunal, to receive the homage of the captive Caractacus. Nero emancipated himself from the grasping ambition of his mother only by a ghastly crime. The influence of Caenis on Vespasian in his later days tarnished his fame. The influence of women in provincial administration was also becoming a serious force. . . . Thus Juvenal was fighting a lost battle, lost long before he wrote. For good or evil, women in the first and second centuries were making themselves a power.²⁴

²⁴ Dill, *Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, pp. 48, 49, 76, 77, 81.

The Christian emperors made the dower of the wife not simply the property of the two spouses. It was the endowment of the new household, a sort of reserve fund which the law assures to the children which they would find intact in spite of the ruin of their family, if it should occur. The dower was offset also by the gift *propter nuptias* which the man must give. The law also provided that the dower and the gift *propter nuptias* should be equal and that the spouses should have the same rights of survivorship.²⁵ These seem to be distinct improvements on the dotal system, but that system has dropped out of popular use in modern times and the advantage of this legislation has been lost with it.

The family was more affected by the imperial constitutions of the fourth century which enacted the views and teachings of the clergy of that time. Constantine endeavored to put an end to concubinage, and the power of mothers over their children as to property and marriage was made equal to that of fathers.²⁶ It appears that the collapse of the ancient society and the decay of the old religion with the rise of Christianity and Mithraism with new codes of conduct and duty produced anarchy in the *mores* which are the every-day guides of men as to what they ought to do. On the one side we find asceticism and extreme rigor and then by the side of it, in the Christian church, extravagant license and grotesque doctrine. What element conquered, and why, it seems impossible to say. The society of western Europe emerged from the period of decay and rejuvenation in the twelfth century with some wild passions and dogmas of commanding force. Over-population produced social pressure and distress with the inevitable tragedy in human affairs. The other world was figured by unrestrained imagination and religion went back to primitive demonism.

Out of this period came the canon law.

Of all civil institutions, marriage is the one which the canon law most carefully regulated, and this is the idea from which all its prescriptions were derived; viz., marriage is a necessary evil which must be tolerated, but the practice of which must be restrained.²⁷

²⁵ Gide, 215.

²⁶ Cod. Theod., iv, 6.

²⁷ Gide, *Condition précisée de la femme*, p. 202.

The doctrine of this law is that "woman was not made in the image of God. Hence it appears that women are subordinated to men and that the law meant them to be almost servants in the household."²⁸ From this starting-point the law went on rationally although it contained two inconsistent ideas, the merit of wedlock and the merit of celibacy. The product of such inconsistency was necessarily base. Some parts of the literary record which remain to us would lead us to believe that the whole society was brutal and vicious, but when we think of the thousands of families who died without ever making a mark on the record we must believe that domestic virtue and happiness were usual and characteristic of the society. The best proof of this is presented by the efforts at reform throughout the fifteenth century and the vigor of the reformation of the sixteenth century. The hot disputes between Protestants and Catholics turned chiefly on the doctrine of the mass and on sacerdotal claims but they contained also an element of dissatisfaction with inherited *mores* about marriage and the family. The Protestants denounced the abuses which had grown up around the monasteries and the gratuitous misery of celibacy. They, however, lost the old ideas about marriage and divorce and the Catholics denounced them for laxity and vice. At the Council of Trent, in 1563, the Catholics made a new law of marriage, in which they redefined and strengthened the ritual element.

Out of all that strife and turmoil our modern family has come down to us.

The churches and denominations are now trying to win something in their rivalry with each other by the position they adopt in regard to marriage and divorce and the family. The family in its best estate, now among us, is a thing which we may contemplate with the greatest satisfaction. When the parents are united by mutual respect and sincere affection and by joint zeal for the welfare of their children the family is a field of peace and affection in which the most valuable virtues take root and grow and character is built on the firmest foundation of habit. The family exists by tradition and old custom faithfully handed

²⁸ *Can.* 13-19, caus. xxxiii, qu. 5.

down. Our society, however, has never yet settled down to established order and firm tradition since the great convulsion of the sixteenth century. Perhaps the family still shows more fluctuation and uncertainty than any other of our great institutions. Different households now differ greatly in the firmness of parental authority and the inflexibility of filial obedience. Many nowadays have abandoned the old standards of proper authority and due obedience. The family has to a great extent lost its position as a conservative institution and has become a field for social change. This, however, is only a part of the decay of doctrines once thought most sound and the abandonment of standards once thought the definition of good order and stability. The changes in social and political philosophy have lowered the family. The family has not successfully resisted them. Part of the old function of the family seems to have passed to the primary school, but the school has not fully and intelligently taken up the functions thrown upon it. It appears that the family now depends chiefly on the virtue, good sense, conception of duty, and spirit of sacrifice of the parents. They have constantly new problems to meet. They want to do what is right and best. They do not fear change and do not shrink from it. So long as their own character is not corrupted it does not appear that there is any cause for alarm.

HOW HOME CONDITIONS REACT UPON THE FAMILY

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Discussion of social processes, to be fruitful, must rest on some hypothesis as to the nature and purpose of society. It is here assumed that society is a life-form in course of evolution, that its processes are to be measured like those of other life-forms, as they affect the three main issues of existence—being, reproduction, improvement.

In so far as social processes are genetic they interest us as students and critics; in so far as they are telic they form the most practical and important subjects of study. The family has its origin in the genetic process of reproduction; but is modified continually by telic forces. In its present form it is an institution of confused values, based on vital necessity, but heavily encumbered with rudiments of earlier stages of development, some beneficent, some useless, some utterly mischievous; and showing also the thriving growth of new and admirable features.

We must consider it first on its biological basis, as a sex-related group for the purpose of rearing young; and the effect of conditions upon it should be measured primarily by this purpose.

Next we find in the existing family clear traces of that early long-dominant social unit, the woman-centered group of the matriarchate. Our universal and deep-seated reverence for the mother-governed home, with its peace, comfort, order, and goodwill, has survived many thousand years of patriarchal government, and refuses to be changed even by innumerable instances of discomfort, discord, waste, and unhappiness.

Superimposed upon this first social group comes the establishment of the patriarchate, the family with the male head, based upon the assumption by the male of sole efficiency as trans-

mitter of life. In this form the family enters upon an entirely new phase, and includes purposes hitherto unknown. It becomes a vehicle of masculine power and pride—was indeed for long their sole vehicle: it produces its ethics, its codes of honor, its series of religions, its line of political development through tribe and clan, princedom and monarchy, its legal system in which all personal and property rights are vested in the man, and its physical expression in the household of servile women. It is from this period that we derive our popular impressions that the family is the unit of the state, that the man is the head of the house, and other supposedly self-evident propositions. The patriarchal family, even in its present reduced and modified form, is the vital core and continuing cause of our androcentric culture.

Fourthly, we must view it as an industrial group of self-centered economic activities, the birthplace of arts and crafts as well as of persons. While the natural origin of these industries is in maternal energy, the voluntary efforts of the mother being the real source of human production, yet the family, as an economic group in the modern sense, is also an androcentric institution. Besides the mother's work for her children, the patriarchal family required the service of the man by his women—a claim which has no parallel in nature.

There is nothing in maternity, nothing in the natural relation of the sexes which should make the female the servant of the male. This form of economic relationship was developed when the man learned to take advantage of the industrial value of the woman and added to his profitable group as many women as possible. Moreover, when the masculine instinct of sex-combat swelled and broadened, blended with the hunter's predatory appetite, organized, and became war, then in course of time male captives were compelled to labor as the price of life, and set to work in the only social group then existent. It is to this custom, to this remote and painful period, that our institution owes its present name. Not father, mother, nor child, but servant, christens the family.

Further than this we find in our family group the development of a new relation, a new idea as yet but little understood,

that which is vaguely expressed by the word marriage. Monogamy, the permanent union of one male and one female for reproductive purposes, is as natural a form of sex-relation as any other, common to many animals and birds, a resultant of continued and combined activities of both parents for the same end. This natural base of a true marriage should be carefully studied. Continued union in activity for a common purpose necessarily develops ease and pleasure in the relationship. The same couple can carry on these activities more easily than a new combination; hence monogamy.

In our human family we find many forms: androgyny, polygyny, and then the slow and halting evolution of monogyny. Monogynous marriage should include sex-attraction, romantic love, and a high degree of comradeship. It is now our common race ideal, recognized as best for the advantage of the child and the individual happiness of the parent; also, through greater personal efficiency, for the good of society. This form of marriage is slowly evolving in the family, but is by no means invariably present.

Lastly we must bear in mind that the family is our accepted basis of mere living; it, and its outward expression, the home, are so universally assumed to be the only natural form of existence, that to continue on earth outside of "a family," without "a home," is considered unnatural and almost immoral. In this regard the family must be studied as ministering to the health, comfort, happiness, and efficiency of adult individuals, quite aside from parental purposes, or those of marriage; as for instance in the position of adult sons and daughters, of aged persons no longer actively valuable as parents; or of coadjacent aunts, uncles, and cousins; as also in relation to the purely individual interests of members of the family proper.

When we now take up our study of home conditions, we have definite ground from which to judge and to measure them. How do they react upon the family in regard to those three major purposes of life—being, reproduction, improvement? Do they best maintain human life? Do they best minister to the repro-

duction of the species? And to the evolution of monogyny? Above all do they tend to race improvement?

Mere existence is no justification, else might we all remain Archaean rocks. Reproduction is not sufficient, else the fertile bacterium would be our ideal. All social institutions must be measured as they tend not only to maintain and reproduce, but to improve humanity. We will make brief mention of our essential home conditions and examine their reaction on the family as touching (a) marriage, (b) parentage, (c) child-culture, (d) the individual and social progress. What are our essential home conditions?

Here we are confronted with so vast and tumultuous a sea of facts; noisy, painful, prominent facts; that proper perspective is difficult to obtain. Here we are confronted also with the most sensitive, powerful, universal, and ancient group of emotions known to man. This complex of feelings, tangled and knotted by ages of ironbound association; fired with the quenchless vitality of the biological necessities on which they rest; intensified by all our conscious centuries of social history; hallowed, sanctified, made imperative by recurrent religions; enforced with cruel penalties by law, and crueller ones by custom; first established by those riotous absurdities of dawning ethics, the sex-tabus of the primitive savage, and growing as a cult down all our ages of literature and art; the emotions, sentiments, traditions, race-habits, and fixed ideas which center in the home and family—form the most formidable obstacle to clear thought and wise conclusion.

Forced by increasing instances of discontent, inefficiency, and protest within the group, we are beginning to make some study of domestic conditions; but so far this study has been on the one hand superficial; and on the other either starkly reactionary or merely rebellious.

The first home conditions forced upon our consideration are the material. Here we note most prominently the effects of economic pressure in our cities; the physical restriction of the home in the block, the tenement, the apartment house; the devastating effects of the sweatshop; the tendency toward what we call "co-operative" housekeeping.

As far as mere physical crowding is a home condition we may find that as far back as the cliff-dwellers, find it in every city of the world since there were cities, find it consistent with any form of marriage, with families matriarchal, patriarchal, polygynous, and monogynous. The Jew throughout Christian history has suffered from overcrowding as much as any people ever did; but he has preserved the family in a most intense form, with more success than many of the races which oppressed him. Even the sweatshop, while working evil to the individual, does but draw tighter the family bond.

Therefore we are illogical in our fear of the city-crowding as the enemy of the home, the destroyer of family life.

Others, identifying family life with the industries so long accompanying it, disapprove of that visible and rapid economic evolution in which the "domestic industries" as such dissolve and disappear. Yet if these observers would but study the history of economics they would find the period of undisputed "home industries" was not that of high development in family life, but rather of the mixed group of women slaves and male captives, when marriage in our sense was utterly unknown. The attempt to "revive home industries" is not difficult, since our modern family still maintains that primitive labor status; but it is reactionary, and tends to no real improvement.

"Co-operative housekeeping," as a term, needs brief but clear discussion. The movement to which the phrase is applied is a natural one, inevitable and advantageous. It consists in the orderly development of domestic industries into social ones; in the gradual substitution of the shirt you buy for the shirt your wife makes, of the bread of the public baker for the bread of the private cook, of the wine of known manufacture and vintage for the wine made for you by your affectionate great-aunt. All industry was once domestic. All industry is becoming social. That is the line of industrial evolution. Now what is "co-operative housekeeping"? It is an attempt to continue domestic industry without its natural base. The family was for long the only economic unit. The family is still, though, greatly reduced and wastefully inefficient, an economic unit. A group of

families is not a unit at all. It has no structure, no function, no existence. Individuals may combine, do combine, should combine, must combine, to form social groups. Families are essentially uncombinable.

Vintner, brewer, baker, spinner, weaver, dyer, tallow-chandler, soapmaker, and all their congeners were socially evolved from the practicers of inchoate domestic industries. Soon the cook and the cleaner will take place with these, as the launderer already has to a great degree. At no step of the process is there the faintest hint of "co-operative housekeeping." Forty families may patronize and maintain one bakeshop. They do not "co-operate" to do this; they separately patronize it. The same forty families might patronize and maintain one cookshop, and never know one another's names.

If the forty families endeavored to "co-operate" and start that bakeshop, or that cookshop, they would meet the same difficulty, the same failure, that always faces illegitimate and unnatural processes.

The material forms of home life, the character of its structure and functions depend upon the relation of the members of the family. In analyzing home conditions therefore we will classify them thus:

A. Ownership of women.—It is to this condition that we may clearly trace the isolation of the home, the varying degree of segregation of the woman or women therein. The home is inaugurated immediately upon marriage, its nature and situation depending upon the man, and in it the man secludes his wife. In this regard our home is a lineal descendant of the harem. It is but a short time since the proverb told us "the woman, the cat, and the chimney should never leave the house;" and again, "A woman should leave the house but three times—when she is married, when she is christened, when she is buried." In current comment upon modern home conditions we still find deep displeasure that the woman is so much away from home. The continued presence of the woman in the home is held to be an essential condition. Following this comes—

B. Woman-service.—The house is a place where the man

has his meals cooked and served by the woman; his general cleaning and mending done by her; she is his servant. This condition accompanies marriage, be it observed, and precedes maternity. It has no relation whatever to motherhood. If there are no children the woman remains the house-servant of the man. If she has many, their care must not prevent the service of his meals.

In America today, in one family out of sixteen, the man is able to hire other women to wait upon him; but his wife is merely raised to the position of a sort of "section-boss;" she still manages the service of the house for him. This woman-service has no relation to the family in any vital sense; it is a relic of the period of woman-slavery in the patriarchal time; it exhibits not the evolution of a true monogamy, but merely the ancient industrial polygamous group shorn down to one lingering female slave. Under this head of wife-service, we must place all the confused activities of the modern home. Reduced and simplified as these are, they still involve several undeveloped trades and their enforced practice by nearly all women keeps down the normal social tendency to specialization. While all men, speaking generally, have specialized in some form of social activities, have become masons, smiths, farmers, sailors, carpenters, doctors, merchants, and the like; all women, speaking generally, have remained at the low industrial level of domestic servants. The limitation is clear and sharp, and is held to be an essential, if not the essential, condition of home life; the woman, being married, must work in the home for the man. We are so absolutely accustomed to this relation, that a statement of it produces no more result than if one solemnly announces that fire is hot and ice cold.

To visualize it let us reverse the position. Let us suppose that the conditions of home life required every man upon marriage to become his wife's butler, footman, coachman, cook; every man, all men, necessarily following the profession of domestic servants. This is an abhorrent, an incredible idea. So is the other. That an entire sex should be the domestic servants of the other sex is abhorrent and incredible.

Under this same head we may place all the prominent but

little understood evils of the "servant question." The position is simple. The home must be served by women. If the wife is unable to perform the service other women must be engaged. These must not be married women, for no married man wishes his private servant to serve another man. When the coachman marries the cook, he prefers to segregate her in the rooms over the stables, to cook for him alone. Therefore our women servants form an endless procession of apprentices, untrained young persons learning of the housewife mainly her personal preferences and limitations. Therefore is the grade of household services necessarily and permanently low; and household service means most of the world's feeding, cleaning, and the care of children. The third essential home condition is:

C. The economic dependence of women.—This is the natural corollary of the other two. If a man keeps a servant he must feed him, or her. The economic dependence of the woman follows upon her servitude. The family with the male head has assumed that the male shall serve society and the female shall serve him. This opens up an immense field of consequences, reacting most violently upon the family, among which we will select here two most typical and conspicuous. Suppose that the man's social service is of small value as we measure and reward our laborers. His return is small. His wages we will roughly estimate at \$600 a year, a sum the purchasing power of which is variable. In our present conditions \$600 is little enough for one person. For two it allows but \$300 each. For six, if they have four children, it is \$100 a year apiece—less than \$2.00 a week for each, to pay for food, clothes, shelter, everything. This visibly spells poverty. While one man's production is worth to society but so much, and while that one man's production is forced to meet the consumption of six; so long, even without any other cause, the resultant is general poverty—a persistent condition in the majority of homes. To segregate half the productive energy of the world and use it in private service of the crudest sort is economic waste. To force the low-grade man to maintain an entire family is to force a constant large supply of low-grade men.

The second of these consequences is the unnatural phenomenon of the idle woman. The man, whose sex-relation spurs him to industry, and whose exceptional powers meet special reward, then proceeds to shower gifts and pleasures upon the woman he loves. That man shall be "a good provider" is frankly held to be his end of the family duty, a most essential condition of home life. This result, as we so frequently and sadly see, is the development of a kind of woman who performs no industrial service, produces nothing, and consumes everything; and a kind of man who subordinates every social and moral claim to this widely accredited "first duty;" to provide, without limit, for his wife and children.

These two home conditions: the enormous tax upon the father, if he is poor, together with the heavy toil of the mother, and the opposite one of the rich man maintaining a beautiful parasite, have visible and serious results upon the family.

The supposedly essential basic relations, the ownership of woman, the servitude of woman, and the economic dependence of woman, with their resultants, give rise to the visible material conditions with which we are familiar. The predominant concerns of the kitchen and dining-room, involving the entire service of the working housewife, rigidly measure the limitations of such families; while the added freedom of the woman whose housework is done vicariously seldom tends to a nobler life. Our insanitary households, our false and shallow taste, our low standard of knowledge in food values and nutrition, the various prosaic limitations within which we are born and reared are in the main traceable to the arrested development of the woman, owing to the above major conditions of home life.

Let us now show the reaction of the conditions above stated upon the family in modern society, in the order given, as they affect (a) marriage, (b) maternity, (c) child-culture, (d) the individual and society.

We are much concerned in the smooth and rapid development of a higher type of marriage, yet fail to see that our home conditions militate against such development. The effect of the modern home, even with its present degree of segregation of women, with

its inadequate, confused, laborious industrial processes, and with its overwhelming expenses, is to postpone and often prevent marriage, to degrade marriage when accomplished through the servile and dependent position of the wife, and also to precipitate unwise and premature marriage on the part of young women because of their bitter dissatisfaction with the conditions of their previous home. This last gives an advantage in reproduction to the poorer types. The wiser woman, preferring the ills she has to those she foresees only too clearly, hesitates long, delays, often refuses altogether; not from an aversion to marriage, or to motherhood, but from a steadily growing objection to the position of a servant.

The man, seeing about him the fretful inefficiency of so many misplaced women, hearing *ad nauseam* the reiterant uniform complaints on "the servant question," knowing the weight of the increasing burden for which the man must "pay, pay, pay," waits longer and longer before he can "afford to marry;" with a resultant increase in immorality.

This paradoxical position must be faced fully and squarely. The industrial conditions of the modern home are such as to delay and often prevent marriage. Since "the home" is supposed to arise only from marriage, it looks as though the situation were frankly suicidal. So far, not seeing these things, we have merely followed our world-old habit of blaming the woman. She used to be content with these conditions we say—she ought to be now—back to nature! The woman refuses to go back, the home refuses to go forward, and marriage waits. The initial condition of ownership, even without service, reacts unfavorably upon the kind of marriage most desired. A woman slave is not a wife. The more absolutely the woman is her own mistress, in accepting her husband and in her life with him, the higher is the grade of love and companionship open to them. Again the economic dependence of the woman militates against a true marriage, in that the element of economic profit degrades and commercializes love and so injures the family. It may be said that the family with the male head cannot exist in a pure form without its original concomitants of absolute personal

ownership and exploitation of woman. When the ownership is no longer that of true slavery but enters the contract stage, when marriage becomes an economic relation, then indeed is it degraded. Polygyny is a low form of marriage; but, as modern polygynists have held, it at least tends to preclude prostitution. The higher marriage toward which we are tending requires a full-grown woman, no one's property or servant, self-supporting and proudly independent. Such marriage will find expression in a very different home.

Next comes the reaction upon motherhood, the most vital fact in the whole institution. Our home conditions affect motherhood injuriously in many ways. The ownership of the woman by the man has developed a false code of morals and manners, under which girls are not reared in understanding of the privileges, rights, and pre-eminent duties of motherhood. We make the duty to the man first, the duty to the child second—an artificial and mischievous relation. There is no more important personal function than motherhood, and every item of arrangement in the family, in the home, should subtend its overmastering interests.

Ownership of women first interferes with the power of selection so essential to right motherhood, and, second, enforces motherhood undesired—a grave physiological evil. The ensuant condition of female servitude is an injury in demanding labor incompatible with right maternity, and in lowering the average of heredity through the arrest of social development in the mother. It is not good for the race that the majority of its female parents should be unskilled laborers, plus a few unskilled idlers.

In poverty the overworked woman dreads maternity, and avoids it if she can. If she cannot, her unwelcome and too frequent children are not what is needed to build up our people. In wealth, the woman becomes a perpetual child, greedy and irresponsible, dreads maternity, and avoids it if she can. Her children are few and often frail. Neither the conditions of the poor home nor of the rich tend to a joyous and competent maternity.

In this one respect the home, under present conditions, is proven an unfit vehicle for the family. In itself it tends to reduce the birth-rate, or to lower the quality of the most numerous children; and all of them inherit the limitations of a servile or an irresponsible motherhood.

As regards child-culture, our home conditions present a further marked unfitness. Not one home in a thousand even attempts to make provision for child-culture. If the home has but one room that room is a kitchen; but few indeed are the families who can "afford a nursery." Child-care is wholly subordinate to kitchen service; the home is a complicated, inconsistent group of industries, in which the child must wait for spare moments of attention; which attention when given is that of a tired cook, or a worried housekeeper. No clearer comment can be made on the inadequacy of home conditions to serve their natural ends than in this major instance; they do not promote, but on the contrary they prohibit the development of higher standards of child-culture.

As to mere maintenance of life, our children die most numerous during the years of infancy, when they are most wholly at home. As to reproduction, we have shown the effect on that; and as to improvement, it is a general admission that the improvement of the human stock does not keep pace with material progress. We need here a wise revision of domestic conditions in the interests of the child. At present any man who has a home to let, be it room, apartment, or house, prefers his tenants to be without children. The home, the birthplace, the rearing-place, is not built, fitted, nor managed for the benefit of children.

What is its further effect on the individual, and through him on society? Do the common home conditions of our time promote health, insure peace and comfort, tend to that higher development of the individual so essential to social progress?

Here we find another large ground for criticism. Modern society calls for individuals broad-minded, public-spirited, democratic, courageous, just, intelligent, educated, and specialized for social service. The family with the male head and its accompanying conditions of woman-ownership, service, and depend-

ence tends to maintain in our growing democracy the grade of development, the habits of mind, the childish limitations of its remote past. In it is a masculine dominance which finds expression in our political androcracy. In it is a degraded womanhood which not only limits individual development in the mother, but checks it in the father through heredity and association, and acts powerfully to keep back the progress of the child. Because of the low grade of domestic industry, the food habits of humanity have remained so long what they are, tending to self-indulgence and excess, to extravagance, to many forms of disease.

Mere confinement to a house is in itself unwholesome, and when that house is a cookshop and laundry, it is further disadvantageous.

The man, bound in honor (in his androcentric code of honor) to provide at all costs for his dependent family, has saddled himself with the task of making the product of one meet the consumption of many; and in making the woman a non-productive consumer, he has maintained in half the world the attitude of the child—the willingness to take, with no thought of giving an equivalent.

The social processes, left wholly to the male, are necessarily belligerent and competitive; and in the resultant turmoil, each man must needs strive to maintain his little island of personal comfort rather than to do his best work for the world.

Home conditions which tend to results like these require most serious consideration. They react upon the family in general as tending to restrict its natural evolution toward higher forms. They react upon it specifically as we have seen, precipitating injudicious marriage, postponing marriage, degrading marriage; similarly do they affect motherhood, enforcing it where the woman is not free to choose, and where she is free to choose tending to postpone and prevent it because of its difficulties. The mechanical and industrial conditions of our homes, with their reaction upon character, lie at the base of that artificial restriction of motherhood so widely lamented.

Again they react upon child-culture, in age-long suppression

of that greatest of sciences, in confining the care of little children to the ignorance of incompetent mothers and less competent servants. While the home enforces the condition of female servitude our children must continue to be born of and reared by servants.

Finally, these same conditions, these limitations in structure and function, this arrested womanhood and low-grade child-culture do not tend to develop the best individuals nor to promote social progress. Such as we are we are largely made by our homes, and surely we do not wish to remain such as we are. Our average health, longevity, efficiency, standard of comfort, happiness, and pleasure do not show the most wholesome influences.

The work of the constructive sociologist in this field is to establish what lines of change and development in our homes, what broad and hopeful new conditions, will act in harmony with social processes, will tend to a better marriage, a higher grade of motherhood, a freer and nobler environment for the individual. We need homes in which mother and father will be equally free and equally bound, both resting together in its shelter and privacy, both working together for its interests.

This requires structural and functional changes that shall eliminate the last of our domestic industries and leave a home that is no one's workshop.

The woman, no longer any man's property, nor any man's servant, must needs develop social usefulness, becoming more efficient, intelligent, experienced. Such women will bring to bear upon their proper problems, maternity and child-culture, a larger wisdom and a wider power than they now possess.

The home, planned, built, and maintained by men and women of this sort, would react upon its constituent family in wholly advantageous ways.

THE EFFECT ON WOMAN OF ECONOMIC DEPENDENCE

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The most famous description of a virtuous woman, and one accepted equally by both sexes, is that which has been attributed to Solomon:

"Who can find a virtuous woman? for her price is far above rubies." The patriarchal estimate of virtue is thus evident.

"The heart of her husband shall safely trust in her so that he shall have no need of spoil." Thus removing the temptation which confronts the modern money king, who must provide for his ambitious wife's "conspicuous consumption."

"She will do him good and not evil all the days of her life. She seeketh wool and flax and worketh willingly with her hands. She is like the merchant-ships. She bringeth her food from afar." Thus she not only tends the cattle and the fields, for the sake of both clothing and food, but she goes to the distant market.

"She riseth also while it is yet night and giveth meat to her household, and a portion to her maidens." Early hours are quite indispensable considering the extent of her labors.

"She considereth a field and buyeth it. With the fruit of her hands she planteth a vineyard." Her economies are not only sufficient for the needs of the household, but provide a surplus for investment.

"She girdeth her loins with strength and strengtheneth her arms." She has neither the time nor the need for the physical culture or the medical aid demanded by the prosperous woman of today.

"She perceiveth that her merchandise is good, her candle goeth not out by night." Obviously because of her addiction to heavy work, not light literature.

"She layeth her hands to the spindle and her hands hold the distaff." Thus finding occupation for the winter as well as for the summer.

"She stretcheth out her hands to the poor, yea, she reacheth forth her hands to the needy." Even in those early and active days she found leisure for charity.

"She is not afraid of the snow for her household, for all her household are clothed with double garments. She maketh herself coverings of tapestry, her clothing is silk and purple." She was able to provide not only comforts for her family but luxuries for herself.

"Her husband is known in the gates when he sitteth among the elders of the land." All this time her husband seems to have been absent at the legislature, representing, as women might have thought, in anticipation of Matthew Arnold, "that power not ourselves that makes for" unrighteousness.

"She maketh fine linen and selleth it and delivereth girdles unto the merchants." She not only dispenses with the need of a husband's support, but also has such excess of product that she can engage in a mercantile occupation, which helps to account for her ability to buy fields and to permit her husband to spend his time among the elders.

"Strength and honor are her clothing and she shall rejoice in time to come." Presumably she did not have much time to rejoice while engaged in these various occupations.

"She openeth her mouth with wisdom and in her tongue is the law of kindness. She looketh to the ways of her household and eateth not the bread of idleness." In fact, even from the masculine point of view she seems industrious.

"Her children arise up and call her blessed. Her husband also, and he praiseth her." Praise seems to have been an afterthought on the part of husband, but certainly creditable considering his preoccupation with the statesmen.

"Many daughters have done virtuously." The marginal reading is "have gotten riches" which throws light on the attitude of both the original author and the King James translators, after an interval of twenty-five centuries.

"But thou excellest them all. Favor is deceitful and beauty is vain, but the woman that feareth the Lord she shall be praised. Give her the fruit of her hands and let her own works praise her in the gates." This condescending attitude of the philosopher king, while characteristic of chivalry in all ages, seems not to have been followed to its logical conclusion. While her works are still allowed to praise her in the gates, or among the elders of the legislature, in lieu of any voice in her own government they still refuse to give her of the fruit of her hands.

There has been skepticism in an unbelieving generation as to the riches of Solomon, and comparisons to his disadvantage have been made with the money kings of today. But the riches of Solomon are easily understood when one reads the description, credited to him, of a virtuous woman and remembers that in addition to 300 concubines, he was said to have 700 such virtuous wives. The higher criticism may rob Solomon of the authorship of the Proverbs or the possession of one thousand wives, but it cannot dispute the continued acceptance of this ideal of a virtuous woman of three thousand years ago. She is still allowed to rejoice in the fact that "virtue is its own reward."

This hypothetical paragon of Solomon would have been an economic dependent, legally subject to man, gaining spiritual ends by circumlocution and hypocrisy, as truly as her leisured and less mythical sisters of today. In the course of the ages it has become less necessary to pursue this Solomonic inquiry than to join the search of Diogenes. Woman has been emancipated from most of these industrial obligations. With relief from them there has come increasing leisure, education, social activity, and economic freedom, but as yet no relation between services and income.

In spite of these advances, which are almost exclusively modern, the majority of women remain economically dependent. A woman's intellectual and social possibilities are conditioned primarily by her husband's income. The million-dollar wife married to the thousand-dollar man may be uncommon, but less striking discrepancies to her disadvantage are usual. Even the

wife of little capacity united to the man of wealth is unable to lead her normal life because she is usually regarded as a toy or drudge. The difficulty is not only that woman is dependent upon man, nor that each woman is dependent on one man, but all of a woman's rich nature, the sum total of her personality, is dependent upon one man's income.

Men are paid a certain amount of money for specific labors. But their wives have no claim upon any definite sum; they are dependent upon the generosity of the husbands. Happily this seems adequate in most cases. Indeed it is quite the custom among workingmen to turn over all the family revenue into the hands of the wife. Among educated people generally it is customary to determine the disposition of the purse beforehand, that disposition to remain through life. But the husband is the "treasurer," doling out the amount which may be at any time at his command or convenience, thereby controlling not only the economic but the spiritual life of his wife.

The expression of this subjection, which is the most degrading, comes in the appeal which seems to be increasingly made, or receives increasing publicity in the United States—the appeal to the unwritten law. When man's choicest piece of property is violated, he avenges himself. The appeal to the unwritten law is the appeal to a law which he dare not put in the statute books, where nearly all the laws are concerned with property, although in Oklahoma it has been proposed to legalize the unwritten law, so that it may be frankly and brutally written. For the most part where the unwritten law is most often appealed to, it is associated with the lowest depths of immorality. Only in the most barbarous parts of the United States would a jury acquit a man for the murder of his wife or her lover, but anywhere a jealous brute may in a fit of passion commit murder. It is never, however, because of love for his wife. No man ever kills his wife for love. He may die for love or live for it; sometimes a woman kills herself for it, but she does not want that kind of defense from any man. Men with their property instincts have for the most part not yet learned that the inviolability of a woman's personality transcends in ethical importance that self-

esteem which a property-loving man calls "honor." Even refined men who love the objects of their devotion, still often feel instinctively that they would, under provocation, take the law into their own hands, and use violence. But it is not an attribute of affection to do this, it is the property instinct which is stung.

However, there is a subtler expression of economic mastery in the men of today—the grandiloquent attitude of the courtly gentleman who says, "Are not the American women the best, the most beautiful, the most versatile in the world? Have they not everything they want, and if there is anything they would like will we not give it to them? We care not how much these American queens take or get, so long as they recognize the source of their power."

It would be unfair to say that most marriages are deliberately commercial; but most marriages will necessarily result in the dependence of woman until the equality of the sexes is recognized. As Havelock Ellis puts it, there is no hope for woman as long as she is looked upon "as a cross between an angel and an idiot." The age of chivalry has passed; woman is more respected and less worshiped, but she cannot lead her own life until she has an equal chance with man. Even the main function of woman, maternity, and the chief end of marriage which makes the female conservative, while the male is aggressive, cannot result happily for offspring or parents, until the woman is granted the same control of her life as man enjoys. Edward Carpenter says:

No effectual progress is possible until the question of her capacity for maternity is fairly faced—for healthy maternity involving thorough exercise and development of the body, a life more in the open air than at present—some amount of regular manual work, yet good opportunity for rest when needful, knowledge of the laws of health and physiology, widened mental training and economic independence.

We may learn the wisdom of requiring caution in assuming the responsibilities of marriage and multiplying the examples of domestic bliss, but we cannot attain justice for women and children, nor the full benefits of sex-differentiation until women are given control of their incomes, and hence, their destinies. The

wage-earning woman of today is in a superior position to command just treatment from her prospective spouse, and she brings to the marriage-state a greater capacity for the management of the family income; but there are still left the millions of women whose capacity is never tested, because whatever be their intellectual, spiritual, or social possibilities, they are the recipients of charity. The charity may be disguised by the love of the devoted husband, but they are still stunted by subservience to a patriarchal administration.

It is not the province of this paper to discuss the methods of securing economic independence, but it may be suggested briefly that the entrance of woman into the actual economic struggle, while it must be granted to any individual woman who chooses it, seems undesirable for the race because of the value of the prolongation of infancy and the constant availability of a mother's care. A system of pensions for mothers might be devised, which would recognize their services to the state, and which in spite of possible pauperizing effects would be unquestionably superior to the present disregard of woman's economic rights. The best proposal, however, seems to have been made by Mr. H. G. Wells, in demanding that upon marriage, and subsequently on the birth of each child, the father be required to take out an insurance policy providing annuities for wife and children.

What are some of the spiritual consequences of woman's economic dependence? The majority of women have to marry. They have no other alternative. Most of them, happily, wish to marry and many of them find appropriate husbands, but there is not sufficient opportunity for deliberate choice. The consequence is that quite innocently, having been trained from infancy to take the step, multitudes of women marry and live with men whom they do not love, whom they sometimes have never loved. It is a hard thought that this is legalized prostitution, and it need not carry the stigma which is often unjustly associated with professional prostitution. There can scarcely be a stigma when the victims are innocent. The fact remains and its moral consequences are unavoidable. It means that a woman has sold her-

self, although her early training and conventional morality may keep her pure in mind and otherwise blameless in conduct. There is no escape from the distorted view of life which this entails. One of its inevitable consequences is the subjection of woman to the physical mastery of man in ways in which untutored woman freely acquiesces, but not without moral anguish which would be quite incomprehensible to the unsophisticated husbands, who regard themselves as wholly generous. If for no other reason, legalized remuneration for housekeeping, child-birth, and child-rearing, is necessary, to remove the temptation of a virtuous woman to sell herself for life to one man. While thus escaping promiscuity, they still relinquish the control over their own bodies.

Another spiritual result of economic dependence is even more conspicuous because ubiquitous. Woman's chief moral defect is her method of circumlocution, forced upon her by her being compelled to make sex functions economic functions (as Mrs. Gilman has so forcibly stated). Whether it is during the courting illusion or in rifling her husband's pockets (which a sober American judge justifies) or in accomplishing benefits for him in subtle ways beyond his dull masculine comprehension, she is all the time perfecting the arts of hypocrisy. It is sufficiently serious that woman's character should bear this blemish, without a premium being put upon it by having it regarded as her chief charm. This method of indirection is becoming increasingly obnoxious as the larger social opportunities today demand for their satisfactory performance political activity. Women are not only engaged in innumerable social labors made possible by their advancing education and leisure, but they are now expected to perform many social obligations in spite of the constant difficulty of social reconstruction without political expression. In this country this handicap is due of course in part to the confused conception of the state in the untrained political minds of men. So long as the state is considered a thing apart, political action will be differentiated from social action. Aside from this, woman's social labors are doubled by the expectation that she will either accomplish them by clumsy and laborious voluntary

means, or persuade men to aid her through their exclusive political prerogatives. The evidence that this political limitation is due in part to economic dependence, is shown in the frequent argument that tax-paying women should vote. It is manifest that if women were economically independent, political independence could not be delayed.

The handicap on fellowship of economic dependence is another of its defects. There is little *camaraderie* between men and women, even when married. This is partly temperamental; some people cannot be confidential with one another, but it is primarily due to the husband's having economic functions, the wife sex functions. The beginnings of marital unrest are found chiefly in the concealment of a man's thoughts due to his conviction that the dependent domestic creature who shares his home has had no training to share his larger economic experiences. Even the problems of sex, the right of a woman to control her life, the preparation of children for the revelation of the mysteries of life, are discussed with less frankness because of the instinctive feeling of the economic master that new and unconventional modes of thinking disturb the economic and social order. The consequences of economic freedom, of which every man dreams, cannot be less for woman than for man. They would in fact be of mutual benefit. If man can be brought to see the undesirability of the power of man over woman, a power enjoyed by the possession of money, we may then bring him to desire the removal of the power of money over man.

The woman's cause is man's: they rise or sink
Together, dwarfed or godlike, bond or free:
For she that out of Lethe scales with man
The shining steps of Nature, shares with man
His nights, his days, moves with him to one goal,
Stays all the fair young planet in her hands—
If she be small, slight-natured, miserable,
How shall men grow?

Let her make herself her own
To give or keep, to live and learn and be
All that not harms distinctive womanhood.
For woman is not undeveloped man,
But diverse: could we make her as the man,

Sweet love were slain: his dearest bond is this,
Not like to like, but like in difference.
Yet in the long years liker must they grow;
The man be more of woman, she of man;
He gain in sweetness and in moral height,
Nor lose the wrestling thews that throw the world;
She mental breadth, nor fail in childward care,
Nor lose the childlike in the larger mind.
And so these twain, upon the skirts of Time,
Sit side by side, full-summed in all their powers,
Dispensing harvest, sowing the To-be,
Self-reverent each, and reverencing each,
Distinct in individualities,
But like each other, even as those who love.

DISCUSSION

DR. I. M. RUBINOW, U. S. BUREAU OF LABOR

Perhaps it may be best to begin by stating that I was asked to discuss not so much the interesting papers which were read this afternoon, as one special aspect of the home problem as it may affect present family relations—the so-called problem of domestic service. I hope it may be unnecessary for me to argue before a sociological assembly that the organization of domestic service is very closely connected with the organization of the home; that this problem therefore is not beneath the dignity of sociological inquiry; and I venture to hope that this time my audacity in approaching it will not call forth that scarcely flattering outburst of levity which was my fate on a previous occasion.

It may be argued that after all the home containing domestic servants is the abnormal home, and that it therefore does not throw very much light upon the general problems: how the present home and how the progressive changes in its organization influence family relations. It is true that in only one out of fifteen or sixteen homes, are the burdens of the home shifted upon the shoulders of hired assistants. But only thirty or forty years ago the proportion in this country was a much greater one, perhaps one out of every eight or nine families, and it may be said without exaggerations that the change expressed in these figures is one of the most important changes in modern home life.

Evidently the change is one that has taken place in the homes of the middle class. But that is true of most changes that are taking place in our home life at present. And more than that, if I may be pardoned for a seemingly too sweeping generalization, most of the tendencies which may be embraced in that comprehensive term of modern feminism, including the protest against the home and the modern family and the economic subjugation of woman, and even our suffragette movement, most of these are

palpably middle-class movements. I am not stating this in any spirit of criticism. I am simply stating a fact which may be established by statistical analysis. Our literary woman, our club woman, is a middle-class woman, and even in the woman's invasion of the productive field it is in the genteel middle-class occupations that the tendency is most noticeable. It is in teaching and other liberal professions, among typewriters and stenographers, clerks and saleswomen, for example, that woman has begun to overcrowd the market. It is in the middle class, not in the upper leisure class, and not among the proletarians, that the protest against the old home, and woman's position in it, has become strongest. The problem of domestic service is back of a great part of this movement.

For what is this so-much-ridiculed problem of domestic service? It is the labor problem of our homes. The difficulty of solving this problem for the employer, the difficulty of obtaining efficient and cheap help (with the emphasis upon cheap), has attracted the attention of our women to the unsatisfactory organization of the home. The sad necessity of performing this labor, the inability of shifting it to other hired shoulders, drives the middle-class woman away from home, and creates the middle-class ideal of the independent spinster. In general it may be stated that the technical organization of the home has improved vastly during the last half century for the proletarian woman, while it has not been quick nor great enough to compensate the middle-class woman for the shifting of the burden back upon her own shoulders.

One patent fact which makes a "problem" of the recalcitrant servant girl is the peculiar condition of labor in this particular field. The demand is greater than the supply, even when the labor market is as overcrowded as it was during the recent crisis. Of course there is an adjustment of demand and supply by means of a constantly rising wage, but the constant complaint of our housewives amply demonstrate that the adjustment is far from a satisfactory one.

Now, what is the cause of this maladjustment? The differential advantage of the house-slave in her pay as compared with other more genteel occupations is greatly exaggerated. Yet some differential exists. Nevertheless, it is increasingly difficult to keep back the current which drives the working-woman from domestic employment into the factory, shop, or store.

The so-called social stigma which attaches to domestic service has often been pointed out as the main cause of the dislike for the employment. But this social stigma is itself the result of the material conditions of domestic service: the indeterminate and excessive working hours; the forced attachment of the servant to the employer's household, and the resultant deprivation of personal liberty, and the impossibility of personal life. The working-girl prefers the factory to the kitchen for the reason that, paradoxical as it may seem, employment in the factory may lead sooner to marriage, a home,

and a family, while employment in a stranger's home is an efficient barrier and not a step to a home of one's own.

It has been well said that these peculiar conditions are themselves the results of an underlying cause—that in domestic service it is the *person* who is hired and not distinctively the *labor* of the person. In this feature domestic service differs radically from other fields of wage-work. Yet it must not be forgotten that this distinctive characteristic of the wage-contract in domestic service is not new. It is simply the survival of a labor-contract which was universal before the advent of modern capitalism, and which continued even during the earlier stages of that era. If it has survived longer in domestic service than in industry or commerce, it was because of the lack of technical progress in the organization of the home, in the methods of home life. The care of the home is proverbially a matter of such difficulty that, as the old saying goes, a woman's work is never done.

The truth of this scarcely needs any demonstration. The suggestion which I dared to make a year ago, that the problem of domestic service will never be solved until we have a legal regulation of the hours of domestic servants, called forth a storm of protest in the metropolitan press, the tenor of which was that it is impossible to squeeze all housework within the compass of eight hours. Some thirty or forty years ago a twelve or fourteen hours' limit would have been considered just as impossible.

Now, then, why has there been insufficient technical progress in the organization of the home? The answer is not at all difficult. The home has for many centuries had the enormous supply of labor-power of almost the entire female population for which there was no demand in the industrial field. A cheap supply of labor has always been the greatest obstacle to technical progress. As the *New York Tribune* has put it: "While our wives, mothers, sisters, and unappropriated aunts did all our domestic work, there was no need to think of technical progress." But conditions are changing rapidly. The increased demand for industrial and commercial female wage-labor has shortened the supply of female energy in the kitchen, and as a result we have the problem of domestic service, which thus appears simply as a phase in the larger problem of woman-labor—aye, of the entire organization of modern industry and commerce. Fewer women are ready to enter domestic service.

Now, what are the social influences of these conditions? In other words, what is the influence of the despised servant girl upon the evolution of the home? First, as already pointed out, an increasing number of women of the middle class are forced to remain in, or go back to, the kitchen. Probably a greater proportion of middle-class women are forced to get along without domestic help in this country than in any other civilized part of the world. The domestic virtues, arts, and accomplishments

of the average American middle-class woman are perhaps greater than those of women of other nationalities. But to a great extent they are due to the recalcitrant servant girl; or rather, to her absence. Of course this does not fail to call forth considerable protest. The growing intellectual development of the middle-class woman makes her find the eternal drudgery of the home more objectionable. Hence the discussion of the organization of the home. If our own wives and sisters find this meeting so very interesting, it is not with them (nor with us, for that matter) a problem of purely academic interest. It is the expensive servant girl, more than any other factor, that gives rise to the complaining middle-class wife.

Complaints, provided they are reasonable, are a truly progressive power. They will force, they are even now forcing, inventive genius into the virgin field of domestic work, of home life organization; and under the influence of this new stimulus the home life of tomorrow will be as unlike the home life of yesterday as the twentieth-century flyer is unlike the methods of transportation of a hundred years ago.

Of course, a sociologist appreciates the danger of foretelling the future of any institution. But Mrs. Gilman has pointed out some very plausible and necessary changes. It is almost a self-evident proposition that the elimination of the so-called "home industries" will continue. The middle-class woman who, when deprived of the domestic servant, forces this process, is the first to profit by it. But the advantages of industrial progress finally percolate to all industrial groups. While the total elimination of all home work may perhaps be relegated to the dim future, speculations upon which are not profitable, surely the technical progress of the home (a point which Mrs. Gilman has seemingly missed) does not consist entirely in the elimination of home work. Certain functions are, on the contrary, reaching back to the home for the sake of comfort and economy of time. They are enabled to enter the home because of the work of inventive genius, for instance, the bathtub, the chafing-dish, the safety razor, the patent shoe polish. Besides, in constructing the picture of the future home, a large cosmopolitan city must not be taken as a standard. What is possible in New York will appear a complete utopia in a rural community. This is especially true of the pet ideal of Mrs. Gilman—the complete elimination of food-preparation from the home.

Nothing appeals to me more strongly than Mrs. Gilman's eloquent plea for the neglected child in the modern home. Perhaps her pessimism is somewhat exaggerated. Our institutions for orphans do not show any smaller infant mortality than our homes. Nor are the causes of this infant mortality essential to the principles of our home organization. Better wages for the father, better education for the mother would save millions of children's lives. Nevertheless, Mrs. Gilman's plea is a strong and a convincing one.

What is the logical outcome of the plea? It is true that the child is

the central purpose of the home. The home is not, nor will it be in the future, mainly "a place where the man has his meals cooked and served by a woman." There are thousands of married couples who purchase their meals and wait for a home until there is a child. But the necessities of child-rearing demand a home of some sort. Thus a home will ever mean a place or rather an institution, where the interests of the child will be paramount—an institution requiring a considerable amount of effort, and let us hope that it will be an institution that is self-sufficient, without the wasteful employment of domestic help. I am speaking of the normal home, and not the exceptional one. Who then will contribute the necessary effort of that home? In pursuit of that evanescent ideal of absolute equality of man and woman, it may be urged that the effort should be divided between both parties to the marriage contract. But the demand for woman's economic independence as made by the feminist movement of today is a demand for independence under present economic conditions.

Let us then deal with stern reality and see what the demand means to the working-class woman, the working-class child, and the working-class family. To the middle-class woman it means a profession, a scientific or a literary career, social life, the possibility of earning fame or at least a reputation, and last but not least, the possibility of transferring the drudgery of the home upon other shoulders. To the working-woman it means none of these desirable things. It may mean very long hours, unhygienic work, low wages—many of these things in addition to the required minimum of housework—and it certainly means neglect of children, even more than the neglect of the husband's comfort. For this very good reason the working-woman, the working-man's wife, refuses to grow enthusiastic over the middle-class ideal of economic independence. It is a grave question whether on the whole those families are better off financially where the wife is forced to sell her labor-power. And I dare say economists are agreed that if the man's wages were not required to carry the entire burden of the support of the entire family, they would correspondingly fall. None of the members of the southern negro's family are better off because the woman is economically independent. And above all, the child-mortality is greater. Under the present industrial organization, the proletarian woman has nothing to gain and the proletarian child a great deal to lose, by this sort of economic independence.

Mrs. Gilman declares it is a productive waste "to segregate half of the productive energy of the world and use it in private service of the crudest sort." It is with this point of view that I must take issue, and defend the married woman against the accusation of the feminists. Do we think of the services of the trained nurse as services of the crudest sort? Is the proper independent care of the individual child—care that cannot be given without proper knowledge and proper love—an economic waste? Or is it not the greatest economic service? It is a serious economic fallacy to

speak of the married woman and mother as only a consumer. The working-man's wages do not even now pay the entire cost of supporting the family. His earnings do not even now pay for all the consumption goods needed in the household. They are enough to purchase the raw materials out of which the consumption goods are manufactured and services such as cleanliness and comfort are created. While these are not paid for, they have a distinct commercial value. They need not be paid for, simply because we are supposed to have in the family a social unit of voluntary co-operation, based upon mutual affection or at least attachment, and common love of offspring. In short, we cannot claim in one and the same breath that the woman is overworked, and that she is not a productive worker, as long as the work she does is socially necessary.

To sum up: It seems to me there is now a plain tendency not to have a home unless there are children in the family, or rather, unless there is a family—for a family without children is a family in name only. And as all other economic functions of the home are gradually reduced, to give more space to child-culture, to intelligent, efficient child-culture, the woman will stay in her home to fulfil her natural function; and when I say, "natural function," I am simply following Mrs. Gilman in reducing the social problems to their original biological elements. For far back of the human race the female has been not only the main genetic factor of reproduction, but also the social factor of child-rearing.

All women are not mothers; and for those who are, the period of child-rearing is limited. But while there are children to rear, and, with the decreasing birth-rate, no children to lose, society has nothing to gain by forcing the mother to add to the wealth of marketable goods. The dearth of marketable goods is not the great problem of modern industrial society. What we need is a standard of earnings which will enable a man to support a family, a standard of home-organization which will enable us to reduce the necessary work so that one person can do it pleasantly and intelligently, a standard of education for the mother which will make her efficient in home-building and child-culture, and perhaps a standard of training for the man which will teach him to appreciate the important work of child-culture, and the joys of parental success.

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I wish to call to your attention certain modifications in education which I believe are demanded if the home and the family are to fulfil their true function.

When the home was the skilled workshop, when father, mother, and children jointly contributed to the making of the home in its material aspect, there was constant opportunity for the training of the child in many of his activities. The child now has to leave his home for a large part of his training, physical, mental, social, and religious. With the disappearance of

household industries or their relegation to the hands of the unskilled foreigner, we are compelled to introduce into the school curriculum matter and methods which will give the child some degree of command over his physical environment and we have as yet only made a beginning in filling up the gap. In spite of the satisfaction and comfort which come with the modern city house, heated, lighted, drained, furnished with water, food, and clothing at cost of little effort, many a parent longs for the "chore," the household industry, as a means of training his child in usefulness and efficiency. The gymnasium, the dancing school, the club, the Sunday school, and various outside agencies have come to take the place vacated in the child's life through the changes wrought in the home by the conditions of modern life.

The removal of household industries has changed the members of the family from producers to consumers, but education for the latter function is not yet generally recognized as necessary. Even the colleges are very reluctantly opening their curricula to courses for women bearing on this extremely important modern function of the housekeeper.

Under the former industrial system the father shared much more largely than at present in the life and training of the child. The part which he now plays is often so small as to give rise to a series of humorous tales with the child's ignorance of his father as the central theme. A lessening of the so-called feminization of the schools by replacing women with men teachers is but a sorry remedy for the difficulty. Under that system also community of interest and occupation served to develop in the group a sense of the value of the family as an agency for the protection and care of the young and for the growth of the more personal moral characteristics of the human being.

With fathers absent from the home and with communal control of sanitary and civic matters have gone many opportunities for training children to assume responsibility in matters leading to the good citizenship demanded in public affairs. Obedience to law, respect for authority, intelligent interest in impersonal activities find little opportunity for expression and what little there is is seldom used.

These aspects of the subject are important and are fortunately receiving the attention of students of society, of teachers, and, in some few cases, of the parents themselves. There is, however, another aspect which though more important is receiving the attention of but few people.

As has been pointed out, "the family has two functions, to afford an opportunity for eliciting the qualities of affection and character which cannot be displayed at all in the larger group, and it is a training for future members of the larger group in those qualities of disposition and character which are essential to citizenship." Mrs. Gilman has rightly stated that the father and mother must work together for its interests. Her plea for enriched intellectual life, larger social usefulness, and economic independ-

ence for women has as its aim not only to secure greater happiness and satisfaction for the individual herself, but to enable her to bring "to bear upon her proper problems, maternity and child-culture, a larger wisdom than she now possesses." I would add to this the imperative social demand that men be fitted for the duties of husband and father. The wife and mother alone cannot secure the permanence and well-being of the family in all its many essentials besides pecuniary prosperity, even if she is given intellectual opportunity and economic independence. I believe that quite as many American homes are suffering from the incapacity of husbands and fathers to contribute their share to the family life as from the attempt of wives and mothers to develop their individuality. Race suicide and divorce are symptoms of a social disorder, doubtless very grave and certainly very evident, whose remedy, in my opinion, lies in the direction of training both boys and girls for parenthood.

Modern pedagogy is urging the enrichment of the school curriculum for boys by teaching them social and industrial history, practical economics, civics, the organization of society, and financial methods, even if this involves the withdrawal of the older disciplinary and cultural studies. Business success is the aim in view. Is it not true that we should declare that the boy should be trained for his other duties in life? In spite of the pronouncements of chief executives and the higher clergy, I am firmly persuaded, on the evidence of physicians and of social investigators, that men are more responsible than women for the decline in the birth-rate. If boys were taught the principles of social hygiene and their part in maintaining life upon high levels, I can but believe that with this increased knowledge their moral natures would be aroused and strengthened and the difficulties by which all teachers who deal with young boys are baffled would largely disappear.

Without analogous training for girls we cannot expect that even those conditions for which Mrs. Gilman pleads will necessarily produce good mothers. In a condition of economic independence and intellectual and social freedom, maternity will claim its just place in the interests of a liberated woman only if, as a child, she is made to understand what the end of this function is and its dignity has been impressed upon her mind. Wifehood and motherhood are too often now the price of escape from a certain kind of slavery to parents and from bondage to conventionality.

It is needless to say that I realize how wise and sympathetic the parents and teachers who give this knowledge must be. It is time, however, for the student of the family to say to the educator that the data for this kind of instruction are available and must be put to use. It is no longer sufficient to think of the boy in the light of his future trade or profession, or even as a citizen, nor of the girl simply as a married woman, or even trained in some independent vocation. Throughout all their training must run the idea of their high function—that of parenthood.

THE RELATIONS OF SOCIAL DISEASES TO THE FAMILY

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It is but a truism to state that the welfare of the family underlies the welfare of society: Whatever injuriously affects this unit of our social organization, reacts unfavorably upon the collective social body.

Marriage was instituted for the purpose of regularizing sexual relations between men and women, and the creation, care, and maintenance of children. However individualistic the motives that influence men and women to matrimony, the civil object of marriage is the creation of the family—the raising of children. From the socio-political standpoint children are the only excuse for marriage—not offspring merely, but children born in conditions of vitality, health, and physical vigor, and capable of becoming useful citizens to the state.

Since the most valuable asset of a nation consists in healthy, capable citizens, the conservation of the health and productive energy of the family is essential to the prosperity, and existence even, of human society. The question of health and disease as affecting the family has never received adequate consideration. The state recognizes the fundamental importance of this institution as the condition of social preservation, and has surrounded marriage with the safeguards of law and morality; but the state takes no cognizance of the health of the contracting parties: it makes no provision against the introduction of diseases which may wreck the health of the wife and mother and engender a vast mass of disease and misery in the descendants.

Modern science has shown us that most diseases are of germ origin, and are spread by contact of individuals. The ordinary relations of family life afford exceptional opportunities for contagious contacts. So common is this mode of spread that certain

diseases such as tuberculosis, leprosy, etc., are often spoken of as "family diseases."

The class of diseases which form the subject of this paper, I have termed "social diseases" from their origin in the social evil. While they are commonly communicated in that relation between the sexes ordained by nature for the continuation of the race, they may be spread in the ordinary intimacies of family and social life—a syphilitic child in a household, for example, may be the source of numerous contaminations: It may infect its nurse and other members of the family, and they in turn may infect others; veritable epidemics of syphilis have originated in this way.

A case of gonococcus infection in the family may likewise be the source of multiple contagions; the ophthalmia, which blots out the eyes of babies, may be communicated to other children, the nurse, or attendants. Another specific infection of young girls, due to the gonococcus, often takes on the proportions of extensive epidemics. In the Hebrew Orphan Asylum of New York, in 1896, 65 cases of infection were traceable to one child. In the Babies Hospital of New York in 1903, 55 children were infected, and in 1904 there were 46 cases. In the epidemic of Posen, 236 schoolgirls from 6 to 14 years were infected from a bathing-house where two or more children used the same bathtub. It is this quality of expansiveness, this capacity of morbid irradiation through family and social life, that gives to these diseases their superior significance as a social danger.

The significance of disease in general is measured by its effect upon the health and life of the individual; but the dangers of this class of diseases are not limited to the individual, nor yet to the parents; they extend to the children, and through them to society at large.

The special significance of social diseases as a peril to the family comes from the fact that they specifically affect the system of generation, sterilizing the procreative capacity, or so devitalizing the primordial cells that the product of conception is blighted in its development, and the office of maternity desecrated by the bringing forth of tainted, diseased, or dead children. The physical interests of the race demand that the springs of heredity

be kept pure and undefiled. Certainly no more important problem can engage the thoughtful attention of sociologists than the protection of the family from diseases which damage or destroy that function to which the life of the human race is entrusted.

In the further consideration of this subject, reference will be made to the introduction of these diseases into the family, the frequency of marital contamination, and the resulting dangers to the wife, to the offspring, to society, and finally, remedial measures.

1. *How are these diseases introduced into married life?*—At first glance it would appear somewhat incongruous to associate a class of infections which in popular estimation always bear the stamp of immorality, with a social institution which typifies our highest conception of virtue. Unfortunately marriage does not always prove that "asylum pure and chaste," into which diseases of vice cannot enter. On the contrary, thousands of pure young women find in this relation, legitimized by the state and sanctioned by the church, as honorable and virtuous, not a safeguard against these infections, but a snare for their entrapment. The explanation is not far to seek.

A large proportion of men contract these diseases either before or after marriage, and carry the infection into the family. The conditions of married life render the wife a helpless victim. To quote a paragraph from my book on *Social Diseases and Marriage*:

The Vinculum Matrimonii is a chain which binds and fetters the woman completely, making her the passive recipient of the germs of any sexual disease her husband may harbor. On her wedding night she may, and often does, receive unsuspectingly the poison of a disease which may seriously affect her health and kill her children; or by extinguishing her capacity of conception, may sweep away all the most cherished hopes and aspirations of married life. She is an "innocent" in every sense of the word. She is incapable of foreseeing, powerless to prevent this injury. She often pays with her life for her blind confidence in the man who, ignorantly or carelessly, passes over to her a disease he has received from a prostitute.

The only plea that can be urged in extenuation of these crimes against pure women is that the men who commit them are, for the

most part ignorant that they are bearers of contagion, and especially ignorant of the terrible consequences to their wives and children. For, it is to be understood, these infections are markedly accentuated in virulence and danger to the wife and mother in fulfilling the functions for which marriage was instituted.

2. *The frequency of marital contamination.*—This frequency does not admit of exact mathematical expression. The amount of venereal infection in marriage is an unknown and unknowable quantity. Few of the innocent victims know or even suspect the name or nature of the disease which transforms them from healthy women into suffering invalids. The social sentiment which ignores the existence of these infections, and professional ethics which draws around them the sacred circle of the medical secret, unite in protecting them from exposure.

The proportion of women infected in marriage has been variously estimated by different authorities. Whether this proportion be 5, 10, or 15 per cent., considering the number of married women in this country, either of these percentages totals up an enormous aggregate. However startling the statement, it is nevertheless true, that there is, in the aggregate, more gonococcus infection among virtuous wives than in professional prostitutes in this country.

Since the discovery of the gonococcus—the causal agent—statistics bearing upon this point have the value of scientific accuracy. The specific germ may be identified in the inflammatory lesions it occasions.

An investigation of the amount of venereal morbidity in New York City was undertaken by the Committee of Seven, appointed by the New York County Medical Society in 1901. This investigation had among other objects the tracing of the sources of the contagion. From the reply to the circular letters sent out to all regular physicians in Greater New York, it appeared that 30 per cent. of all the women treated for venereal disease in private practice in 1900, were contaminated in marriage. The source of the infection in those treated in dispensaries and public institutions could not be traced—doubtless among the poorer and more

ignorant classes who are treated in these institutions the proportion is larger.

A similar investigation undertaken by the Committee on Sanitary and Moral Prophylaxis, appointed by the Maryland State Medical Society in 1907, showed that nearly 40 per cent. of the cases of gonococcus infection in women treated in private practice in Baltimore, were contaminated in marriage.

Fournier's statistics of over 10,000 cases of syphilis, including women from every walk in life, showed that 20 per cent., or one in every five syphilitic women, received the infection from their husbands.

The president of the Gynecological Society, at the meeting of the Congress of American Physicians and Surgeons in Washington, 1907, stated that about 70 per cent. of all the work done by specialists in diseases of women in this country, was the result of gonococcus infection.

Brief reference may now be made to the specific effects of these diseases upon the family.

3. *Dangers to the wife.*—We are indebted to gynecologists for our knowledge of the specific dangers to the wife and mother, from gonococcus infection. To present the most salient of these facts in concrete form; 80 per cent. of all deaths due to inflammatory diseases peculiar to women, practically all purulent inflammations of the tubes and ovaries, and 75 per cent. of all special surgical operations performed upon women, are the result of gonococcus infection. This does not take into account the large number of infected women who are not operated upon, but drag out a miserable existence of semi- or complete invalidism.

One of the most common and characteristic results of this infection in women is sterility—50 per cent. of these infected women are rendered absolutely and irremediably sterile, while a much larger proportion are sterile after the birth of the first child; so that one child represents the total fecundity of the family. A large proportion of sterile marriages, contrary to the popular view, is from incapacity and not of choice.

The dangers of syphilis to the wife are too numerous and

varied to admit of detailed mention. Her personal risks from the disease are all the more serious as her health and resisting capacity are impaired by the bearing of dead or diseased children, and in addition she is often denied the benefit of prompt specific treatment. Incredible as it may appear, many men who infect their wives, employ every means to prevent their consulting a physician, from the fear that they may in some way learn the nature of the infection. The opinion of all specialists is concurrent upon this point, that women syphilized in marriage are not, as a rule, sufficiently treated, and it is probably on this account that so large a proportion of these women suffer from severe tertiary manifestations.

4. *Dangers to the offspring.*—While gonococcus infection is not susceptible of hereditary transmission, it often carries with it infective risks to the offspring. From 70 to 80 per cent. of the ophthalmia which blinds babies is due to this cause—besides other dangers to the children, one of which has already been referred to.

Syphilis is the only disease transmitted to the offspring in full virulence—killing them outright or so vitiating the processes of nutrition that they come into the world with the mark of death upon them, or, if they survive they are condemned to carry through life the stigmata of degeneration and disease. Moreover they are capable of transmitting the same class of organic defects to the third generation. Syphilis thus represents the most potent factor in the degeneration of the race. From 60 to 80 per cent. of syphilitic children die before being born or shortly after birth; only one in three or four finally survives; in some cases the mortality is 100 per cent., absolutely extinguishing the productivity of certain families. And here I may allude to the view which looks upon the destruction of these physical weaklings as Nature's process for the elimination of the unfit. There is no worse sophistry than to attribute to Nature what is clearly due to man's criminal ignorance. But for the fact of the syphilis of the parents these children might have been born in conditions of vitality and physical vigor.

5. *The personal risk of the husband from his disease.*—There are various complications or sequelae from gonococcus

infection which may seriously compromise the health of the husband, but which will be passed over in this paper. There is, however, one disability created by the disease, which, by destroying his procreative power, may defeat the object for which marriage is instituted. Sterility in the male is not an infrequent result of this infection. The proportion of non-premeditated childless marriages directly due to the husband's incapacity from this cause is variously estimated at from 17 to 25 per cent., and, as he is also responsible for the sterility of his wife, about 75 per cent. of all sterility in married life which is not of choice but of incapacity may be traced to the fault of the husband. Lier-Ascher's careful statistics place this proportion at 71-2 per cent.

Another danger to the family comes from the incapacitating effect of syphilis upon the husband in his character as head and support of the family. The dangers of syphilis to the individual are measured by its remote rather than by its immediate effects. The dreaded manifestations of the disease—the implication of organs essential to life and, especially, affections of the central nervous system, may not develop until 5, 10, 15, or even 20 years later. So it often happens that long after the follies of youth have been forgotten, and the man has become a husband and father, he must pay the penalty for his misdeeds in locomotor-ataxia, tumor of the brain, paralysis, blindness, or other affections which are incurable for the most part, entirely incapacitate him as the breadwinner of the family, and may render him a charge upon friends or the community. So frequent are these delayed penalties that the French have a proverb: *C'est le mari qui paie la dette du garçon*. Unfortunately the wife and children are drawn into this vicious circle, and must share the punishment.

6. *Social misery and unhappiness.*—This review of the relations of social diseases to the family would be incomplete without reference to the domestic misery and unhappiness which flow from the introduction of these diseases into married life. Enforced childlessness from extinguishment of the procreative capacity is often a source of marital unhappiness. The instinct of maternity has been implanted, by nature, in every normally

constituted woman, and many women experience the keenest suffering when realizing that all the hopes and aspirations which center in motherhood and children are doomed to disappointment.

Social diseases are a frequent cause not only of domestic dissension, but of disunion of the family. Notwithstanding the conspiracy of concealment between the husband and physician, women often learn the name and nature of their trouble, which not infrequently leads to the breaking-up of the family. The number of applications for divorce from this cause, especially in the middle and upper classes of society is much larger than is commonly supposed. In divorce proceedings, the cause of action usually appears under some non-compromising name, such as "cruelty," "non-support," "desertion," while the true cause is never made public.

Time will permit only the briefest reference to the economic significance of social diseases—the blindness, the deaf-mutism, the idiocy, and other organic defects engendered by these diseases impose an enormous charge upon the state and community for the care and maintenance of those afflicted—the elimination of these diseases would render one-third, possibly one-half, of our institutions for defectives unnecessary.

From this cursory survey of the subject, it is evident that social diseases have most important relations with the family. They are directly antagonistic to all that the family stands for as a social institution—they are destructive to its health, its productivity, and its social efficiency. They occasion an enormous sacrifice of potential wealth from the loss of citizens to the state. Moreover, they distil a double venom, they poison not only the health, but the peace, honor, and happiness of the family. Their prevention is one of the most pressing problems of social hygiene that confronts us at the present day.

WHAT ARE THE REMEDIAL MEASURES?—If I have succeeded in interesting you in this recital, probably the dominant feeling excited is one of surprise that these abuses against the innocent and helpless members of society should be possible, and the great body of humane people in this country remain indifferent to their significance, ignorant of their existence even. Ignorance

is the cause, and at the same time the explanation of this indifference. Men carry these infections into the family because they do not know; women suffer ill health, sterility, and mutilation of their bodies, because they do not know; society is insensible to their sufferings because it does not know; the saving hope of the situation lies in letting people know. Publicity of these evils, education of the public to their significance, are the prime indications.

The importance of this enlightenment is emphasized by the fact that this danger to the family and society has always been covered up and concealed. Social diseases furnish the most conspicuous example in human history of an evil which flourishes in disguise and darkness, and which owes its chief potentiality to the very obscurity to which it has been relegated by traditional prejudice. This social pestilence has been for centuries installed in our midst—poisoning the sources of life, sapping the foundations of our national vitality and vigor, ravaging the home and family—while society, behind “its seven-folded veil of prudery and false modesty,” refuses to recognize its existence.

John Stuart Mill declared that “The diseases of society can no more be checked or healed than those of the body, without publicly speaking of them.” But social sentiment has decreed that the “holy silence” upon everything relating to sex or its diseases must not be broken. And yet all experience shows that diseases communicated in the ordinary relations of family and social life cannot be prevented without the co-operation of the public, and that the first essential in securing this co-operation is the general dissemination of knowledge respecting their extent and dangers, and the means by which they are spread.

This has been signally shown in the present warfare against tuberculosis. We have recently witnessed the assemblage in Washington of a Congress of Tuberculosis, in which every civilized country of the globe was represented. Eminent scientists, distinguished specialists, prominent laymen, brought the results of their studies, their experience, and their wisdom for the discussion of the most effective ways and means of exterminating this scourge. I need not remind you that less than two decades

ago, this "great white plague" existed in our midst, claiming its victims by tens and hundreds of thousands, ignored by the sanitary officials, disregarded by the public, or stoically accepted as an evil against which it was vain to contend.

What has wrought this wonderful change in the attitude of the profession and the public—transforming apathy into interest, converting inaction into earnest effort, substituting the energy of hope for the impotence of despair? Certainly advances in medical science and the more aggressive policy adopted by the sanitary authorities have contributed to this change. But it is undeniable that the brilliant results thus far achieved in the campaign against tuberculosis, would have been impossible without the enlightened aid and helpful co-operation of the public.

Physicians have been censured, and perhaps with some justice, for their silence in regard to matters which so vitally concern the interests of the family; but a change has come over the spirit and practice of the medical profession. The genius of modern medicine is essentially in the direction of popularizing hygienic knowledge; the medical profession is perfectly willing to share its knowledge, but it cannot reach the public to any effective extent. The channels of communication with the public which serve for its enlightenment are closed against this knowledge. The responsibility now rests with those who control the educational agencies of our social life.

Other measures for safeguarding the family from these diseases may be briefly referred to.

1. *Sanitary safeguards*.—Although social diseases are due to microbic invasion, their prevention is not a purely sanitary problem. Sanitary measures are directed to the correction of the causes of disease and their modes of spread. The causes of social diseases reside in social conditions which lie entirely without the pale of sanitary control and their communicative mode, entrenched in the stronghold of privacy, cannot be reached. Besides, sanitary measures are chiefly concerned with environmental conditions which cannot be controlled by the individual. The distinctive peculiarity of this special class of diseases is that they are communicated by the voluntary acts of individuals. But

while they are essentially *voluntary* infections, they are for the most part, *ignorant* infections.

It might at first glance appear that the most effective preventive would be the enlightenment of the individual patient by his physician; but as a matter of fact comparatively few men consult physicians as to their physical fitness for marriage and parentage, so that the opportunities for this prophylactic work are comparatively restricted. Besides, many men, to the discredit of human nature be it said, when warned by the physician of the danger of marrying with an uncured sexual disease, nevertheless for sordid or selfish reasons, take the risk, or, rather, subject the women they marry to the risk of infection. Some men are utterly unteachable, while others, being taught, are flagrantly careless in the matter of spreading disease. Evidently if enlightenment is to have its full force and efficacy as a preventive measure, it must be general; it must extend to the collectivity.

2. *Legal safeguards*.—Since experience shows that the enlightenment now available will not prove an infallible corrective of these crimes against the family, the question arises whether the state, through its instrument the law, can more effectively intervene in their prevention.

Medical examination of the contracting parties, and the furnishing of a certificate of freedom from contagious sexual disease as a condition of license to marry, has been proposed as a solution of the problem. To many not familiar with the practical difficulties in the way, this measure commends itself. It would be difficult to enact a law which does not apply to both sexes, but so far as the woman is concerned such examination is entirely unnecessary, as women almost never introduce these infections into marriage; besides, many sensitive, refined women would rather forego marriage than be subjected to a physical examination which they would regard as an outrage upon their modesty, and an indignity to their persons.

Further, such a law, to be effective, must be general in all the states, otherwise couples wishing to marry would cross over the borders of a neighboring state where this law was not in force. There are other practical objections arising from the oftentimes

latent character of these diseases, and the impossibility of making a diagnosis without prolonged observation, which, with other defects that cannot be here considered, would defeat the purpose of such a law.

Another proposed measure is the enactment of a law imposing penal responsibility for the introduction of these infections into marriage. Such a law would be equitable and just, as there can be no greater injury to the corporeal integrity of an individual than infection with venereal disease. Unfortunately the essential condition of the law's intervention is that the injury shall already have been received; besides, the injured party must be the complainant, appear in open court, and if the charge is substantiated, be publicly branded as the bearer of a shameful disease. It is evident that few self-respecting women would avail themselves of its doubtful benefits. The only advantage of such a law upon the statute books, would be its educational value, rather than its frequent enforcement.

Eminent jurists who have studied this subject declare it doubtful whether additional legal guarantees for the safeguarding of marriage can be furnished by the state.

3. *Ethical safeguards.*—The family is not only the source of the life of the nation, but the conservator of the morality of the race. The moral element in this problem of prevention cannot be ignored. Observation shows that men are the responsible authors of these social crimes—women the victims. The root of the evil is grounded in the double standard of morality.

In legalizing marriage the law has placed man and woman upon the same moral plane of equality, the infidelity of either party constitutes a sufficient ground for divorce; but social convention has created one standard of morals for men, another for women. This code which was constructed to conform with man's sensual inclinations, while allowing him the largest sexual liberty, requires of the woman chastity before marriage, and absolute fidelity after marriage. This disparity in moral obligations has been justified by tradition on the ground of a physiological difference between men and women. In the opinion of the wisest and best men of the medical profession, the double

standard of morality rests upon a false physiological foundation. The doctrine of the so-called "sexual necessity" for men, is a physiological fallacy; it receives no shadow of support from the teachings of science, and is disproved by the experience of thousands. From a purely physiological standpoint there is no more necessity for a young man to "sow his wild oats" than for his sister to do the same. There is every reason to believe that the relative chastity of men and women is due, not to a physiological difference, but to a difference in education and moral training.

These crimes against the family will continue until women know, as they have a perfect right to know, the facts which so vitally concern their own health and the health and lives of their children. When they know that the standard of morality they now tolerate in the men they marry is the responsible cause, the woman will demand of the man she receives as her husband and the potential father of her children, the same moral standard which the man has always required of the woman he takes as his wife. The emancipation of woman will never be complete until she is freed from the shackles of a traditional code, based upon the ethical heresy that one half of humanity has imperious duties which the other half may repudiate or disclaim. The result will be not to debase woman, but to uplift man to her higher standard.

Personally I believe that women will not be left to work out their own salvation alone. Every moral reform comes from the exposure of human suffering. We have seen that the practical effect of this unilateral code is, that in condemning the innocent to suffer for the sins of the guilty, it violates the principles of justice and humanity. Considerations of humanity demand that women, in fulfilling their mission as child-bearers of the race, should not be exposed to diseases which soil them, which poison them, and which kill them; justice to the unborn demands that they should not be robbed of their rightful heritage of vitality, health, and vigor. When the public is fully enlightened as to the significance of these dangers to the family, and their injury to the highest interests of human society, I believe that public opinion, which is the strongest force in the evolution of the

conscience of the race, will no longer tolerate these evils, nor sanction the standard of morals of which they are the outgrowth.

A final word upon the relations of social diseases to the disunion of the family. These diseases play the sinister rôle of detectives in the household—they are *les maladies révélatrices*, often furnishing positive proof of infidelity, which otherwise might never have been revealed. The frequency of separation or divorce from this cause is far from being suspected by the public. It is one of the hidden, unavowable causes, “the shame that cannot be named for shame.” No other commentary upon the intolerable situations created by the introduction of these diseases into the family is needed than the fact that so many women, loyal to the highest ideals of marriage, devoted to home and family, are driven to the divorce courts as a refuge. No one can condemn a self-respecting woman for separating from a man who has dishonored her with a shameful disease.

The evils that result from divorce have been fully exposed; it is time to expose evils that cause divorce; to endeavor to prevent divorce by correcting one, at least, of its most fruitful causes. While the interests of the social welfare demand the conservation of the integrity of the family, it is vain to attempt to preserve intact this corner-stone of our social fabric if we neglect the destructive forces at work undermining its foundation.

DISCUSSION

PROFESSOR SELIGMAN spoke of the economic aspects of the evil and called attention to the great need of publicity.

PROFESSOR A. B. WOLFE, OBERLIN, OHIO

Dr. Morrow's paper is a terrible revelation of the sinister hypocrisy of men in their relation to women and in particular to the women they promise to love, honor, and cherish; a proof positive, if any were needed, that our ideals both of what is manly and womanly need at some points violent revision. The problem of the family is in more ways than one the problem of women. The ideal we hold of woman and the ideal we hold of the family will develop *pari passu*. So long as our ideal of the strength and worth of woman is a low one—as I do not hesitate to say it was until Mary Wollstonecraft, John Stuart Mill, and the modern feminists forced upon us the beginnings of a reluctant revision—as it is yet in fact with the

great masses of men—so long as woman was regarded mainly as a vehicle for sex gratification and a cheap housekeeper combined, so long as it is thought that “the noblest thing *any* woman can do is to be a good wife and mother,” so long as women are not gladly and consciously recognized by men to be a part of the human race as well as bearers of it, that long will the ideal of the family leave much to be desired and the actual family remain a heavy sociological problem.

Much has been said in this discussion concerning publicity and education. The problem of venereal diseases, and of the social evil at large, will never approach a solution until men fully recognize that the wife or the prospective wife—that any woman—is entitled to just as complete a knowledge of these matters as is the male. But so long as women are regarded with a vestige of the old “clinging-vine” ideal, as beings who are to be “protected” (note the pungent irony of that term in this connection) and carefully guarded from knowledge of the world’s hard facts, so long as women themselves fondly place a blind faith in a masculine “chivalry,” the condescension and subtle contemptuousness of which many of them are at present incapable of perceiving, just so long will they be incapable of protecting themselves from their male protectors. It will in the future be one of the gravest charges the defenders of western civilization will have to meet that with all the civilizing and enlightening agencies it had at its command it so long allowed its ideal of womanhood to remain so purely a negative ideal. Let woman be only “pure” and “innocent,” let her only guard her “virtue” (or have it guarded for her) against the wiles and attacks of the predatory male, let her at the same time have a pretty face, a lithe figure, and a “charming” way, and she was essentially the ideal woman. No woman whose chief ideality or virtue consists in purity or “innocence” can ever be other than an obstacle in the way of the solution of the twin problems of marriage and prostitution.

When we talk about publicity and education we mean that the social consciousness should be opened to these social dangers of contagious vice and disease. When, as in this case, the matter in hand concerns women as well as men, it behooves us, both men and women, to include women in that social consciousness, to recognize that they should have equal part with men in the formation and direction of the social consciousness. No recent writer on sociology has said a thing more pregnant with significant truth than Professor Thomas when he says that women are in the white man’s world but not of it, and nowhere have I seen that fact more vividly illustrated than by the acknowledged effects of the “medical secret” of the physician, a man-made bit of professional ethics that sacrifices everything—wife, children, honor, health, and social welfare—to the supposed interest of the libertine male, even though he be “to a radiant angel linked.” Whatever the present legal status of the medical secret, it seems clear that that institution could not long survive under the light and fire of a public

opinion which women had equal part with men in shaping. For no sane woman would consent to the fallacious belief that the sanctity and unity of the home is to be maintained on the basis of collusion of husband and physician to deceive an ignorant though suffering wife. It may be necessary that women live more than men in what Professor Patten has called a pain-economy, but surely to ask them to live in a fool's paradise at the same time is to add insult to injury. There are other stagnant pools than simply that of male disease upon which the searchlight of inquiry should be turned. It would be well to turn it oftener and with greater intensity upon male egotism—upon the androcentricity of society, the root evil of which maladjustments in family and sex life are only too often the specific manifestations. Even the American Sociological Society, while it is extremely fortunate in having women as well as men speakers on its programmes, has not entirely escaped the androcentric world-view.

THE INFLUENCE OF INCOME ON STANDARDS OF LIFE

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It goes without saying that the standard of living attained does not depend simply upon income. The natural environment—climate, the free gifts of nature—the social environment, whether urban or rural, the efficiency of government, the opportunities for recreation and education which are provided gratuitously—all these have a marked influence upon the plane of life that men attain. Furthermore, the actual comfort enjoyed by a given family depends hardly less upon the amount of its income than upon the wisdom displayed in applying it to the diverse wants which it may be made to meet. The woman who “looketh well to the ways of her household” is as important a factor in our time as she was in the days of King Lemuel.

But into these wide aspects of the question it is not my business to enter. I shall deal with the influence upon the standard of living of income alone, and I purpose to consider the effect upon the standard, first, of variations in amount of income; second, of variations in sources of income. I shall draw for illustration largely upon the results of an investigation into the standard of living in New York City carried on in 1907 under the direction of a committee of the New York State Conference of Charities. Returns were compiled from 391 families of four, five, and six persons each, 318 having incomes between \$600 and \$1,100.

I. Variations in amount of income.—It is plain that the larger the income, the larger are the possibilities of satisfaction. One of the evidences of a general rise of real wages in the nineteenth century is the increase in the number and kind of good things that are within reach of the ordinary man, and actually in his possession. We know, that is, that the rise of the standard

of living so as to include trolley-rides and daily newspapers and silver-plated ware must be the result of a general increase in family income. But we can go farther than this. Ernst Engel has taught us to look at the apportionment of income among the principal objects of family expenditure, and to see just how changes of income work out in changes in the elements of the standard of living—what kind of things are added as income increases, what are omitted as income falls.

On the basis of returns from 199 Belgian families, gathered in 1855 by Ducpetiaux, Engel made out his familiar table of percentage expenditures for Saxon families of three income-grades. He found that the poorest families, whose income was under \$300 of our money, gave for food 62 per cent. of all that they spent. Families having from \$450 to \$600 spent 55 per cent. for food, and those with from \$750 to \$1,000 spent 50 per cent. for this purpose. Hence he made his generalizations that, as income increased, a less and less part of it was needed for food, and that the percentage of expenditure for food was therefore an index of the degree of prosperity attained. He applied this standard in a later work to the wretched English peasants whose budgets had been collected by Eden in 1797, and found that the average of their food-expenditure was 73 per cent. of their total expenditures. The generalization regarding the tendency of the food-percentage to diminish as the income increases has been verified in many later compilations of family budgets. The *Report of the United States Bureau of Labor* for 1903, for instance, finds a decline in food-expenditure from 47 per cent. among families having incomes between \$400 and \$500, to 40 per cent. for families with incomes between \$900 and \$1,000. Colonel Wright's Massachusetts investigation of 1875 showed a decline from 64 per cent. for families having less than \$450 a year to 51 per cent. for families having over \$1,200 a year.

As the demands of the stomach are more easily met out of the larger income, what expenditures are increased to correspond? Engel's Saxon tables show a constant percentage for housing and for fuel and light, a slight increase for clothing, and a rise in the percentage allotted to expenditures outside of immediate

physical necessities from 5 to 10 and from 10 to 15 per cent. as we ascend the income-scale. This indicates that, along with somewhat better provision for food and shelter, it is possible for the family to indulge in more attractive clothing and household furnishings, and to spend something for amusement, for reading-matter and for minor personal indulgences.

All reports agree as to the broadening of the plane of living, with rising income, in regard to expenditure for the satisfaction of these culture-wants. Not all, however, coincide with Engel's data in regard to a constant percentage for rent and for clothing. Colonel Wright's figures for the United States at large in 1901 show a nearly constant percentage for rent (17 to 18 per cent.), but his Massachusetts report of 1875 shows a decline in the first three income-groups from 20 to 15.5 and then to 14 per cent., followed by a rise to 17 per cent. and a drop to 15 per cent. Recent investigations in New York, that of Mrs. More in her *Working-men's Budgets*, and that of the Committee of the New York Conference, agree in showing a steady falling-off in percentage expenditure for rent with each increase of one hundred dollars in income. The percentages found in the latter inquiry were 24 for incomes between \$600 and \$700, and for successive income-groups, rising by hundred-dollar stages, 22, 20, 19, 18, 16—the last for incomes over \$1,100. The congestion of population in New York, fortunately exceptional, doubtless accounts in part for the fact that in that city house-rent claims one-quarter of the six-hundred-dollar incomes.

An examination of the percentages expended for food, housing, and other purposes suggests that the proportion of income devoted to each of them may not always move in the same direction as we pass from one income-group to the next higher. The \$400 families in the *Labor Report* of 1903 spend a higher percentage for food than the \$300 families. If the comparison is carried far enough upward in the scale of incomes, a point is reached in New York where rent ceases to fall off in percentage expenditure, and clothing ceases to demand a larger proportion than in the group preceding. The fact seems to be that each of the three primary wants takes its turn in urging its claims most

vociferously and when these have been pacified the desires for the things that make life worth living begin to be heard. In regard to each class of wants in turn a point of relative saturation is reached, and a more adequate satisfaction of the next one becomes possible.

In New York City the most imperative need on the lowest incomes is for housing. Some place of shelter must be provided, and, however wretched, it will not be cheap. Thirteen dollars a month was the average rent paid by seventy-two families whose average income was \$650. But this amounts to \$156 a year, or 24 per cent. of the total income. When the cost of shelter demands a quarter of the whole income, food and clothing must take what is left. But the accommodations obtained as the minimum that can be lived in by the families with \$650 a year are practically good enough for those with an income one and two hundred dollars greater. Seventy-three families whose income averaged \$846, spent only fourteen dollars a week on the average for rent. But this was only 21 per cent. of their larger total expenditure. Meanwhile their food percentage was practically as high as that of the \$650 group (44.3 per cent.), representing an increase in average amount expended from \$290 to \$360.

In food the point of diminishing percentage was not reached until after the one-thousand-dollar line was passed. The food-percentage increased, as with the families in the *United States Labor Report* of 1903, on passing from \$400 to \$500, and from \$500 to \$600. This may be due in part to exaggeration in the returns of expenditure for food. In part it was due to the fact that until an income of \$800 was reached one-third of the families were underfed. The proportion of the total food-expenditure that was given for animal food increased, and that expended for cereal food diminished. The cost of animal food comprised 29 per cent. of the total food-bill of the families in the six-hundred-dollar income-group, and 32 per cent. of those in the one-thousand-dollar group. Cereals dropped correspondingly from 21 to 17 per cent. The expenditure for alcoholic drinks increased, taking into account only those families that reported this item, from the average of \$27.25, or 4.2 per cent.

of the total expenditures in the six-hundred-dollar group, to \$59.96, or 5.2 per cent., in the eleven-hundred-dollar group.

Clothing comes last of the three to a constant or a diminishing proportion of the expenditures. In the New York families under consideration the percentage expenditure rises slightly with each increase of \$100 in income until the eleven-hundred-dollar group is reached, and thereafter remains constant at about 15 per cent.

The expenditures for other purposes than these three primary necessities are kept under until these wants are met. By the time something like an equilibrium between these three has been reached, say at \$800 for our New York families, the expenditure for recreation, social obligations, care of the health, and all other purposes save fuel and light, claims a larger proportion of the income. The proportion is 1 per cent. higher at \$700 than at \$600, but at \$800 it rises from 14 to 16 per cent. of the total expenditure, and continues to increase without sign of stopping. That is, the culture-wants are beginning to claim their own, which, under the necessity of keeping the wolf from the door, they could not be permitted to have.

A striking example of this tendency of subsistence-wants to claim the lion's share of all increasing income is found in Engel's comparison of the Belgian returns of 1853 with those of a similar investigation made in 1891. At the latter period, although the average income had nearly doubled, the expenditure for food comprised 65.7 per cent. of the total in 1891 as compared with 64.9 per cent. in 1853. In fact, food, clothing, rent, and fuel and light consumed 96 per cent. of the income in 1891 and only 94 per cent. in 1853.

The same general conclusion as to the relative intensity of the several classes of wants may be drawn from another method of handling the New York returns. A minimum standard, as exact as could be determined, was applied to the expenditures for food, clothing, and housing, and the number of families counted in each income-group who came short of the standard. For food, the minimum was set at an expenditure at the rate of 22 cents per man per day, as calculated after the manner made

familiar by Professor W. O. Atwater in the Bulletins of the Department of Agriculture. This figure was reached, after an analysis of one hundred of the family reports, by Dr. Frank P. Underhill of Yale University, a competent expert. Professor Atwater's estimate on the basis of data gathered in New York City a few years previous, when a lower scale of prices prevailed, was from 23 to 25 cents. For housing the minimum was fixed at one and one-half persons per room, i. e. not more than six persons to four rooms. For clothing the minimum was set at an allowance of \$100 for the assumed family of five persons; expenditures for washing being included in this sum.

For our present purpose the accuracy of these estimates of a minimum requirement for physical efficiency does not concern us, but only the variations in the departures from them that appear in the several income-groups. Measured by these standards, of the families with incomes between \$400 and \$500 all are underfed, 88 per cent. are underclad, 63 per cent. are overcrowded. That is, the want of shelter is being satisfied at the expense of food and clothing. In the next income-group (\$500-\$600), the underfed are 65 per cent., the underclothed, as before, 88 per cent., the overcrowded, 71 per cent. In paying more attention to the need for food, less attention is paid to shelter. A higher rental is paid, but more persons are crowded into the accommodations offered. In the next income-group (\$600-700) the underfed have fallen to 33 per cent., the underclad to 63 per cent., the overcrowded to 57 per cent. For every income-group thereafter, the overcrowded families preponderate over both the other classes. Even in the \$1,100 income-group 21 per cent. are overcrowded, but none underfed and only 6 per cent. underclad. These figures, taken as a whole, imply that the most urgent need at the minimum income is for shelter, out-clamoring not hunger perhaps, but at least the want of adequate food. With a larger income a pause can be set to the desire for better housing, while more attention is given to the providing of food. With an income still larger, of nine hundred dollars and above, the deficiencies in diet are supplied, and at ten hundred dollars the minimum allowance for clothing has been attained by practically

all the families. Not even at this point, however, does the desire for adequate housing, at the price which must be paid for it, suffice to persuade more than three-fourths of the families to go without enough of other things to secure it.

Another alternative to expansion of expenditures, for whatever purpose, as income increases, is saving. Saving becomes easier, as income increases. But the point where savings begin is not necessarily the point where a standard even of physical efficiency is attained. There are families that save at the expense not only of comfort, but even of health, and there are families that no increase of income would induce to save. Of the underfed families just alluded to, one-half reported a surplus of income over expenditure of at least \$25; 65 per cent. of the families reckoned as underclothed, and 44 per cent. of the overcrowded likewise reported such a surplus. When this is compared with the percentage of all families that reported a surplus, namely 36.5, it seems fair to infer that the desire to save repressed expenditures to meet actual physical necessities.

On the other hand, by no means all families on a larger income preferred saving to spending. Not until \$1,300 is reached is there a constant increase in the number of families that report a surplus of income over expenditures. This indicates that there are Micawbers on large incomes as there are misers on small incomes, but also that the social influences of New York City, at least, encourage adding to the good things included in standards of living quite as much as they encourage saving. The proportion of savers among the Russian and Italian families was found to be much higher than among families of more thoroughly Americanized stock.

On the whole the conclusions drawn from the New York investigation substantiate the restatement of Engel's "laws" given by Stephan Bauer in his article "Konsumtionsbudget" in Conrad's *Handwörterbuch*, as follows:

With increase of income:

1. The proportion spent for food, especially for vegetable food, falls.
2. The proportion saved constantly increases.

3. The proportion spent for housing, fuel, light, falls until a certain income is reached, then remains constant or increases.

4. The proportion spent for animal food, drink, clothing, culture, and recreation rises until a certain income is reached, then remains constant or falls.

II. Source of Income.—The real standard of life enjoyed by a family is profoundly influenced by the sources from which its income is derived. To explain, let me make a classification, on the basis primarily of amount of income, of the relation of income to family life. Let us consider five classes:

1. The income is so small that the family cannot be maintained, but is broken up. Our charitable societies are only too familiar with cases of this kind. The father is incapacitated by accident or disease, or the supplementary earnings of other members of the family are cut off—from whatever cause, the income is diminished to a point where it is so far below the needs of the case that unless liberal relief is given the family must be broken up and the children provided for outside of the home.

2. The income is inadequate to the maintenance of a normal standard, but the family is kept together, living on a plane below the requirements for the working efficiency of the parents and the healthful bringing up of the children. It is possible to maintain life for a long time on a diet of bread and tea. Human beings can exist although sleeping three or four in a room. Dr. Foreman's budgets of the Washington poor contained instances of regular underfeeding for one week in each month—the week in which the monthly rent had to be paid. The figures already cited regarding underfed and overcrowded families, even on incomes of \$700 and \$800 are evidence that cases of this class are only too frequent. The outcome in the long run is the early extinction of the family under the attacks of disease, or race deterioration, as in the case of the London "hooligan."

3. The income adequate in amount, but adequate because the wages of the father are supplemented by the earnings of his wife and children. Such a family may maintain a normal standard, providing the children are fairly of working age and are not overworked. But where the mother's employment takes her away

from the home and where the children are set to work too young, the real standard of living is lowered. The family income cannot be as wisely expended when the mother is away all day, and the addition of outside employment to the woman's domestic work makes a burden that often impairs her health. The earlier a child goes regularly to work, the more is cut off from his rightful inheritance of opportunity to improve upon his father's standard of living.

4. The income adequate in amount, but made adequate by taking in lodgers or boarders. This case is similar to the preceding, and the effect upon the solidarity of the family, economic considerations aside, is hardly less deplorable. The taking of lodgers not only introduces outsiders into the midst of the family, but it frequently means an impairment of a normal standard in the matter of housing. Recent investigations have brought out the facts regarding the crowding of many tenements with lodgers. The relative frequency of the practice is perhaps indicated by the fact that one-half of the families included in the investigation of the New York Conference Committee were taking lodgers. The proportion increased with the increase in amount paid for rent—23 per cent. of families paying from ten to fourteen dollars a month for rent took lodgers, but they were taken by 62 per cent. of the families paying over sixteen dollars a month. The results in overcrowding are shown in the fact that 70 per cent. of the families having lodgers were reported as below our arbitrary standard of housing accommodations.

5. Families with adequate income, derived from sources such that the well-being of the family is not impaired. These families are the only ones that can be said to have reached a decent standard of living. They are the only ones in which the children have a "white man's chance" for the future. They are, for the most part, families supported by the father alone, or by children who are far enough along to handle their own wages and pay their own board into the family treasury. The number of families where the father really supports the family is not so large, among the wage-earners of our American cities, as is popularly supposed. Especially in those occupations where men's wages are not over

two dollars a day they are the exception, not the rule. Forty-eight of the laborers, teamsters, and garment workers included in the New York Committee's report, gave in a family income of from eight to ten hundred dollars; but in thirty-eight cases the father's earnings were supplemented from other sources. In almost every compilation of working-men's budgets that has been published in this country, has appeared the same frequency of composite incomes among families reporting the higher amounts for total income. Further, among the families with composite income the proportion of underfed and of families reporting deficit is greater than among the whole number of families. This means, of course, that the family of a man with a six-hundred-dollar wage can maintain a standard that calls for an expenditure of eight hundred dollars only by endangering the integrity of the family life by taking lodgers or sending mother and children out to work. In other words the standard of wages does not reach the standard of living.

The influence of income on standard of living, therefore, may be traced in reference both to amount and sources of income. As the amount of income increases expenditures increase most rapidly along the line of the strongest desire, unsatisfied hitherto. This desire is likely to be the desire for better food, then for better clothing and shelter, until what may be called a saturation point for these essentials has been reached. As this point is approached, expenditures for things not connected with immediate material subsistence claim a larger share of the income, and finally increase most rapidly of all. A minimum point is fixed by the environment natural and social. The education of the particular family, the custom of its social equals, are the forces that determine at what point above the subsistence minimum the income will be diverted from physical satisfaction to the meeting of higher wants. The maintenance of a decent standard depends on the father's earning, in ordinary cases, enough to meet the wants of the family until the children are really fit to go to work. When the father's earnings have to be supplemented by the earnings of others, or by taking lodgers, the standard of life is lowered and the integrity of the family is imperiled.

THE FAMILY IN A TYPICAL MILL TOWN

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The effect of our industrial system on family life is in most cities rendered indefinite by the pressure of complicating factors. In a small community, however, which is dependent on a single industry, the factors of the problem are simplified, and therefore the relation is clearer and the conclusions more obvious.

For this reason I venture to offer a very simple and concrete description of the type of family and the conditions of family life in a steel-mill town, believing that it may serve at least as an illustration for this afternoon's discussion. The facts offered are the result of a six months' investigation as to the cost of living in Homestead, and are, I believe, true in the main of the steel towns of the Pittsburg district.

When, in 1881, Klomans started to build a small steel mill, he located it in a little village seven miles from Pittsburg, appropriately enough called Homestead. The industrial development of the city had seemed too remote to affect it. But the mill became a part of the United States Steel Corporation and is now the largest steel plant in the world, while the village, which has grown with it, now has a population of about 25,000. Not only did the initial impulse of the town's growth come from the mill, but throughout the industry has, for two reasons, definitely determined Homestead's development—one, that, as there is no other considerable industry in the town, the men are dependent for occupation on the mill; the other, that, since the strike of 1892, when the power of the Amalgamated Association came to an end, the corporation has, by its decisions as to wage and hours of labor, determined practically without hindrance the conditions under which the men live. Because of these two factors we may consider that the social and economic institutions of Homestead are typical of those which a powerful organized industry is likely

to develop, a statement limited by the fact that conditions would be very different in a community where the prevailing industry was of another type.

The conditions to be discussed are simplified by a marked homogeneity of type in the families of Homestead, in itself a result of the industrial situation. Marked distinctions of wealth are totally absent. Two groups do indeed exist with different standards and no common interests; the Slavs and the English-speaking workers; but this distinction is of race rather than of wealth. The Slavs are usually day laborers, while the majority of the English-speaking men are skilled or semi-skilled, but in spite of these differences both groups are wage-earners. Even the number of professional men is not as large as in a town farther from a city, while the owners of the mill—the stockholders—scattered throughout the country, knowing their property only as a source of dividends, have no part or interest in the town's development. As a result, this town of working-men has not the lack of mutual understanding resulting from great differences in wealth and standards, but neither has it the stimulus which comes from the presence and leadership of men of education with leisure. What the town offers is what the working-people have created for themselves under the conditions imposed by the industry.

From the standpoint of family development probably the most significant fact about the town is that it offers work for men only. Aside from the steel mill and one machine shop, the only work in the town is in providing for the needs of the workers, with but chance work for women. As Pittsburg is a 45 minutes' car ride distant the work it offers is not easily available. The wage in the mill, moreover, though by no means abundant, is fair and steady. The laborer earns at a minimum rate of 16½ cents an hour, \$1.65 a day, while the semi-skilled or skilled workers earn from \$2.00 to \$4.00, and occasionally as high as \$5.00 or \$6.00 a day.

The work is in addition regular. From the panic of 1893 to that of 1907, I am told that the mill was not shut down for a single day. The day men, therefore, who are paid their full wage unless the mill actually closes, have a steady income the year

round, except in periods of industrial depression. The tonnage men, who are paid according to output, do feel even a temporary cutting-down of orders, but as they are the ones who ordinarily receive the highest pay, the occasional lessening of their wage is not so disastrous.

As a result of these factors the town in general seems to have adopted the position that the women should stay at home, and, by good housekeeping, make the money go a long way, rather than go out to work and earn a little more. This is shown concretely in the incomes of those families whose budgets were secured for the investigation. Among the English-speaking people the husbands and sons contributed 92.8 per cent. among the native whites—practically the entire income, and 94.6 per cent. among the English-speaking Europeans. There was no income from the work of women unless one would so consider what was received from lodgers. This constituted 4.6 per cent. of the total income in the European group, and 2.7 per cent. among the native white.

We find, then, that as a result of the kind of work offered the town consists of a group of working-men's families; the man is the breadwinner. The effect of the industrial situation is further shown in the work of the children. The girls show little more tendency than their mothers to become wage-earners. In the thirty-eight English-speaking families there were fifteen girls over fourteen, not one of whom was at work. Four were in the high school, the remainder at home helping with the housework. While this is probably an extreme figure, as some girls in Homestead do go to work in stores or offices, it reveals a general feeling in the town that "the home is woman's sphere." While one may question whether from the standpoint of the present the additional income from the girl's wages would not add more to the comfort of the family than her help in the household, from my acquaintance with housekeepers of all sorts I am convinced that good home training is invaluable in preparing girls for their own homes later. The four champion housekeepers of my acquaintance were the daughters of Pennsylvania farmers. One of them, when I expressed my surprise at how much more she

had accomplished than others with the same income, gave as the reason for her success, that girls who had been in stores or factories had no training in management and were quite helpless when they faced a housekeeper's problems.

The situation as far as the sons are concerned is somewhat different. Fifteen of the seventeen boys over fourteen were at work contributing among the whites 9.6 per cent., and among the English-speaking Europeans 18 per cent. of the total income. Though the other two boys were still in the high school, we find on the whole a marked absence of interest in academic or even in technical training for these sons. As the daughters, instead of learning trades are at home becoming practical housekeepers under their mothers' direction, so the sons following in their fathers' footsteps, are entering directly into the practical work of the mill to get there the training for future success. That the best-paid men in the mill, such as rollers and heaters, have secured their jobs through experience in the mill rather than through outside training has doubtless much to do with this attitude. Through the influence of the fathers, the boys sometimes get what are known as pencil jobs, or other places where the work is light and apparently more gentlemanly, but where the pay is seldom so high. Usually, however, they begin in the regular boy's work, as messenger-boys in the yards, or door-openers. Though these give no special training for the future, as the line of promotion is usually open a boy has a good chance of becoming at least a semi-skilled workman on fair pay. Promotion is sometimes unduly rapid, however, so that boys of 16 or 18 are earning men's wages, with little chance of further promotion. One woman who regretted that her son had not learned a trade, said that he was unwilling to go through a long apprenticeship when in the mill he could earn good pay at once. In spite of the fact that because of long hours and the danger from accident, women often wish their sons to take some other work, they usually do go into the mill. This means that as for some years they stay at home and contribute their share to the family income, they create a period of economic prosperity.

The family is at this time often able to make extra provision for the future, as, for instance, buying a house.

We find then that the industry has by its very nature helped to create a type of family life. But in those factors where it has a choice open to it such as wages and hours, has it by its decisions, made possible for these families a genuine home life, a carrying out of their ideals for themselves? For two facts must be considered in any study of standards of living, one the limitations or opportunities from without, which the family cannot affect, the other those family ideals, sometimes limited in themselves, sometimes hampered by outside forces, which are continually struggling toward realization. How far are Homestead's ideals realizable on the pay the mill offers?

It is impossible in the limits of this discussion to consider at all in detail the results of the budget investigation in Homestead. Figures are too complicated without elaborate explanations. A few facts however may be used in this general discussion.

To my mind, the fundamental fact brought out by the investigation was, that, the question of expenditure is always one of choices, of doing without some things in order to get others. This may seem axiomatic, but when applied to a wage of less than \$12 a week it expresses pretty much the whole problem of life. Do we find that in order to carry out ideals of home life, such as having an attractive house, making due provision for the future, or buying a house, certain absolute essentials must be gone without? Any study of the budgets of families receiving less than \$12 a week, or even those earning from \$12 to \$15 demonstrates very clearly that this is the case. As the unskilled men, who earn \$10 and \$12 a week, compose 58 per cent. of the employees, it is worth while to consider briefly the problem which this large percentage of Homestead's population is facing.

To indicate its extent I will give the average expenses of 40 families with an income of less than \$12 a week. Of a total expenditure of \$530 a year, \$241 goes for food; \$103 for rent; \$50 for clothing; \$18 for furniture; \$25 for fuel; \$11 for medical care, and \$13 for tobacco and liquor. In addition an average of \$38 was spent annually for insurance, leaving but \$31 a year for

amusements of all sorts, church expenses, savings, and the necessary sundries. Now obviously no one of these items is adequate, to say nothing of being superabundant. Rent, for example, at \$2 a week provides only a two-room tenement, and that without water or toilet in the house. Food at \$4.64 a week would mean for a family of five, only 20 cents a day, two cents a day less than Prof. Chittenden estimates as absolutely essential in New York. Fifty dollars for clothing is just one-half the sum Mr. Chapin gives as necessary. The tobacco and liquor item which is especially large among the Slavs, could, of course, be cut with profit, but in no other way can that pitably small sum of \$31 be increased. Yet from that sum savings must come if there are to be any.

The different nationalities meet this problem in varying ways according to their ideals. Among the native white families a comfortable home is an essential proof of respectability. Consequently we find that they spend for rent 21.2 per cent. as against 16.4 per cent. among the Slavs. On the other hand, the Slav spends 54.3 per cent. for food, while the native whites spend but 44.7 per cent. That is, the Slavic family will have enough food anyway, while the American demands a big enough house. Inadequate food or bad housing alike endanger physical efficiency, while with overcrowding any semblance of home life becomes impossible. In neither group is there any margin for amusements.

It is not a question of good management. The cleverest housekeeper I know was doing marvelously on \$14 a week, and the following statement of her average expenditure for 8 weeks, shows how she did it: Food \$7.05; clothing .57; household expenses .59; rent \$2.50; insurance and lodge dues .65; church and charity .09; recreation and spending money .03; doctor \$1.46; sundries .35. Though, as you may see, she was keeping the unessential elements of expenditure at their lowest point, her food-supply was still quite inadequate. I found by a rough estimate that it was deficient about 20 per cent. in both proteida and calories. The budget revealed a wise choice of foods aside from a possibly extravagant expenditure for fresh fruit and vegetables.

If a skilful woman of Pennsylvania Dutch stock cannot manage on this wage, what can be expected of the average housekeeper?

The necessity of facing these problems three times a day has its effect also on the overtaxed mother. One woman, who on an income of from \$2 to \$3 a day was providing for five children, had bought a small farm and was carrying heavy insurance. In order to accomplish this, she told me, she must not spend even five cents for a visit to the nickleodeon. When she described to me her hunts for bargains and her long hours of sewing to make her girls presentable, I did not wonder that she had the reputation of being a cranky person.

These two women were Americans, but by far the largest majority of the laborers are Slavs, and it is among them that we find the worst results of the low wage.

The mill has sent out a call for young vigorous men who will do its heavy work for a small wage. In answer to this has come a great number of Slavic immigrants. As is often true of a new group most of these men are either single or with families in the old country. Of the 3,602 Slavs in the mill, 1,099 or 30.5 per cent. were single men. This has had a disastrous effect on the family life of the Slavs, for these men usually board in families of their own nationality who live in the wretched courts in the Second Ward of Homestead. A study made of 21 of these courts revealed appalling conditions. Among the 239 families living there, the 102 who took lodgers had on an average four persons to a room. Fifty-one of these families—more than one-fifth—lived in one room. The two-room tenements were not infrequently occupied by a man, his wife, two children, and two or three boarders. Under these conditions any genuine family life becomes impossible.

The death-rate among the children is high, twice as high as in the other wards of Homestead. Moreover, training children under these conditions is difficult and a terrible knowledge of evil results from the close mingling of the children with this group of careless, drinking men.

Aside from the presence of these single men and a growth of population with which the number of houses has not kept pace,

the overcrowding is due to the dominant ambition of the Slav to own a bit of property here or in the old country, or to have a bank account. As we have seen, strenuous economies are necessary if their desires are to be attained. That it is ambition rather than a permanently low standard which is responsible for the bad conditions is shown by the comfort and even good taste displayed by some who have succeeded in buying their own homes.

These people do need, however, to have impressed upon their minds the value of education. As there is no effective school enumeration, and the responsibility is divided between the public and parochial schools, it is easy enough, where the parents are indifferent, for the children to drift away from regular attendance. As the steel mill with its heavy work and enormous machinery cannot utilize the work of children there is almost no labor problem in Homestead, but usually as soon as the children are fourteen they start in to work.

Between ignorance and ambition these newcomers are failing to secure for themselves or their children a real home life, that would result either in the physical or moral efficiency of the next generation.

The mill which demands strong, cheap labor concerns itself but little whether that labor is provided with living conditions that will maintain its efficiency or secure the efficiency of the next generation. The housing situation is in the hands of men actuated only by a desire for the largest possible profit. More intelligent members of the community, on the other hand, though realizing the situation do not take their responsibility for the aliens in their midst with sufficient seriousness to limit the power of these landlords. The Slavs, moreover, people used to the limitations of country life, are ignorant of the evil physical and moral effect of transferring the small rooms, the overcrowding, the insufficient sanitary provisions which may be endurable in country life with all outdoors about them, to these crowded courts under the shadow of the mill.

Summing up the results of indifference on one side and ignorance on the other, we find a high infant death-rate, a knowledge of evil among little children, intolerable sanitary conditions, a low

standard of living, a failure of the community to assimilate this new race in its midst.

As we waited in one of the little railroad stations in Homestead, a Slavak came in and sat down next to a woman and her two-year-old child. He began making shy advances to the baby, and coaxing her in a voice of heart-breaking loneliness. But she would not come to him, and finally the two left the room. As they went he turned to the rest of the company, and in a tone of sadness, taking us all into his confidence said simply, "Me wife, me babe Hungar." But were they here it would mean death for one baby in three, it would mean hard work in a dirty, unsanitary house for the wife, it would mean sickness and much evil. With them away, it means for him isolation and loneliness and the abnormal life of the crowded lodging-house.

While this low wage, either among Slavs or Americans, is insufficient to maintain a standard of physical efficiency, the industry adds further that element of uncertainty for the future so destructive to ambitions and plans. Accidents are frequent. Even though they are not often fatal, one that lays a man up even for two weeks has a disastrous effect on a slender surplus. One family had saved \$300 to buy a house, but when the man was injured by a weight falling on his feet, and was laid up for six weeks, \$80 went from the surplus. Soon after when last winter's hard times came, practically all the savings had to go for food. Now the family wonders whether, with all these possibilities of disaster, it will ever dare to put all its savings into a house.

In addition, cuts in wages are made periodically. As these most frequently affect the better-paid men, even they cannot start out on any plan involving any number of years without realizing that before the end of the time conditions may have changed so as to make its carrying out impossible.

By the 12-hour shift as well as by the low wage the mill is affecting the lives of these families. Though the long hours and hard work may seem to be hardships that only the man would feel, they do react on family life. Not only do his weariness and his irregular hours make him less inclined to enter into the family pleasures, but he also fails to change, through political or other

action, the conditions under which they live. Because of this weariness-induced apathy, a man usually stays at home and smokes his pipe instead of troubling himself with outside affairs. This tendency is doubtless intensified by conditions within the industry. As since the strike of 1892 there have been no labor organizations in the town, the men do not meet to discuss the conditions under which they work, and accept passively whatever is offered. This same indifference seems to affect their attitude toward politics, so that instead of taking an active part they allow the wholesale liquor interests to dominate. Yet, through schools and through sanitation, the political situation does bear a close relation to family problems. In Homestead, for instance, the drinking water comes, only partly filtered, from a river which has already received the sewage of a number of towns and cities. The man continues to go three times a day for water from a neighbor's well and pay him 50 cents a month for the privilege instead of insisting that the borough provide a decent supply. There are no ordinances requiring landlords to place water or toilets in the houses, though the family are longing for the day when they can move to a house with these conveniences. An industrial situation which creates an attitude so passive that men accept, without protest, perfectly remediable evils that immediately affect the family, is a serious one.

These long hours have a further harm in their tendency to lessen the demand for amusement. Aside from roller-skating rinks and the five-cent variety shows known as nickleodeons, there is, outside of the home, no real chance for amusement save the ever present light and refreshment offered by the fifty or more saloons which Homestead licenses. The mothers, who realize that the rinks are a source of danger to the girls, and the saloons an ever-present menace to family happiness, make a heroic and often pathetic effort to keep the home attractive enough to offset these temptations. While the results are perhaps not undesirable when the mother succeeds, every woman is not a genius, and when she fails there is little wholesome amusement to compensate for her failure. The people do not want this provided for them by philanthropy. When speaking of the Carnegie

library, men often said to me "We didn't want him to build a library for us, we would rather have had higher wages and spent the money for ourselves." Aside from the money, and the margin for amusements, as we have seen, is painfully small, they need the leisure to plan and enjoy. The town offers to its inhabitants the chance to work but it gives them little chance to play. And yet play is essential if even physical efficiency is to be maintained.

To sum up the situation then, we find that the mill by the nature of the work offered helps to develop a normal family type, but because of low wages, long hours, and opposition to industrial organization, it has done much to hamper the family in carrying out its ideals.

May I in conclusion state briefly what facts as to the relation of family to industrial life were clarified in my own mind by this investigation? In the first place, in a town dominated by one industry the type of family is largely determined by the nature of that industry. Theoretical discussions as to the normal family have little effect, even the ideals of individual families must often be modified to meet this situation. In a cotton-mill town, for example, we are almost sure to find the women at work, while in a steel town it is the man's place to earn and the woman's to spend. This relation, obscured in commercial or large manufacturing centers, stands out clearly in Homestead with its one industry.

In the second place, the industry limits the development of the family life by the effect of long hours and overwork, and the absence of the stimulus which trades unions might supply. These react on the family, not only in the man's personal attitude toward them, but through his failure by political or other united action, to improve the conditions under which they live.

The most obvious and fundamental relation of industry and family is the economic one. Without the background of a sufficient wage, even such distinct domestic virtues as thrift become not only impossible but harmful. If to buy a house means to underfeed the children; if to have a bank account means to take lodgers till there is no possibility of home life, we are certainly

foolish to laud the man who realizes these ambitions, and class as extravagant and thriftless those who do not. Our preaching must have a closer relation to the economic situation of the families.

In years gone by the family was the industrial unit, the work was done in the house, was close to the problem of the home, and the two developed together. The family ties were strong and the industrial conditions strengthened them. Now the situation is changed, and the industry is dominant. More and more the very nature of the family, its ideals, and its every-day existence are alike molded by the opportunities for work. If we are to keep any abstract ideals of what family life should be, and are to translate these into actualities, our primary query must be whether our industrial system makes them possible. Without the development of the personal virtues economic prosperity might be futile, but the converse is also true. In Homestead at least, I believe, there are more ideals than the industrial situation allows to become realities.

RESULTS OF THE PITTSBURGH SURVEY

EDWARD T. DEVINE
New York City, N. Y.

The Pittsburgh Survey represents one way of studying family life in an industrial and urban community. The method of personal observation by an individual investigator is obviously inadequate to such an undertaking. Life is too short, prejudices too ineradicable, individual qualifications too specialized, the personal equation too disturbing, to permit any single individual however gifted to see for himself the community as a whole, and to measure the influences and forces that shape the family destiny. The writer who boasts that he has known many cities, if by that he means that he has known them intimately by the method of first-hand observation, invites distrust. The Chicago stockyards district alone, or the lower East Side of New York, or the Pittsburgh steel district, affords a problem too complex and difficult for any single-handed observer and reporter of social conditions. Individual inquiry and personal interpretation have brought us a certain distance but they cannot take us much farther. Their limitations have suggested the plan which we have tried in the experiment the results of which you have asked us to lay before you. That plan is in a word to organize a staff to survey the community as a whole, a group working under common direction, and rapidly enough so that the results refer to a particular period and to relatively definite conditions which can be clearly described.

Whether in this first experiment we have succeeded is of course still to be determined, but this was the underlying idea of the Pittsburgh Survey. In attempting thus to reckon at once with the many factors of the life of a great industrial community, we may not have been able to go so deeply into most of them as, for example, special inquiries have gone into tuberculosis, child labor, housing, or the standard of living; although on the other hand we may have gone into others, such as the cost of typhoid, the effect of industrial accidents, the status of the steel workers,

the boarding-boss system, and the place of women in modern industries, more deeply than has heretofore been attempted. In any case our main purpose has been to offer a structural exhibit of the community as a whole and not to make an exhaustive investigation of any one of its aspects. We have not dealt with the political mechanism, and we have not to any great extent dealt with vice, intemperance, or the institutions by which the community undertakes to control them. We have dealt in the main with the wage-earning population, first in its industrial relations, and second in its social relations to the community as a whole.

There are certain immediate, tangible results in Pittsburgh. An Associated Charities, an increased force of sanitary inspectors, a comprehensive housing census, a typhoid commission, and a permanent civic improvement commission are certainly very tangible and striking results, especially as they are in the nature of by-products to an investigation concerning which very little has as yet been published.

These developments, however, interesting and gratifying as they are from the point of view of social progress in the community, are probably not the results of the survey which are in your minds, as you forecast this discussion. I take it that what is of interest to the Economic Association and the Sociological Society, is rather the answer to the question: Have you really found out anything about Pittsburgh that we did not know perfectly well before? What are the results of your survey for students of society and of industry? The discoveries, then, which I have to report, are as follows, taking the adverse results first:

I. An altogether incredible amount of overwork by everybody, reaching its extreme in the twelve-hour shift for seven days in the week in the steel mills and the railway switchyards.

II. Low wages for the great majority of the laborers employed by the mills, not lower than in other large cities, but low compared with the prices—so low as to be inadequate to the maintenance of a normal American standard of living: wages adjusted to the single man, not to the responsible head of a family.

III. Still lower wages for women, who receive for example in one of the metal trades, in which the proportion of women is

great enough to be menacing, one-half as much as unorganized men in the same shops and one-third as much as the men in the union.

IV. An absentee capitalism, with bad effects strikingly analogous to those of absentee landlordism, of which also Pittsburgh furnishes noteworthy examples.

V. A continuous inflow of immigrants with low standards, attracted by a wage which is high by the standards of south-eastern Europe, and which yields a net pecuniary advantage because of abnormally low expenditures for food and shelter, and inadequate provision for sickness, accident, and death.

VI. The destruction of family life, not in any imaginary or mystical sense, but by the demands of the day's work, and by the very demonstrable and material method of typhoid fever and industrial accidents, both preventable, but costing last year in Pittsburgh considerably more than a thousand lives, and irretrievably shattering many homes.

VII. Archaic social institutions such as the aldermanic court, the ward school district, the family garbage disposal, and the unregenerate charitable institution, still surviving after the conditions to which they were adapted have disappeared.

VIII. The contrast—which does not become blurred by familiarity with detail, but on the contrary becomes more vivid as the outlines are filled in—the contrast between the prosperity on the one hand of the most prosperous of all the communities of our western civilization, with its vast natural resources, the generous fostering of government, the human energy, the technical development, the gigantic tonnage of the mines and mills, the enormous capital of which the bank balances afford an indication, and, on the other hand, the neglect of life, of health, of physical vigor, even of the industrial efficiency of the individual. Certainly no community before in America or Europe has ever had such a surplus, and never before has a great community applied what it had so meagerly to the rational purposes of human life. Not by gifts of libraries, galleries, technical schools, and parks, but by the cessation of toil one day in seven and sixteen hours in the twenty-four, by the increase of wages, by the sparing

of lives, by the prevention of accidents, and by raising the standards of domestic life, should the surplus come back to the people of the community in which it is created.

As we turn the typewritten pages of these reports and as we get behind them to the cards of original memoranda on which they are based, and as we get behind them again to the deepest and most clearly defined impressions made in the year and a half on the minds of the members of the investigating staff, it is the first and the last of these results that we see more clearly than any others—the twelve-hour day, and social neglect. Sunday work and night work are but another expression, as it were, of the same principle of long hours of overwork, of which the typical and persistent expression is the twelve-hour shift. Nothing else explains so much in the industrial and social situation in the Pittsburgh district as the twelve-hour day—which is in fact for half the year, the twelve-hour night. Everything else is keyed up to it. Foremen and superintendents, and ultimately directors and financiers, are subject to its law. There are no doubt bankers and teachers and bricklayers in Pittsburgh who work less, but the general law of the region is desperate, unremitting toil—extending in some large industries to twelve hours, for six days one week, and eight days the next. There is no seventh day save as it is stolen from sleep. There are of course occupations, as in the blast furnaces, in which there are long waits between the spurts of brief, intense expenditure of energy, but the total effect of the day is as I have described.

For the effect, as well as for the causes of the twelve-hour day, and for a more exact statement of its extent, its limitations, and the exceptions, I must refer to the reports. We have attempted to trace the influence of the great contest of 1892, and of the incoming waves of immigration, to indicate the effect of the long day on the length of the working life, on industrial efficiency, on home life, on citizenship. When it has all been done, however, the unadorned fact that in our most highly developed industrial community, where the two greatest individual fortunes in history have been made, and where the foundations of the two most powerful business corporations have been laid,

the mass of the workers in the master industry are driven as large numbers of laborers whether slave or free have scarcely before in human history been driven, is surely an extraordinary fact. I do not mean to suggest that the conditions of employment are less desirable than under a system of slavery. What I mean is merely that the inducement to a constantly increased output and a constant acceleration of pace is greater than has heretofore been devised. By a nice adjustment of piece wages and time wages, so that where the "boss" or "pusher," as he is known in the mills, controls, time wages prevail, and where the individual worker controls, piece wages prevail; by the resistless operation of organized control at one point, and the effort to recover earnings reduced by skilful cuts of piece wages at another; by the danger of accident, and the lure of the pay which seems high by old-country standards, the pace is kept, is accelerated, and again maintained. There is one result and there is no other like it.

All of these results of the survey, relating to overwork, low wages, immigration, destruction of families, archaic institutions, and indifference to adverse living conditions, appear to me worthy of your very careful consideration. They are presented without exaggeration or prejudice in the papers that have been written and in the fuller reports that are to follow. It is possible that yellow journalism would find here some justification. When Mr. Brisbane the other day gloried in the yellowness of his newspaper, chuckled over the unsuccessful attempts at imitation by other journals, compared his color effects with the Almighty's painting of a lurid sunset, and reached his climax by expressing regret that they had not yet been able to make a noise resembling thunder, I confess that having in mind the unpublished records of our Pittsburgh Survey, I had a momentary pang of regret that we were not in position to set them free by some such methods as those which Mr. Brisbane so unblushingly defends. The reading of a paper in a scientific society and the publication of a few special numbers of *Charities* seem inadequate. However, we must accept the limitations along with the great advantages of the media in which it has pleased Providence to permit us to work. I proceed to present other facts which I would not wish to

classify as either adverse or favorable, and to give a brief and inadequate enumeration of the distinctly favorable indications.

Outside the mills, the wages of ordinary day laborers in the Pittsburgh district are from \$1.50 to \$1.75 for a ten-hour day. The municipality pays more: \$1.75 to \$2 for eight hours. In skilled trades, in seasonal trades, and in thoroughly unionized trades, compensation is higher. The level toward which wages tend is \$9 to \$10 for a sixty-hour week. Common laborers in the mines, because of their union, earn from 50 to 90 per cent. more by the hour than laborers of a similar grade outside. Motormen and conductors, under their union agreement, earn 25 per cent. more per hour than teamsters, although their occupation requires no more time in which to become proficient. In the building trades, which are seasonal and organized, the wages are \$3.40 to \$5.20 for eight hours; and in the metal trades, which are continuous and partly organized, wages are \$2.75 to \$4 a day of nine or ten hours. The destruction of unionism in the steel mills has had effects which are too far-reaching and important for brief summary here, but they are described by Mr. Fitch in the reports with thoroughness and a wealth of illustrative detail. In general I may say that the low wages of unskilled immigrant labor are higher than they were fifteen years ago, but that the wages of skilled labor formerly organized are lower.

Though it may seem extravagant, I am inclined to claim for the survey the discovery of the Slav as a human being, though I do not overlook the scientific studies of Dr. Steiner or the illuminating articles which we have previously published in *Charities* from Miss Balch on the Slavs in Europe and in America. I refer here, however, more especially to Mr. Koukol's study of his compatriots, his analysis of their character, their attitude toward America, and the effect on them of such conditions as those under which they live and work in Pittsburgh and the neighboring mill towns. Over one-half of the workers in the steel mills are Slavs, and in the total immigration Slavs are one of the three largest racial elements which we are now absorbing into our population. An anomalous feature of this whole situation is that our greatest industrial community should thus be dependent on the supply of

able-bodied laborers from agricultural communities five thousand miles distant.

On the credit side of the account there are at least the following considerations:

I. The adverse conditions are, after all, conditions which naturally, or at least not infrequently, accompany progress. They are incidents of the production of wealth on a vast scale. They are remediable whenever the community thinks it worth while to remedy them. If the hardships and misery which we find in Pittsburgh were due to poverty of resources, to the unproductivity of toil, then the process of overcoming them might indeed be tedious and discouraging. Since they are due to haste in acquiring wealth, to inequity in distribution, to the inadequacy of the mechanism of municipal government, they can be overcome rapidly if the community so desires.

II. There are many indications that the community is awakening to these adverse conditions and that it is even now ready to deal with some of them. I have already cited instances of new movements in this direction, and the detailed reports cite many other favorable signs. The arrest of councilmen and bankers for bribery may for a time divert attention from the improvement of conditions to the prosecution of individual malefactors. But this interruption to fundamental social reform may serve to strengthen the determination of citizens who see what work is to be done, and that the city administration is courageously undertaking it, to defer the anticipated reversion to ordinary machine politics and its corrupt alliance with predatory business interests.

III. It is fair to point out as a favorable result of the inquiry that there is an increasing number, including the mayor and other city officials, officers of corporations, business men, social workers, and others, who are entirely ready to enter with others and with one another on the dispassionate search for causes and remedies, recognizing that the adverse conditions are there, recognizing that distinction lies not in ostrich-like refusal to see them, but in statesman-like willingness to gauge them and to understand them, and so far as it is possible to remove them. Pittsburgh is unique only in the extent to which tendencies ob-

servable everywhere have here actually, because of high industrial development, and great industrial activity, had the opportunity to give tangible proofs of their real character and inevitable goal.

IV. It will be made apparent also when the survey publishes its findings that in the period immediately preceding the undertaking there had been several noteworthy advances in Pittsburgh. A reform mayor had been elected. Greater Pittsburgh, with Allegheny as the principal accession, had been decreed, and incidentally in this process one of the most conspicuous of our national "fences" for thieves and other criminals had been thrown down. Plans had been made for a suitable civic celebration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the city. The administration, with the co-operation of smoke manufacturers, had entered upon a death grapple with the smoke nuisance. A big boulevard system had been created, and a five-and-a-half-million-dollar filtration plant had been installed.

The net result of the survey, so far as it throws light on the inquiry formulated on the programme, whether modern industry and city life are unfavorable to the family, is to suggest an affirmative answer. Very unfavorable, very disastrous consequences are clearly discernible. Whether they are inseparable from industrial life in the city is for the future to determine. Yellow journalism, one very crude but not altogether ineffective method of popular education as to certain of the unfavorable effects of modern industry, we reject as not consistent with our traditions. As a corrective, we shall do well to utilize in the classroom and in serious discussion such material as is furnished by the Pittsburgh Survey and by other similar inquiries. Assuming accuracy in the field and suitable editorial revision, it is within bounds to say that we shall soon know more about Pittsburgh than we have known about any other of our American industrial communities. That in itself is something, but our chief interest in that result will lie in the stimulus which happily it may give to the desire and the determination to learn as much or more by similar or by better methods about other communities.

ARE MODERN INDUSTRY AND CITY LIFE UNFAVORABLE TO THE FAMILY?

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The essence of the question under discussion.—It is *not*: Is life in an industrial city more unfavorable to the family than it formerly was, i. e., are we advancing? Nor, Is life in an industrial city more unfavorable to sound family life than country residence? but rather, What are the facts about urban conditions which have a harmful tendency, and are these conditions necessarily inherent in urban organization of industry or are they capable of improvement by known means? If not by known means then at what points should we direct and concentrate our investigations? It is not necessary here to reiterate the proof that the cities are growing rapidly in all parts of the civilized world, nor to explain the movement cityward. This is already familiar to all. If any tendency is part of destiny and fate this seems to be such. Even when people are perfectly aware of the effect of urban ways on longevity, they seem to prefer the brief and merry, or at least exciting, career in cities to the cycle of far and drowsy Cathay.

“Modern industry” is almost equivalent to “city life,” because the great industry, the factory system, builds cities around the chimneys of steam engines and electric plants. Cheap production of commodities by machinery requires some degree of proximity of operations. Our systems of transportation and trade work in the same direction. We may then, ignoring exceptional conditions, discuss directly the effects of urban residence on family life, and treat the mill, shop, and factory as special aspects of city life.

The dwelling, the street, the places of work and recreation are the outward and physical factors which directly affect the fortunes of urban workmen and their families.

The habits and conduct of the people under these outward

conditions are also causal factors, and all the influences react upon each other and reverberate in countless ways.

I. What are the facts in relation to the *physical well-being* of the family in cities? The social function of the normal family is to maintain the life of the community at its best by producing, rearing, and educating sound and vigorous offspring.

The statisticians have assembled for us the evidences of relatively high morbidity and mortality in cities, and it is not necessary to reproduce the tables; the general results are sufficient for our present purpose.¹

Density of population is characteristic of cities and tends to increase morbidity and mortality. The death rate in cities is generally, though not always, higher than in the surrounding country. This is true of every state in the Union. The death rate is usually greater in the ratio of the size of the city, although the improvements in modern sanitary methods are telling with better effect on cities than on rural communities owing to the more prompt and the better administered application of science under municipal government.

The death rate of infants has hitherto been especially marked in cities owing to the defective supply of milk, and probably to the neglect of infants by mothers who work for a living away from home. The exhaustion of girls in factories and mills tends to increase the mortality of these infants after marriage.

The danger from infectious diseases is increased in crowded tenements. Tuberculosis and pneumonia are made more common and fatal by the fact that common halls and corridors carry the germs of these dreaded diseases into every apartment, so that a single patient quickly exposes numerous neighbors. When light and ventilation are defective these evils rage with all the more intense virulence.

The diseases caused by occupations affect the vigor of the family in various ways; directly by impairing the general health

¹ Mayo-Smith, *Statistics and Sociology*, pp. 128 ff. (deaths), pp. 154 ff. (sickness); Weber, *Growth of Cities*, chaps. vi, vii; Westergaard, *Morbidität und Mortalität*; Bailey, *Modern Social Conditions*, p. 243; Newsholme, *Vital Statistics*; these give the primary sources.

and poisoning the germ plasm, and indirectly by reducing the food supply and the comforts of clothing and dwelling.

In the absence of adequate and compulsory sickness and invalid insurance the cessation of income of the stricken husband and father means gradual starvation and the diseases which always prey on bodies imperfectly nourished. The people of the United States have not yet become awake to the misery which assails the domestic life from this cause; and we are behind all other civilized nations in providing insurance. We have, after stubborn resistance of the *laissez-faire* tribe, secured compulsory poor law and compulsory education. The next logical step is compulsory insurance in its whole range, on grounds of public health.

Not only injuries and diseases caused by occupation, but also the employment of women and children under unfavorable conditions is a factor in the destruction of sound family life; and, as a rule, these evils are more serious in urban than in rural industries. Exposure to the elements and the rapid increase of complicated machinery, sometimes driven by steam power, are facts of importance in agricultural occupations, and require more attention and investigation than they have hitherto received.

The dwelling has been the center of anxious interest in cities for a long time. The sweated industries, carried on in the same rooms where the family lives, are more difficult to control than the factory industries, and they are a perpetual menace to health. After the great work of De Forest and Veiller on the tenement-house problem little remains to be said in this connection; although local investigation must be made to arouse the conscience of the people and authorities of any particular community. We need another volume, based on scientific study, of the perils to health in country residences. It is amazing how little impression an investigation in Pittsburgh or New York makes in St. Louis or Chicago; it is so easy to parry a stroke by pleading a difference of situation.

The places of recreation and culture in cities are often crowded and almost always perilous to health and hence to the

family. Theaters, dance halls, saloons, and even churches are not rarely means of infection.

How far are these evils due necessarily to industry and to urban life? and how far are they preventable, avoidable by known measures? Preventive medicine and public hygiene have already done more for cities than for the country and we seem to be at the beginning of a powerful and concerted movement to combat all these evils.²

II. Are the conditions of city life favorable or unfavorable to *fecundity*? The answer must be guarded and must take account of the elements of population, occupations, presence of immigrants, age groups, demands of fashionable society, etc.

"In Germany the birth-rate for the entire country is from 4 to 6 per cent. higher than for cities of 50,000 and over."³ In Hungary this is true. In Massachusetts the birth-rate was higher in towns. In Sweden the birth-rate of cities has gained upon and passed the rural birth-rate. The birth-rates of large cities, as London and Paris, are slowly falling.

The social position of the family has a decisive influence, the births being in inverse ratio to income.

"The most obvious explanation of a high birth-rate would be a large proportion of women in the child-bearing period. The cities have a larger percentage of such persons, hence for this reason, and not because of greater fecundity of city women, do the cities often have a high birth-rate."⁴ The cost of living is greater in cities than in the country, and the necessities of life must be paid for in cash. Income is more uncertain. Multitudes of unskilled workingmen are liable to discharge on an hour's notice; and this is true of clerks and salesmen. This uncertainty of income is an important factor in relation to the production of offspring.

Furthermore, the city child is not so early a producer as the child on the farm, whether boy or girl. Very early a rural child

² See Dr. Kober's paper on "Industrial Diseases" in *Bulletin No. 75*, Bureau of Labor, 1908.

³ Bailey, *Modern Social Conditions*, p. 108.

⁴ Weber, p. 331.

can be a real aid in kitchen or field. This can be modified by earlier trade training from the sixth grade up, as is now provided in some cities for half-day schools and shops.

The attractions of pleasure and comfort make a stronger appeal to the urban dweller than to the farmer. The difficulty of securing quiet and retirement during pregnancy in a tenement house or expensive apartment residence is a factor of no slight significance, especially when public sentiment among women makes maternity ridiculous.

III. Communistic urban habits tend to create and sustain communistic beliefs and sentiments; and these are distinctively unfavorable to the principles upon which the monogamic family is based. Paul Göhre describes his experience in a German industrial community, where men work all day in a common shop, eat their luncheon in crowds, seek their entertainments in throngs, travel in a mob, and, before marriage, satisfy their sexual appetites in a common brothel. The same phenomena may be observed in any large industrial town. If the type of family we have known and which is maintained in the country is desirable, then these forces must be regarded as disintegrating and perilous.

Are the evils of such communistic living avoidable? Are there socializing influences mixed up with the dangerous tendencies which may well be fostered?

IV. Certainly there are advantages in urban life which must favorably affect the domestic institution. There are wider and more rapid means of communication and of receiving impressions; although the rural telephone and trolley are making marvelous changes outside the cities. There are more mental stimuli in the thronged street than in the sleepy lanes, and along the quiet waters of pastures and meadows.

It is possible that the urban socialization of industries gives to the city woman the advantages of slavery without its cruelty, and thus creates a wider margin of leisure—the first condition of higher culture. Certainly, as all admit, our largest leisure class is made up of women from whom wealth and modern mechanical devices have taken away numerous household cares and labors.

V. Divorce is an effect of urban conditions and beliefs; it is

an effect of evil and sometimes the milder evil selected out of many worse miseries. In the United States in about 95 per cent. of the cases the rate is higher in the counties in which large cities are situated than in the counties where the population is principally rural;⁵ and this in spite of the fact that Catholics gather in cities.

Only of recent years has the prevalence of venereal diseases, and especially gonorrhea, been carefully studied. Even yet the public is not fully aware of the domestic misery caused by these diseases contracted by extra-marital intercourse by men and communicated to innocent wives and children. The records of divorce courts rarely mention the real ground on which good women apply for divorce, and the federal statistics, therefore, must be studied in the light of investigations on which judicial records throw little light.

Now, the social evil is distinctly an urban evil, and so far as it leads to divorce must be charged in great part to the conditions of urban life. The same is true of the use of narcotic poisons and alcohol to which so much domestic ruin can be traced. It is not creditable to many of the scientific men of America that they have underestimated the importance of this factor and some of them have so written that their sentences are used in advertisements of brewers and distillers to blind the eyes of the uneducated.

VI. Some writers have emphasized the value of city life as an agency of social selection; the strong and capable are given a career while the feeble in vitality and character go to ruin and are weeded out. But this kind of social selection is too costly; its lightning strokes kill many of the finest human beings along with the neglected; and not seldom the nursery of deadly germs, physical and moral, is in the homes and streets of the so-called unfit. Those who fall into the doom clutch at the fair and competent and drag them to ruin with themselves.

The incompetent must either be educated to fill a useful place and feel strong for productive labor, or be sent under guard to die at peace in celibate colonies. That is the only social selection

⁵ Bailey, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

which is worthy of the name of rational; all the rest is wasteful accident, trusting to chance which plays with loaded dice.

None of the urban plagues which have been mentioned are in the realm of destiny or blind nature; all are products of human choice and conduct; and by human energy, guided by science, they can gradually be diminished or removed; but none will disappear without effort. Even laziness may sometimes be cured by medicine. In *Uncle Tom's Cabin* Mrs. Stowe put into the mouth of her Yankee woman visiting the South the descriptive words, "Oh heow shiftless!" Now comes Professor Stiles and tells us that "anaemia, malnutrition, marked indisposition for sustained exertion, and resultant social condition, usually described as 'shiftlessness,' which have characterized large numbers of the poorer class of rural whites in the South, are due to a widespread infection with the *Uncinaria americana*, or hookworm."⁶

It would be a rational ground for hilarity, to make even a Quaker or a Puritan laugh, if some of the worst demons of economic vice could be expelled from the system with a good dose of vermifuge. Who shall set a bound to science?

The form of the topic limits our discussion to description of present facts, and, rigidly interpreted, would not permit us to consider how far these actual evils are remediable nor by what means. Of course the greater and only final human interest lies in the methods of amelioration provided by the sciences of sanitation, public hygiene, and education.

But the detection and description of the adverse factors implies the possession of a standard and the consciousness of the wrong as wrong. This is in itself an important step on the way to betterment.

A multitude of people will, for good reasons, choose rural homes; another multitude will select urban homes; both may be aided to live a rational life with wholesome surroundings; both can, up to the measure of their capacity, live a complete human life; and already men in institutions of learning, on farms, in cities, and in administrative positions are seeking the ways to the best possible life for farmers and residents of cities.

⁶ Dr. H. B. Young, *N. Y. Medical Journal*, November 28, 1908, p. 1028.

The literary and scientific man is tempted to regard the farmer as lacking in intellectual quality because the latter has not expressed his ideas in melodious phrases or buried them in laboratory memoirs.

If we look closely we can discover that farmers have really a vast fund of valuable knowledge—knowledge of vegetables, animals, wounds, diseases, remedies, technical processes, government, law, markets, prices, transportation. The farmer is an experimenter. All he learns he expresses, not in literary form, in articles in books, but in improved land, in selecting according to biological principles the best seeds and the best stock for breeding, in adapting his methods to climate and soil, in building up schools and churches, and in rearing healthy children.

We need not be too industrious in making out *differences* between rural and urban populations. The differences in homes, habits, and satisfactions on which comic cartoonists and some social philosophers lay emphasis either do not exist, except in imagination, or are merely superficial. The broad hat, rough boots, wild beard, and exposed suspenders of the caricatured "hayseed" have little meaning in respect to the essentials of human character. The city dweller judges by what he sees and he does not see much of the real farmer. Many of the railroad kings, whom our British ambassador praises as the ablest men of our nation, are the children of "clod-hoppers" and may retain a little of the ancestral trick of getting over rough ground to their destination. We need to be on our guard against hasty, unfair, and misleading generalizations, and the prejudices of our Brahmin caste. Many of our rich men, under expert medical advice, are living a rural life several months of each year for physical and mental health. They are wise who return periodically to the conditions of life which have thus far helped to maintain the vitality of our nation at the highest point. The aristocracy of England, and their imitators, are ambitious to own and occupy country seats. This will lengthen the life of this group—not always with eugenic consequences.

But what of the poor in our cities, whose crowded rooms are pestilential in winter and purgatorial in summer? Is the best

we can do for these to send them to the country for a week, or give dying babes a charity ride in a floating hospital? Are even the small park and playground, the miniature reminder of real country, the horizon of our vision? We have already adopted in our building ordinances a minimum standard of cubic atmosphere and square feet of window space for actinic rays; but as yet we have not come in sight of a standard of outdoor space per man, woman and child. We are merely making unscientific guesses and leaving the real control of sky and grass room to individualism and commercial motives, that is, to the besotted and the blind. In many cases suburban manufacturing villages, built to escape the rule of trade-unions, soon develop unsanitary conditions of smoke, dust, unwholesome housing, and bad drainage and water supply, without securing any of the advantages of moral surroundings.

A more comprehensive system of social control is required in order to promote social selection economically and effectively. What direction must this control take?

1. It has been proposed that we try to educate the prosperous and healthy to produce more children. In the first *Report of the Committee on Eugenics* of the American Breeders' Association it was urged:

It is a pressing problem to know what to do to increase the birth-rate of the superior stocks and keep proportionate at least the contribution of the inferior stocks. One of the most promising influences is the eugenic movement started in England by Galton and Pearson to make proper procreation a part of religion and ethics, rather than a matter of whim only. . . . Our appeal should . . . be directed to men of average ability to have families which will bring at least two children to maturity and parenthood and especially to men of superior ability to have larger families.

With this conclusion and with this appeal there can be no reasonable ground for controversy. Unquestionably something can be gained by persuading people to consider procreation from the point of view of racial interest and patriotism. The Roman Catholic church has certainly succeeded in Canada and the United States by urging its members to outpopulate the Protestants; whether always with eugenic results must be a matter for

further investigation. At any rate the universal and persistent teaching and counsel in the confessional secures results; general freedom from divorce and from childless marriages. If this mighty religious influence could be made *scientific* and eugenic—and why not?—it would be an immense help toward improving our American stock.

But there is a limit to the willingness and the duty of persons of ability and health. If they should really try to run a race with the thriftless, the reckless, the dwarfs, the neurotic, the vicious, the criminal, the insane, the feeble-minded, what would be the outlook? Can we seriously urge this policy without further measures? The effort might be too costly, might even lead to the exhaustion and degeneration of a large number of conscientious and morally earnest mothers. Society has no right to ask of such persons unreasonable sacrifices in a hopeless competition with the unrestrained appetites of the unfit and undesirable.

2. There is a way by which society can secure a better stock in one or two generations, and that is by the use of legal powers which it already exercises without raising any ethical or constitutional questions. It is not necessary to reproduce in a brief report the mass of facts collected and presented with almost passionate earnestness by Dr. Rentoul.⁷ We have at hand the celibate colonies of insane, feeble-minded, and epileptics. The policy of *segregation* nowhere raises doubt or general opposition. It is clearly and distinctly the right of a commonwealth, when called upon to support a large number of the obviously unfit, to deprive them of liberty and so prevent their propagation of defects and thus the perpetuation of their misery in their offspring.

But the policy of segregation has one disadvantage, which Dr. Rentoul has made prominent: the insane are discharged when cured, and yet become parents of degenerates; and the feeble-minded and epileptic cannot always be guarded so as to prevent propagation. Therefore the policy of painless asexualization is offered.

3. But no social policy of segregation or of asexualization can

⁷ *Race Culture or Race Suicide.*

be complete or adequate without vigorous and comprehensive measures for arresting the forces which tend to poison the germ, the very source of life and inheritance. The aim of eugenics is not limited to selection of parents; it includes all the measures which promise to improve the quality of the parents or to prevent their degradation.

It is slow and uncertain work to persuade the capable to attempt to outpopulate the defective and abnormal; society in self-defense must seek to diminish the causes of degeneration.

Several able writers on eugenics have declared that we cannot look to improvement of conditions for improvement of the human race. Granting that better food and housing will not enable tuberculous and paralytic parents to produce healthy offspring, it remains true that impaired wages, nutrition, and wholesome conditions would prevent the beginning of a new series of degraded and exhausted persons.

It seems to be established, and admitted by Weismann, that the germ cells in their most intimate structure can be so affected by poisons and even by malnutrition as to transmit certain evil effects to offspring. Therefore it is not necessary to enter upon a discussion of the controverted topic of the inheritance of acquired characters. The sperm cells or the ovum or both may be so damaged in the parent or parents that the offspring will show the consequences. Forel writes:

By blastophthory (*Keimverderbnis*) I understand . . . the effects of all directly abnormal and disturbing influences which affect the protoplasm of the germ cells, whose inherited determinants in this way are injuriously altered. Blastophthory works in this way on germs not yet united by means of their bearers (*Träger*) and in that way effects a beginning of what we call inherited degeneration, of whatever kind it may be.

These evil results then pass on from this beginning to subsequent generations. Among the poisons which have the power to damage the germ cells Forel mentions especially alcohol. Idiots, insane, epileptics, dwarfs, psychopathic persons are the issue of alcholized parents, parents who themselves may have been vigorous and sound in every part.

⁸ *Blastophthory (Keimverderbnis)*; cf. Aug. Forel, *Die sexuelle Frage*, p. 33.

This brings into consideration the facts relating to other poisons; as the toxic results of tuberculosis and other diseases, of lead poisoning, phosphorus poisoning, and nicotine in strong doses. The so-called industrial or professional diseases gain a new interest in this connection.

The contest with venereal diseases, both gonorrhea and syphilis, becomes significant for eugenics. It is well known that syphilis acquired by a parent sometimes destroys or cripples the offspring. Gonorrhea is a common cause of blindness; the inherited effects upon the constitution of the children require serious investigation. Dr. E. Kraepelin says:

We know some of the important and widespread causes of insanity, the combating of which lies not only within the realm of the duties, but also of the powers of the state. The first of these is the abuse of alcohol. . . . About one-third of the surviving children of dipsomaniac parents will become epileptics. According to Bourneville more than one-half of the idiotic children proved to have alcoholized parents.*

This author, with many others, emphasizes the frequent connection between even slight intoxication and the occasion of venereal diseases with all their sad retinue of suffering, especially to women.

Some educational advantage may be gained by laws requiring a medical certificate of health from a public physician as a condition of receiving a license to marry. This measure would cause many a young man to reflect before he brought upon himself a loathsome and highly infectious disease. But such a law would have little influence on unscrupulous persons who satisfy their appetites without regard to marriage laws. They must be reached by other means.

Competition with the inferior and the unfit is one of the influences which cause thoughtful and provident persons to limit their offspring. This was the conclusion of one of our greatest economists, President Francis A. Walker:

Whatever were the causes which checked the growth of the native population, they were neither physiological nor climatic. They were mainly social and economic; and chief among them was the access of vast

* *Die psychiatrischen Aufgaben des Staates*, p. 2.

hordes of foreign immigrants, bringing with them a standard of living at which our own people revolted.¹⁰

Now, the excessive increase of any undesirable class will "give a shock to the principle of population" among persons of higher standards of life. Thousands of persons of the Society of Friends and others who would not or could not own slaves emigrated from the South before the Civil War to escape competition with slave labor and from the sense of social inferiority which went with manual labor. But now there is no way of escape; therefore the families of superior ability and higher standards grow smaller. To encourage persons of normal life and civilized standards to have more children some better guarantees must be given them by government that these children will not be driven to the wall by immigrants of a lower order. This is not an argument against immigration, but only against the immigration of persons who can never be induced to demand a civilized scale of life. A great deal is justly said of a "simple life;" but that should not mean a return to savage life.

Any discussion of the unfavorable effects of urban life on the family must give large room for these forces which tend directly or indirectly to enfeeble or prevent offspring. The vices which destroy, the unwholesome physical conditions, and the excessive competition in cities of the North with immigrants are all amenable to action by concerted volition; they are not results of inevitable forces outside the range of human choices.

¹⁰ *Discussions in Economics and Statistics*, Vol. II, p. 426.

REVIEWS

Social Psychology. An Outline and Source-Book. By EDWARD ALSWORTH ROSS, Professor of Sociology in the University of Wisconsin. New York: Macmillan, 1908. Pp. xvi+372.

The title-page and preface of this book offer "an outline," "a source-book," "the pioneer treatise in any language professing to deal systematically with the subject of social psychology," which the author has brought as far as he can "unaided," although he finds it impossible to express the "full measure of my indebtedness to that profound and original thinker," Gabriel Tarde. Criticism is solicited as the only means by which error can be eliminated and the science advanced. The author admits that "among the hundreds of interpretations, inferences, and generalizations I have ventured upon, scores will turn out to be wrong." The book is to be regarded, therefore, in all fairness as an essay, a preliminary survey rather than an elaborate and complete treatise.

It is significant that almost simultaneously with this volume another book,¹ appeared in England under the same title, and that the two have almost nothing in common save the name. The one is the work of a sociologist, the other that of a psychologist. To the latter social psychology means primarily a subjective analysis, to the former an objective description based upon an assumed knowledge of the inner processes. Professor Ross would place social psychology between psychology on the one hand, and group psychology or psychological sociology on the other. Social psychology, thus conceived, "seeks to understand and account for those uniformities in feeling belief and volition—and hence in action—which are due to the interaction of human beings, i. e., to *social* causes" (p. 1). The utility of the proposed division of labor is the sole test which need be applied. There are certain problems to be solved. These merge almost imperceptibly one into another. Obviously no abstract methodology can hold its own against men eager in pursuit of solutions. James, Baldwin, Cooley, Dewey, McDougall will follow their interests from psychology

¹ McDougall, *Social Psychology*, London, 1908.

"proper" or "individual" over into a study of the social self, an analysis of the social process, and an explanation of conscience as a social product. On the other hand, sociologists like Simmel, Sumner, Giddings, Gumpłowicz are not to be deterred from trespassing in the field of psychology when their studies of group phenomena lead naturally to subjective interpretation. It is a question whether such phenomena as mob behavior, fashion, custom, leadership, conflict, etc., can best be treated apart from their functional value in the life process of the group. In this book which attempts such isolation there are allusions to standards of judgment which imply this functional point of view. Thus the statement that "the social scepter passes from type to type" (p. 173) gets its real meaning from a process of group selection. "Universally valid standards of human achievement and worth" (p. 115) must be tested by some functional criterion. Certain beliefs as to the degrading character of manual labor, the pre-eminent position of pecuniary success, etc. (pp. 111-17), are declared to be of "illegitimate origin" (p. 111) when they might be interpreted as, at worst, survivals of types of valuation once of functional service to the group. Professor Ross recognizes this, e. g., in explaining the reasons for substituting slavery for slaughter (p. 286), and in his explicit reference to the "laws of group survival" (p. 293). Experience will show whether social psychology can hold its own in the field which is assigned to it in this book, or whether it will be partitioned and annexed by psychology from the one side and group psychology from the other. The problems are so much more important than the methodology that the discussion of the division of labor is hardly likely to absorb much time or energy.

After an opening chapter which defines social psychology and the "social planes" of uniformity due to interacting of minds, Professor Ross deals with mob mind, fashion, conventionality, custom, rational imitation, conflict, discussion, compromise, public opinion, and "disequilibration." In calling his book a pioneer treatise, and in the suggestion "unaided" already mentioned, the author obviously has in mind not the underlying ideas of the book so much as the interpretation and organization of these. Thus Professor Ross would doubtless be the first to insist that Le Bon, Boris Sidis, Tarde, Giddings, and Sighele have covered the essential facts of mob-mind, just as Spencer, Biggs, Shaler, and Veblen

have performed a similar service for fashion. The work of Tarde in the field of imitation and social logic is given as generous recognition as it secures copious quotation. In the discussion of custom the reader is surprised to find no specific mention of Sumner, although the word *mores* occurs once (p. 270). DeGreef's keen analysis of the rôle of custom is another contribution which one misses from the treatment of this subject. Nor is it to be doubted that the discussion of the *élite* might have gained something from Novicow whose work is not mentioned. But even if the main materials of the book represent the accumulated results of scores of men who have been at work during the last quarter century, the form of treatment and a large number of illuminating contributions, modifications, elaborations, and details bear the unmistakable stamp of Professor Ross' original mind. The volume fairly sparkles with brilliant, striking, and suggestive ideas. It compels attention, and delights the reader by its keen insight, vivid imagery, and clever phrases. Once more the author has put not only his professional colleagues but the intelligent general reader under obligations which they will gratefully acknowledge.

Except in the chapter on "Suggestion" which contains traces of psychologizing, Professor Ross consistently maintains his objective attitude. He looks at associated men from the outside and describes their mental interactions in terms of "planes of vibration" (p. 64), "undulations radiating from one center" (p. 298), "the radiation of will" (p. 136), "storm centers of faddism" (p. 84), "psychic vortexes . . . rotating in opposite directions" (p. 75), etc., etc. He is successful in creating the impression of natural forces propagating themselves through the social medium, but the process seems to detach itself from human consciousness and to become almost wholly an abstraction. Again the question arises as to whether there is not gain in passing frequently back and forth between the subjective side and the external aspects of the phenomena. Just as continued dwelling upon the facts of individual consciousness blinds the student to the group life, so may not the concentration of attention upon the outward results of mental interactions unduly divert interest from the inner causes? The psychologists might with some reason take Professor Ross to task for neglecting the subjective aspect of his study, and ask him how literally his allusion to "the *tabula rasa* of childhood" (p. 197) is to be taken, or whether he really means to assert that emotion apart from

some idea can be communicated as when he says: "Emotions spread more rapidly than deas" (p. 130). Some at least of the comparative psychologists would question the assertion "not all simians are imitative, but the gregarious simians, the monkeys, are proverbially so" (p. 13). Most biologists would regard the following as surprisingly Spencerian in spite of the mlld parenthesis "Just as acquired characteristics are (probably) transmissible" (p. 198).

The author does not overstate the facts in asserting that the book contains hundreds of generalizations, inferences, and interpretations. A large majority of these command instant assent. The eminently sane "prophylactics against mob mind" (chap. v) are most of them as wise as they are convincing. "The Laws of Crazes" (pp. 76-81) are generalizations or common-sense statements rather than *laws* in a scientific sense. There is little to arouse dissent in the assertions that: "The holder of power is imitated" (p. 166), "The more successful is imitated by the less successful" (p. 169), "The rich are imitated by the poor" (p. 175), "The city is imitated by the country (p. 181), "A survival is not kicked aside until it gets in the way" (p. 254), or "The higher the degree of possibility the sooner the invention is likely to be made (p. 359). The printing in italics of these statements only emphasizes their obvious or axiomatic character. Of a different sort are generalizations as to the relative rates at which the use of food and of drink spread through a population (p. 125), or the employing of "affinity" as what Comte would have called a metaphysical explanation in such statements as "The brachycephalic race seems to be catholic from affinity," and "There is probably an *affinity* between parliamentary institutions and the English-speaking peoples on their present plane of culture" (p. 9). The descent of the knightly ideal to the common people by the aid of "*social gravity*" (p. 158) has an appropriate suggestion of scholasticism. The generalization that epidemics of disease or the prevalence of chills and fever among early settlers of river-bottom lands results in melancholia or belief in eternal punishment (p. 2) arrests attention if it does not raise doubts. Of a different character are such acute analyses as those which show the effort of the new to seem old and vice versa (pp. 277-83). It is in studies of this kind that Professor Ross is at his best. And in such illuminating discussions the book abounds. Commonplace or obvious affirmations merely introduce paragraphs and pages which are crowded with original interpreta-

tions and clever phrases. To give an idea of these things it would be necessary to quote at length and to rob the prospective reader of his due.

As a source-book Professor Ross' volume is disappointing. Of 366 pages 117 are quotations. The printing of these and the body of the work in the same type is an innovation which gives the aspect of homogeneity, but has also the disadvantage of confusing the reader who must be closely observant in order to be sure where Ross leaves off and Tarde or Veblen begins. It is questionable whether much of the quoted material can be properly described as "sources" at all. If social psychology is to be a science of phenomena it must seek these for its material. Many of the quotations are generalizations or descriptions which involve comment and interpretation, i. e., they offer secondary rather than primary material. The quotation from Fiske (p. 282), who in turn quotes from Joseph Cook, offers a suggestion. It is the words of Cook which are important as illustrating certain types of dogmatism and logical fallacy. The most valuable material for social psychology, aside from first-hand observation, is to be found in direct quotations from typical persons who naïvely express the traditional, customary, conventional dogmas and attitudes of groups, sects, parties, etc. Thus dogmatic and controversial books, speeches, newspapers, snatches of conversation, etc., furnish valuable data to the student of social psychology. The religious press of the narrowly sectarian kind is full of suggestive material which reveals the *mores* in unconscious ways.

The summaries at the end of each chapter are welcome recapitulations, often adding picturesque condensations. Exercises for assigned papers are also provided. These are for the most part stimulating, although many of them assume facts or generalizations which might be profitably questioned, while others do not seriously tax the students' reflective powers, e. g., "Why is it easier to save money in the country than in the city?" (p. 165). For purposes of instruction topics designed to evoke from typical persons their reactions to certain stimuli would probably prove more valuable. Students might thus be urged to try experiments in suggestion, to observe in their own social groups the phenomena of fashion, conventionality, etc., and to report the results in class exercises.

Mention has been made of the brilliant, striking, phrases of this

book. Professor Ross' style is all his own. He is in no sense the victim of "fashion imitation" in the field of scientific writing. He is, to use his own words, "a voice and not an echo, a person and not a parrot" (p. 4). Catching the contagion of his method one might say that in the arid desert of sociological literature Professor Ross is a refreshing oasis with ever-bubbling springs. It is fascinating to note the fertility of his imagination. His pages abound in similes, metaphores, and analogies. The reader is forced to change his mental imagery with the rapidity of the kinetoscope. "The alcoves of social life become cobwebbed with custom" (p. 255); "The petrification of procedure," "the ankylosis of law" (p. 206); rural communities offer "canned life" (p. 277); "Society rusts on its bearings" (p. 238); "the vortical suction of our civilization" (p. 140); "the mental temperature rises" (p. 46); the occidentalizing of the Orient involves "a jungle clearing, a tearing up of vast psychic growths" (p. 196); the propaganda of the winning party is "the acid that eats into and assimilates this substance"—the inert public (p. 347), the man of principle is "the spur or gad-fly that keeps the social mind in movement" (p. 340); "social lumps cannot become incandescent in the flame of discussion till they are broken up" (p. 322); "we expect our judges to draw them (powers to meet unforeseen problems) out of the Constitution as a juggler draws rabbits out of a hat" (p. 280); communion by the fireside "gives individuality long, bracing roots" (p. 89); "installing of the old in all places of authority and direction as surely brings on social old age as the calcareous deposit in the walls of the arteries brings on an old-age condition of the body" (p. 217); "Paris is the Himalayas of France" (p. 183); members of the élite "beat time for the great social orchestra" (p. 173); sane teachers are "ozone from the peaks" (p. 85)—such are the tropes which crowd the pages of this book. Clever and illuminating as they are, they raise questions as to whether on the whole they make for definiteness and lucidity. Facility in phrase-making has a subtle influence on its possessor. Little by little he yields to the seductive temptation. All readers of sociological literature feel grateful to Professor Ross for his fearless break with the traditions of form and style, but many are beginning to fear that he is going too far, and is sacrificing clearness and sometimes exactness to the striking, the vivid, and the picturesque. The use of such words as "hustle" and "side-stepping" without quotation

marks; the marginal note "Flee yellow religion" (p. 104), and the printing in full as footnotes of the verses, "The Cow-path" and Bret Harte's "Truthful James" raise questions of taste rather than of scientific exposition.

It is not a grateful task to point out blemishes or shortcomings in a book by one who has made contributions so important and who gives promise of work still more valuable. But the high character of Professor Ross' abilities make his colleagues jealous for his reputation. The volume under consideration, in spite of its brilliant qualities, fails to fulfil a definite purpose. It cannot be regarded as a satisfactory textbook, for with all its review outlines and exercises its style is not designed to make a clear and systematic impression on the student mind. As a source-book it contains too little material and that not always of the most important kind. As a scientific essay the literary form is unfortunately racy and exuberant, and the treatment often lacking in close analysis and careful discrimination. On the other hand, because of certain technicalities, the volume falls short of being adapted to a strictly popular audience, although it must appeal to the intelligent observer of life. It is in the power of Professor Ross to organize the material of this volume, together with that of *Social Control* and some parts of *Sin and Society* into a comprehensive, systematic, and authoritative "group psychology." It is to be hoped that he will accomplish this task within a reasonable time, and that he will exercise a rigid self-restraint in chastening his style, so that it may be an appropriate and effective vehicle for his scientific results. As a preliminary essay toward a larger undertaking of this kind, the present volume is to be welcomed as giving important and gratifying promise.

GEORGE E. VINCENT

Ethics. By JOHN DEWEY AND JAMES H. TUFTS. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1908. Pp. xiii+618. From the "American Science Series."

The most comprehensive of recent works on ethics contains three parts preceded by a contents, preface, and an introductory chapter, and followed by an index. Part I, in 184 pages, deals with the beginnings and growth of morality in the race. Part II, in 226 pages, develops the theory of the moral life. Part III comprises 179 pages devoted to the world of action. The number of pages

used by the authors gives but an imperfect idea of the matter contained within them. The ground is splendidly covered, even the most recent results of discussion and investigation in this field having born fruit here. Part I was written by Mr. Tufts, Part II, by Mr. Dewey, and Part III, partly by each. The chapters in Part I deal with early group life, the rationalizing and socializing agencies in early society, group morality, the transition from group morality to personal morality, the Hebrew moral development, the moral development of the Greeks the modern period, and a general comparison of customary and reflective morality. The chapters on Hebrew, Greek, and modern morality are necessarily so brief that they give but a bare outline of the history involved, but they aid much in giving concreteness and force to the main theory, which is, as the titles above indicate, that customary or group morality came first while our morality began when individuals within groups began to reflect and took up the practically endless task of readjusting the habitual tendencies of themselves and others to the demands of an ever expanding and deepening social good.

The second part takes up the moral situation, the problems and the types of moral theory, conduct and character, happiness and the self in the moral life, and the virtues. The chapter on happiness and conduct, and the three chapters on the places of reason, duty, and the self in the moral life, seem to the present writer about the clearest and most convincing brief discussions of these topics in existence, and we should say very much the same thing about the chapters in the first part dealing with early group life, group morality, the transition from custom to conscience, and a general comparison of customary and reflective morality. Part III is devoted to typical moral problems of our own day, the titles being social organization and the individual, civil society and the political state, the ethics of the economic life, some principles in the economic order, unsettled problems in the economic order (two chapters), and the family. The paragraphs of the text are aptly captioned throughout in heavy type, and each chapter has an excellent bibliography at its close to direct the student's further reading. For the purposes of the classroom one of the best features of the book is this third part in which students are aided in applying the principles of the book to typical moral problems of the present. Not that the method of the third part is deductive. These chapters really help as splendid examples of ethical investigation such as the student

himself will be called on to make in later years. They may contribute something toward the formation of a habit of carrying on such investigations.

This is the completest of all presentations of what might be called the readjustment theory of morality, and the most scientific. The interlinear doctrine is that, as a matter of human biology, progress is a process of reconstructing our habits to meet the needs of society in situations where the old organization of habits proves unsatisfactory, or rather in situations where new and desirable social ends which the old organization of habits does not tend to realize present themselves. The term habit is used in the biological sense to include congenital appetites and instincts as well as acquired tendencies which have become second nature to the individual. The good man is one who is supremely interested in those social goods which are the new things of value in the direction of progress, the man who consistently wills all those changes in himself, in others, and in the whole social situation which are and constitute progress in harmony, reinforcement, and expansion. Not that the individual is to aim consciously at the realization of an ideal self, as that term is usually understood. Self-realization is the unconscious result, for the most part, of consistently striving to actualize ideal social goods. The ultimate end of moral effort thus lies in "the fullest and freest realization of powers in their appropriate objects." The conscious aim of moral effort is the highest and widest practical good for society in each concrete situation where moral issues arise. The subject-matter of moral judgment is "the disposition of the person as manifested in the tendencies which cause certain consequences, rather than others, to be considered and esteemed—foreseen and desired." The standard of moral judgment is simply consistency of "alert, sincere and persistent interest in those habits and institutions which forward common ends among men." The method of moral judgment is deliberation as an imaginative "dramatic rehearsal" of various courses of conduct until we "find ourselves in the presence of the consequences that would follow: and as we then like and approve, or dislike and disapprove, these consequences, we find the original impulse or plan good or bad." Principles of morality such as justice, prudence, benevolence, and courage give us points of view from which to look at consequences, while moral rules and precepts have the value of tools with which to analyze the situation. Happiness is neither the end nor the aim of effort, nor the standard of

judgment, nor the motive, in morality. "The good consists of friendship, family and political relations, economic utilization of mechanical resources, science, art, in all their complex and variegated forms and elements. There is no separate and rival moral good, no separate, empty and rival 'good will.'"

This is a moral theory based on the facts of moral experience, a thoroughly empirical doctrine of moral values. Indeed, from beginning to end, the book is permeated with the atmosphere and the noise of facts. The ambiguities in the utilitarian doctrine of happiness, the formalism, legalism, and inadequacy of strictly intuitional methods, and the vagueness and practical weakness of the naturalistic and evolutionary ethics of the past are all brought to the common touch-stone of facts. Probably no more convincing effort to construct a system of moral philosophy by a strictly scientific method has ever been carried out. The book is written in a serious spirit which must commend itself to all who regard morality as a primary factor in civilization and to all who regard moral culture as an essential element in education. It is designed as a textbook and in view of its splendid bibliographies, the compact character of its argument, and the illustrations in ethical research containing many suggestions for further work, it may be used in both introductory and advanced classes.

G. A. TAWNEY

THE UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI

Principia Ethica. By GEORGE EDWARD MOORE. Cambridge: University Press, 1903. Pp. xxvii+232. \$2.50.

The honor or reproach of freshest novelty in philosophy undoubtedly belongs to these latest days to a tendency of which the present volume is an interesting representative. For the English and American revival of realism now actively in progress is younger even than pragmatism, but just now entering upon its second decade; and if it seems, in the nature of the case, less likely to enjoy or suffer from a widespread popular vogue, it is sure to provoke, perhaps most of all on the part of pragmatism itself, close attention and study. Although Mr. Moore's volume is a vigorous and stimulating discussion of ethical principles, one cannot help suspecting that it was written with a predominant interest in those more general issues of the theory of knowledge and metaphysics which

the historical associations of the term "realism" immediately suggest. The infrequency of concrete illustration, the consciously logical precision of style approaching at times an aggressive mannerism, the pains expended upon discrimination, division, and subdivision, the austere conservative, practical conclusions attained as to the likelihood or possibility of advantageous innovations in the moral life, the "externality" or detachment with which the moral judgment is interpreted—these all give the reader the impression of the logician or epistemologist availing himself here of a body of "material" which he finds well adapted to his ulterior designs. One sees no evidence of urgent primary interest on the author's part in ethical problems as such, or of special vocation in other respects for the treatment of them in their proper ethical character. It is this logical predilection that gives the book what seems likely to be its principal direction of usefulness. There is much indeed in the way of suggestive restatement of familiar things, particularly in the chapters on hedonism and on metaphysical ethics. The fundamental propositions which determine Mr. Moore's method and results undoubtedly go to the foundations of ethics itself and compel fresh reflection upon these on the reader's part. But on the whole, despite the constraint of his enviable enthusiasm of discovery one can hardly share in Mr. Moore's rather frequently expressed assurance of the revolutionary and epoch-making importance of his book as a contribution to ethical theory. It seems more probable that it will be valued chiefly, not for its results in this direction, but for the interesting, and, I think, important sidelights which it throws upon the character and motives of the realistic theory of knowledge and metaphysics.

Good and evil, according to Mr. Moore, define the subject-matter of ethics, and with reference to these it is the business of ethics to do two things: (1) to determine what things are good, and (2) to determine by what modes of conduct these things are produced. In the history of ethics, Mr. Moore contends, these entirely distinct questions have virtually always been confused, with the twofold result that ethics has been supposed to have to do with conduct exclusively and that certain modes of conduct, really valuable only as means to what is good, have been supposed somehow to be good in themselves. This is simply the confusion of means and end, and nothing can be hoped for in the way of sound ethical theory or practice until we learn to avoid it. As a matter of fact, while some

sorts of conduct are undoubtedly good in themselves, many things also besides conduct are good in themselves, and this fact, which, according to Mr. Moore, is of the last importance for ethics, is hopelessly obscured by confusing the two fundamental questions of the science.

When we ask, What is the good? Mr. Moore continues, we are likely to commit an even greater fallacy than this fallacy of means and end. We may try to answer the question by seeking for a definition of goodness and this search is foredoomed to failure because good (or goodness) is strictly indefinable. If we mean by our question, however, What *things* are good (i. e., possess the attribute of goodness) we are on the right track, for this question is certainly not inherently unanswerable if there is to be such a thing as ethics at all, and indeed indicates one of the two great branches of ethical inquiry. But philosophers have, almost without exception, imagined that they could tell what good a goodness is and from this aboriginal blunder have arisen the three great types of ethical theory whose fruitless contentions have made the history of ethics a dreary waste, the naturalistic, the hedonistic, and the metaphysical. Differing from each other in the manner in which they attempt to define good, these three types agree in conceiving good to be *definable*, and this initial fallacy, says Mr. Moore, has rendered ethical literature as a whole nearly worthless.

For how can we suppose goodness to be definable? Suppose we say: The good is the pleasant, or the "natural," or whatever we like. Do we mean merely that pleasure or the natural order is a good thing? Then we should have said just this—but saying this obviously leaves good still undefined. Or do we mean that when we call a thing good we mean nothing but that it is pleasant or that it exists? This is but our own arbitrary verbal definition of the term, not a real definition of the thing. As our own it is, however, no better than anyone's else and so we have forthwith an end of ethics. "My dear Sirs," exclaims Mr. Moore, "what we want to know from you as ethical teachers is, not how people use a word; it is not even what kind of actions they approve, which the use of this word 'good' may certainly imply; what we want to know is simply what *is* good" (p. 12). We can learn what *is* good but it is meaningless to ask or to try to tell what *good is*. We can find out what things have goodness, but to try to tell what good *is* is much like trying to tell what yellow is. The hedonist believes that

pleasure is good; but if he means by this anything more than that pleasure is pleasure he must understand "good" and "pleasure" in his proposition to mean different things. And so good always is beyond the sphere of definition, no matter in what terms its definition may be attempted.

After a searching and valuable criticism of the three historic types of theory Mr. Moore comes, in chap. v, to the second of the two great ethical problems, under the caption of "The Relation of Ethics to Conduct." What conduct is productive of good? This is, of course, the crucial question for any system of ethics. Mr. Moore, however, does not hold out great promise.

The utmost [he declares] that practical ethics can hope to discover is which, among a few alternatives, possible under certain circumstances, will, on the whole, produce the best result. . . . But . . . it is difficult to see how we can establish even a probability that by doing one thing we shall obtain a better total result than by doing another. I shall merely endeavor to point out how much is assumed, when we assume that there is such a probability, and on what lines it seems possible that this assumption may be justified. It will be apparent that it has never yet been justified—that no sufficient reason has ever yet been found for considering one action more right or more wrong than another (pp. 151, 152).

Under the circumstances, then, about the best we can do is: (1) to trust that "most of the rules most commonly recognized by Common Sense" are "generally better as means" (as (*a*) apparently according with the strong and universally prevalent tendencies of men to preserve and propagate life and to acquire property and as (*b*) conducive to an orderly social state which the condition of the realization of all great goods); (2) to adhere to these rules inflexibly (since, although there are doubtless exceptional cases in which deviation would be productive of greater good, "the individual can never be justified in assuming that his is one of these exceptional cases"); and (3) as a rule to refuse to adopt "proposed changes in social custom, advocated as being better rules to follow than those now actually followed." In cases where no customary rule applies and it is impossible to prove the advantageousness of any proposed general rule, it is better that the individual should "guide his choice by a direct consideration of the intrinsic value or vileness of the effects which his action may produce" (pp. 146-66). In sum, then, we have the result that the connections of cause and effect on this mundane sphere between acts and intrinsic goods and

evils are so difficult to trace and so dependent, at any given time, upon transitory environing conditions that conformity to custom is the safest rule. But where no customary rule already applies it is safer *not* to conform one's conduct to any *proposed* general rule, but to act independently, looking to the goods which the act bids fair directly to produce. Here evidently prudence will dictate conduct promising to be productive of (1) good for which the individual has a strong inclination (which will, in general, be "goods affecting himself and those in whom he has a strong personal interest") and (2) goods most quickly attainable, since thereby the risk of disappointment and failure is reduced to a minimum (pp. 166, 167). Thus, for Mr. Moore, the moral life reduces to unquestioning conventionality relieved by an occasional excursion into Egoism.

In the concluding chapter, entitled "The Ideal," an enumeration and discussion of the chief intrinsic goods are offered. It is impossible here to reproduce the details. The method of determination is to consider each "thing" (under which term Mr. Moore in Platonic fashion includes properties or attributes and includes also complexes and combinations of "things") as "existing absolutely by itself" in isolation from all other "things." We are thus in a position to judge without error whether the existence of the "thing" is good. This task might seem a formidable one but Mr. Moore does not carry it in this chapter beyond the discrimination of (1) unmixed goods, (2) evils, and (3) mixed goods, with a general or illustrative treatment under each head. All "great" goods, Mr. Moore holds (e. g., the pleasures of human intercourse and the enjoyment of beautiful objects) "involve both a cognition and an emotion directed toward its object" (p. 225), but there are lesser goods which involve neither. Thus, he argues, beauty in external nature, quite apart from any sight or contemplation by human beings, ought to be considered better than ugliness and filth—it is better, that is, that beauty *should exist* than that its opposite should exist. Good, in a word is a *reality* and as such is always independent of any cognition or appreciation whatever. This is as true of the "great" goods into which cognition and emotion enter as it is of an unseen good like a paradise on the far side of the moon. In fact it seems to be ultimately the mere *existence* of objects that is good or bad. Some things whose existence is good indeed contain, *as constituents*, states of mind and states of feeling

but these compounded goods nevertheless are good, whether or no there is knowledge of their existence or appreciation of their qualities.

The ideas thus imperfectly outlined strike one at first as an ingenious issue of truth and paradox. The impression of paradox remains after one has tried to think the whole through for oneself, but what seemed ingenuity before now impresses one as partly mere inconsequence and partly the working-out of preconceptions and assumptions which a direct reflection upon the crises and procedures of the moral life would never of itself have suggested. The indefinability of good is undoubtedly the ethical foundation of the whole discussion. One gratefully welcomes both the direct argument, and the indirect elucidation in the critical chapters, by which Mr. Moore brings out the principle into such bold, striking prominence, although one may see that without the direct appeal to the moral experience (pp. 16, 17) nearly all the rest would be verbal quibbling. But between the indefinability of good and the *epistemological* realism of good set forth in the preceding paragraph there seems to be no logical connection whatever. And one must feel that Mr. Moore's apparent further deduction of a Platonic or *metaphysical* realism of good from the principle of indefinability is both an anachronism and more than the principle, properly understood in its ethical sense, will warrant. To hold good indefinable seems in fact merely a rather formal and technical, if not pedantic, way of saying that by good we mean neither (1) what is, nor (2) what we are, or spontaneously desire, nor (3) what we shall be or shall spontaneously desire when perfect. If good *meant* either of these things then it would be definable since these things are, at least hypothetically, definable. But if good meant either of these things it would be because the moral life was as such not life at all but fixity or at best an approach toward fixity. It is because the moral life *is* a life, *is* growth, that good is indefinable. Curiously enough, that the moral life is life and growth and change is just what Mr. Moore denies by his practical conclusions in the chapter on "Ethics in Relation to Conduct." But these conclusions seem to follow, not from the indefinability of good, but the realism which sets an impassable gulf between the good and the process of attaining and increasing it.

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RURAL LIFE AND THE FAMILY

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This paper does not pretend to be a scientific statement of all of the reactions which environing conditions may bring to bear upon the family living in the open country. So far as I am aware, this whole matter has not been worked out by anyone with any degree of fulness. I wish that some of our sociologists would take up seriously the study of the effect of typical rural life, not only upon the rural family, but upon the rural individual, and determine the relationships between the rural environment and the rural mind. I am here merely setting down some observations which are the result of considerable association with the rural people in different parts of the country, and of some attempts to study the structure and influence of various rural social institutions.

Isolation is the chief social characteristic of rural life. But, so far as isolation is a physical fact, rather than a state of mind, the word must be used in a wholly relative sense. Isolation of country life varies all the way from the occasional hamlets and villages of the closely populated irrigation districts, to the genuine loneliness of the almost boundless stock ranges, with all gradations between. It is, however, the one great fact that stands out in any comparison between the social environment of a family living on the land, and a family living in the town or city.

This isolation is a separateness of the farming class from other classes. Consequently, a family belonging to this separated class must be influenced by the characteristics and the standards common to the class as a whole. It is also an isolation of families. A very small proportion of our American farm families live in hamlets or villages. The families of the farm are scattered; few farm homes are closely adjacent, at least from the point of view of the city man.

Of course it is to be observed that physical contact in the city means nothing, from the family point of view. Contiguity does not necessarily breed acquaintanceship. Probably the mere fact of farmhouses being twenty rods apart, or half a mile apart, is not so significant as the fact that separateness of the farming class and scattered farm homes produce a lack of social friction between individuals, between families, and between classes, that has a significant bearing on all those concerned.

What, now, are the chief influences of this isolated mode of living upon the life and characteristics of the family, considered as a unit? I list them as follows:

1. Family life in the country is tied to the industry of the country. This unquestionably makes for interest in the work of the farm. Of course, it may also result in hatred of farm work. It makes drudgery easy. It makes it difficult to get away from one's work. But this much is true, nevertheless, that the farm family may be considered an industrial, as well as a social, unit, whether the influences of this condition are good or bad, or both. It probably has both good and bad effects; but, on the social side, it certainly has a significant result which may become our second point:

2. There is a co-operative unity in the farm family that is rather striking. The whole family is engaged in work that is of common interest. The whole family often "turns to," when a task is to be carried out. When the holiday comes, the whole family takes part in it. Compared with the average city family, individual interests are subordinated. Each member of the family knows what is going on. Each is in touch with the

plans of the head of the family, in general if not in detail. The mother's work is ever before the eyes of all the members of the family, including the boys and men. This co-operative unity must have a powerful effect upon the life of the family. Perhaps it has a tendency to give that life too much of an industrial character. There may be too much inclination to "talk shop." There may be too little opportunity for the cultivation of the heart life, or of the hearth life, of the family; but there is a certain solidarity in the farm family that makes for the permanency of the institution.

3. Speaking particularly now of the youth growing up in the farm family, it can hardly be gainsaid that family life in the open country is remarkably educative. First, by reason of the fact that both the boys and girls, from even tender years, learn to participate in real tasks. They do not merely play at doing things, they *do* them. They achieve real results. They take part in the world's work; and, secondly, by association with older heads in this work, by having a share in these real problems, by understanding at an early age the good or evil results that come from definite lines of action, there comes a certain maturity of mind, a certain sureness of touch, when a job is to be done, that must be a powerful means of development, particularly in an age when the achievement of tasks is the keynote of success.

4. I believe that, on the whole, the moral standards of the farm family, as a family, are kept on a very high plane; partly by the fact of farm interests already alluded to, and partly by the openness of life prevalent in country districts. There are in the country few hiding places for vice, and vice usually has enough modesty not to wish to stalk abroad. I do not mean to say that the moral influences of the country are only good; but I do say that, so far as the purity of the family as an institution is concerned, the country mode of living is conducive to a very high standard.

Thus far I have named those reactions of the environment upon the rural family which seem to be, on the whole, favorable. There is something to say on the other side.

1. Probably, on the whole, mediocre standards are encour-

aged. If you are brought up in the Ghetto of New York, and manage to get money enough together, you can move up on Fifth Avenue, if you want to. The average farmer doesn't move unless he moves to town, or to a new region. If low standards prevail in the community, a particular family is likely to find itself influenced by these lower standards. There is a tendency to level down, because of the law of moral gravitation, and because it takes a long time to elevate any community standard. The average country communities are illustrating some of the disadvantages, as well as some of the advantages, of democracy. In some farm communities, the presence of hired laborers in the family circle has been distinctly deleterious to good social customs, if nothing else. In the country there is a tendency toward a general neighborhood life on the social side. There is a probability that aspiration, for either personal or community ideals, will get a set away from the farm, with the result that these ideals are likely to lapse in the country.

2. A great deal of farm life is of such a character that it makes it very hard for the mother of the family. Perhaps the effects of isolation are more abiding in her case than in that of any other member of the family. This is not to give currency to the popular, but I think erroneous, notion that there is a larger proportion of insanity among farm women than among other classes; but it cannot be denied that the type of work in the farm home in many communities, and few social opportunities, are likely to give a narrowness that must have its result on the general life of the family.

3. The health of the average individual of the country is all that could be desired, at least during the earlier years; but it is not unfair to say that the sanitary conditions, from the public point of view, are not good in the average open country. This must have considerable effect, in the long run, upon the health of the family, and must have a bearing upon the development of family life.

4. There is, on the whole, a serious lack of recreative life in the open country, and this fact unquestionably has a strong influence upon the atmosphere of the average farm home. It tends

to give a certain hardness and bareness that are not proper soil for the finer fruits of life.

5. The lack of steady income of the farmer's family is a factor that has a great deal to do with the attitude of the members of the family toward life, toward expenditures, toward culture wants, and toward those classes of people that have salaries or other steady income.

It should be noted that country life develops certain traits in the individual, which, without any special regard to the question of family life, must nevertheless influence the general spirit of the family. I refer particularly to the intense individualism of the country, and the lack of the co-operative spirit. There is neighborliness in the country; there is intense democracy; there is a high sense of individual responsibility; there is initiative; but this over-development of the individual results in anaemic social life, which in turn reacts powerfully upon the general life of the family.

To my mind, the advantages of the country, in respect to family life, far outweigh its disadvantages. This statement must, of course, be understood to have in mind the great mass of farm families, as compared with the great mass of urban families of somewhat similar industrial and social standards. I make no defense of many woe-begone rural communities that can be found in all sections of the country. But I do believe that, on the whole, the family life of the open country, whether judged with respect to its intrinsic worth, its effect on the growing children, its permanency as a social institution, or its usefulness as a factor in our national civilization, is worthy of high praise.

DISCUSSION

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There are four points which I should like to make. In such a discussion I am under no special obligation to relate them to each other.

In his annual address President Patten made a plea for the pushing out of the economist and his works into practical affairs. Three years ago in a talk which he gave to a group of visitors of a charitable society, he told them that dealing as they were with lop-sided families, families which had something ailing with them, they were bound to get lop-sided views of

relief. They should study for every family they dealt with on a philanthropic basis, one normal family. This preachment strikes me as indicating a line of joint activity for the economist and the social worker—where the broad view of the one and the methods of the other could be brought together. The case records of charitable societies have long been store-houses of valuable social information. They have been analyzed on the basis of the causes which throw these families into positions of dependence.

In the Pittsburgh survey we have applied these methods of investigation and record-taking to normal families, which may not be thrown into dependence but are thrown into economic distress and lessened economic efficiency, by disease or accident. We have taken out as units for study not the cases applying for charitable relief, but certain geographical areas or periods of time. Comparing cities of corresponding size for the past five years, Pittsburgh has ranked first and highest in both typhoid fever and industrial casualties. These two are the prime expression on the one hand of civic neglect, and on the other, industrial hazard and ruthlessness. Our purpose was to measure the social effects on the people themselves. Here we had units more compelling than death statistics, or tax-costs.

This was illustrated in the economic study of typhoid fever by Mr. Frank E. Wing, associate director, who collected data for six wards for a year, showing the proportion of wage-earners among typhoid patients, the income before and since, the number of weeks sick, the loss in wages by patients and by those who are obliged to give up work to care for them, sickness expenditure for doctors, nurses, medicines, foods, funerals; and the less tangible but even more severe tax involved in lessened vitality, lessened earning power, and broken-up homes, which follow in the wake of typhoid. Of 1,029 cases in six wards reported in one year, 448 cases were found and studied. Of these 26 died. One hundred and eighty-seven wage-earners lost 1,901 weeks' work. Other wage-earners, not patients, lost 322 weeks—a total loss in wages of \$28,899. The cost of 90 patients treated in hospitals at public or private expense was \$4,165; of 338 patients cared for at home, \$21,000 in doctors' bills, nurses, ice, foods, medicines; of 26 funerals, \$3,186. The result was a total cost of \$58,262 in less than half the cases of six wards in one year—wards in which both income and sickness expense were at a minimum. But there were other even more serious drains. A girl of twenty-two, who worked on stogies, was left in a very nervous condition, not so strong as before, and consequently could not attain her former speed. A blacksmith will probably never work at his trade with his former strength. A sixteen-year-old girl developed tuberculosis and was left in a weakened physical condition. A tailor cannot work as long hours as before and was reduced \$1 a week in wages. A boy of eight was very nervous, would not sit still in school, and was rapidly becoming a truant.

Similarly in the case of industrial accidents. At this morning's session Miss Eastman has told you of the economic incidence as found by her

analysis of the 500 industrial deaths in Allegheny in the course of the year studied, where half of those killed were under thirty years of age, where half were getting less than \$15 per week, where half had families to support, and where, of these latter cases, less than half received any contribution whatever from the employer toward the income loss.

Dr. Patten has told us that the greatest need of the generation is the socialization of law. Here we were putting court decisions and the master-and-servant law to a pragmatic test, apart from any legal theories of liberty of contract and assumption of risk. How does the common law work out in practice? How does it cash in when it comes to the common welfare? Similar card systems have since been made use of in Wisconsin and Illinois.

My point is, then, that the family affords a responsive, delicate litmus for testing many of the economic facts of the present-day social order. Its usefulness as such is only as yet partly explored. The serious studies recently made of standards of living—not of dependent families, nor even of normal families under emergent stress, but just the everyday economic issues of life, are perhaps the purest examples of such scientific treatment. Such studies as Mr. Chapin has made illustrate the large body of social facts available from such sources.

My second point is that we are dealing in Pittsburgh with overloaded families. In agricultural and domestic industry great numbers of household operations were performed as by-products by the male workers. Thus the water supply for a man's kine and for his household were identical. Not only is this changed with the division of labor, but the household must be maintained amid city conditions where the single family unit cannot master many wants, and in industrial towns badly located for any purpose other than production. My point is illustrated by a dispute between the superintendent of the Pittsburgh Bureau of Health and the controller of the city, since deceased, a bluff, honest, old-fashioned saver of city funds. The superintendent of the Bureau of Health wanted a rubbish-removal system; the controller held that rubbish removal was a householder's private duty. "It is as if," said Dr. Edwards, "every householder in Pittsburgh used his ashes to build his front walks, lit his morning fires with old newspapers, and fed his swill to the pigs." Dumping-places are few and remote in Pittsburgh, and the results have been that every alley, gutter, and corner has festered with refuse; and the problem of keeping the city clean and well has been a hundred fold increased. Long, scientific, medical names on a death certificate, translated in common parlance, were nothing more than a filthy tin can plus a house fly.

Similarly, we find Pittsburgh for the last ten years knowing its typhoid problem was a water problem and yet depending for immunity upon bottled water at 15c per bottle; and we find 50,000 old individual privy vaults in the city proper. Time does not admit of the expansion of this idea, from these homely illustrations to some of the more debatable undertakings of

the family analyzed yesterday by Mrs. Gilman. Miss Butler's studies of women in industry, for instance, go to show that in Pittsburgh the whole tone of wages in certain women-employing trades is fixed by the assumption that the girl is half supported at home. My point is that the sooner we disencumber the family of many tasks it is not equipped to handle under modern conditions, the quicker it will be in position to perform its real functions.

Homestead is an example, as Miss Byington has described it, of how the whole task of civilization is thrown back upon the home. Here is a town which is created by the greatest steel plant in the world; one of the master industries of the country, protected by our national tariff policies as few industries are protected, and studied at the close of one of the greatest periods of prosperity the country has known. What has that prosperity meant to the workers? Here, on the other hand, we have a town where time is measured since the strike when associated effort among men was crushed out, there has been no organization or civic life to meet the community problems. The mill, and the town because of the mill, have thrown the burden on the family life of the place. And in many things above the average, we find Homestead a town with gulched streets like a mining district and high death-rates, with, until a year ago, ungraded, unguarded railroad crossings, with rank water and no clean public recreation. It is a town where a majority of the workers are left no leisure by the mill to bear their share of the family responsibilities, and where, stated roughly, the families of 50 per cent. of the workers must choose between eating insufficient food or living in un-American homes, between giving children a normal life or owning a home.

It is a town which sums up the overloading of family life. Eliminating these encumbrances, the standard of living-studies should afford us clearer notions of just what functions we should expect of families, and the minimums which are demanded for their performance—minimums of comfort, as expressed in rentals and clothing, minimums of refreshment, as expressed in food and leisure, and minimums of reproduction, as expressed in terms of strong physical parenthood, household equipment for caring for the young, and child-training. On the test of these standards public opinion could base its judgments as to immigration, hours, wages, working-men's compensation in case of accident, and other influences that affect or jeopardize these standards.

My third point is that the household, existing against these odds, is made the goad for that damnable driving of men to which Mr. Devine has referred. The mill workers are for the most part tonnage men. They are paid on out-put. As Mr. Fitch states in his report, when the rate of pay is judiciously cut from time to time, this tonnage system of payment becomes the most effective scheme for inducing speed yet devised. Whatever a man's earnings may be, high or low, his family adjusts itself to that basis and that

becomes his minimum of comfort. The man who has had six dollars a day and is reduced to four dollars has a harder time getting along on that than the man who never has been able to develop four-dollar tastes. The mere possibility of greater earnings than any yet enjoyed does not suffice to rouse men to the required degree. Only a reduction accomplishes that, for it makes it necessary to struggle to reach once again the old wage which was the minimum of comfort.

My last point has to do with the relation of the family to the dynamic character of the population of our industrial districts. In the Royal Museum of Munich is a group of models of mediaeval towns, carved out of wood. The spires and the markets, the city wall and gates, the houses, gardens, and out-buildings are shown with a fidelity that has outlived the centuries. There was entrenched the fixity of things. A man was his father's son. He was burgher, or freeman, or serf, as his father was burgher, or freeman, or serf. His looms and his spinning wheels and his vats were as his father had contrived them. He lived in the house of his fathers and it served him well. Pittsburgh is the antithesis of all this. It is all motion. The modern industrial community is not a tank, but a flow. Not the capacity but the currents of its life are important. Sixty per cent. of the working population of Homestead are unskilled laborers. The great majority of these are newcomers, foreign-born. In one of the plants of the Pittsburgh district, the employment agent hired 20,000 men in one year to keep up the pay-roll of 10,000. Unless the skilled worker keeps himself free to sell his labor in the highest market, he is economically at a disadvantage.

I should not want to claim for this idea of flow as the distinctive element in industrial community life, such a revolution of conceptions as Professor Clark wrought in defining the production of wealth in terms of a flow of utilities. But two things are to be noted. First, that it strengthens the demand that we relieve the family in an industrial community from many of the old household responsibilities. Sanitation cannot be left to Tom, Dick, and Harry if they are on the go. Local health authority must be developed with strength and scientific standards enough to maintain clear water, adequate sewerage, good drainage. Men must have leisure enough to back up this sort of administration with effective citizenship. The lodgings of the floating immigrant labor force cannot be left to boarding-bosses and petty landlords.

The second point is that civic conditions and social agencies must be adapted so that mobile family units shall not be at a disadvantage. Let me illustrate in the matter of shelter, by pointing to *the man who lives in a company house, who rents from a local landlord*, and to the man who buys his own house. The English co-operative housing movement by which a workman buys, not a building but stock in a housing company, is a movement to give the sense of ownership without clogging mobility.

Similarly the ordinary form of accident-relief association ties the work-

man up tight, while a rational form of working-men's compensation would give him emergency resources whatever his changes in employment and whatever the disrupting influences of industry upon the family.

The development of such schemes is not more communistic than the development of organized work in a mill is socialism. They may be defined as giving elements of stability to the family other than geographical. They should lessen the overburdening of the family. By that degree they should equip the workmen to the more readily withstand exploitation and advance his living standards.

SOME QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE HIGHER EDUCATION OF WOMEN

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This brief paper is intended to afford an opportunity for discussion and makes no claim to original investigation or new conclusions. Statistics upon the subject-matter are unsatisfactory and practically unattainable at the present time but such information as we have seems to be unquestioned and sufficiently suggestive for our careful consideration. We are to consider the modern education of women in as far as it is different, in amount and kind, from the education formerly afforded them. Until quite recently the educational privileges of women were not greater than those now afforded in the grammar grades of our best public schools. The training of women in high school, college, and professional schools is a late nineteenth-century notion and some of the new questions raised by it are our present concern.

Permit me to say at the start that, in my opinion, the whole movement is natural and inevitable. Political philosophers would say that it is a logical corollary from the principles of social democracy. Others that it is the outcome of the effort toward self-realization. It is the demand of native powers to be given a chance to develop freely. In it the insistence of the human personality upon the right to express itself has come to full consciousness. In it women protest that they are no longer to be regarded merely as mothers of men or as housekeepers to minister to the comforts of men but as autonomous persons with all the privileges appertaining to such. If motherhood and the activities of the home satisfy a woman of today she will be content with these, if they do not sufficiently express her personality enlightened justice will afford her appropriate educational opportunities equal to those of any man. To continue to exclude half

of humanity from the cultivation and exercise of native talent would appear to involve economic wastes as well as an a-priori assumption of the inferiority of woman.

This hospitality toward woman's aspirations does not exclude the admission that there are essential psychic differences between the two sexes. In the cultivation of her talents she is still expressing a woman's self, not a man's. Her spiritual satisfactions need not be identical with those of men but this is a matter for her to decide and each woman, in a free community, may be safely trusted to feel her way toward her own decisions. Parenthetically be it observed that this logically involves allowing such women to vote as care to exercise the suffrage. Our principle is far from meaning that the education of women should be identical with that of men. It may be and it may not be—experience alone can decide. Two considerations make us pause here. The first is that our experiment in giving women the same education as men is too recent to allow us to draw a satisfactory conclusion in this matter. In the end, if she wants an identical education and it suits her, she will deserve it and continue to get it. Just here it may be proper to express the opinion that there is no more wholesome place for girls of sound health and considerable intellectual capacity, during the trying period from eighteen to twenty-two years of age, than at a well-regulated college. They are there better off, physically and morally, as well as intellectually, than at home in so-called society. The second consideration that makes us thoughtful as to the details and methods of education for women is that these must be adjusted somewhat to the fact that a woman is after all a woman. For her, educational methods should be related to wifehood and motherhood, whatever else they may strive to accomplish.

In the majority of cases a woman must be a domestic economist and understand the management of a household, if not quite in Aristotle's sense of the term. Naturally, also, she may be expected to find her deepest joys in motherhood. In this she differs from man only in conditions set by the accidents of a physical process. His nature is equally incomplete and unsatisfied without parenthood and the home. If it appears, in too many

cases, not to be so it is because of a spiritual atrophy due to the vices of an aging civilization and furnishes a warning rather than a principle of conduct for women to adopt. It should, however, be remembered that fatherhood may be momentary while motherhood must be continuous. This inevitably permits him to devote a large part of his energies to external affairs, as it confines a woman considerably to her home. Only in appearance does this lessen the participation of the father in the nurture of children. His personal influence is just as constantly and imperatively needed for their wholesome development as is the mother's, only it is of a different kind. May not the loss of personal contact with the father in the artificial urban life of civilized communities be a more common source of moral weakness than we suspect? My argument, you see, tends toward an equality in the sacred obligations of parenthood and condemns both husband and wife for the neglect of this fundamental duty. At the same time the father can be much of the time away from home and remain a good father while the woman cannot be and remain a good mother; unless we become disciples of Plato and substitute the public nursery for the home, in contemplating which case we can only exclaim with him "Good Heavens, what skill will then be required of our rulers!"

Let us now go a bit deeper into the question, in expressing the obvious opinion that it is for the advantage of mankind that superior women should become mothers. This is for reasons both of nature and nurture. As for nature, there is greater probability that the offspring of superior women will also be superior. This is fortunately not a certainty. If it were we should abolish all human incentives and much of morality. Intellectual ability is not a dominant Mendelian character that breeds true to parental type. What Galton calls "filial regression" prevents it. The "pull of the race" which keeps us sane, keeps us somewhere around the average. But, in the words of Karl Pearson,

Exceptional fathers produce exceptional sons at a rate three to six times as great as non-exceptional—the superior stock produces above the average at over twice the rate of the inferior stock. Pairs of exceptional

parents produce exceptional sons at a rate more than ten times as great as pairs of non-exceptional parents.¹

Obviously the greater the number of children there are to such parents, e. g., when both are college graduates, the greater the likely proportion of ability in a community for social selection to work upon. Reid has expressed this as follows:

We cannot improve races of plants and animals by improving the conditions under which they exist. Such a course benefits the individual but results in racial degeneration. The race can be improved only by restricting parentage to the finest individuals.²

Certainly we cannot expect to improve it by limiting the parentage of the superior individuals. As for nurture. The environment of the superior woman's children should be more favorable than the average. She is able to apply intelligence as well as character to that most delicate of all tasks, the proper training of children. She can wisely cultivate natural interests and unconsciously control as the spontaneous affection of childhood ripens into the respect of maturer years. Women must be intelligent to win that respect from their well-educated children, particularly from their sons. In this matter of nurture a mother's ability and training may be thwarted by an evil inheritance in the child. It is very untrue to facts to suppose that even an ideal environment can make anything of anybody. Reid grossly exaggerates in saying:

According to the experience he has, an average baby may become a fool or a wise man, a yokel or a statesman, a savage or a civilized man, a saint or a thief.³

After all we cannot escape the meshes of heredity—talent is born and not made, and the better nurture of the one child of a superior woman will not offset the certain loss resulting from the restriction in the number of chances of a happy inheritance.

Now it is just this restriction in favorable chances and limitation of the better stock that the higher education of women appears to involve. This in several ways. To begin with, it seems to mean for college girls a lowering of the expected mar-

¹ *Phil. Trans.*, CXCV, 38.

² *Soc. Papers*, III, 10.

³ *Soc. Papers*.

riage-rate. Probably not half of the graduates of women's colleges ever marry whereas nearly 90 per cent. of the women in the general population marry. At Bryn Mawr the marriage-rate for classes at least ten years out of college is apparently about 37 per cent. At Smith College about 45 per cent. of the women of the ten classes from 1879 to 1888 have married and the published statistics of Professor Thorndike are to the same conclusion. It is of course true that the marriage-rate of the social classes from which the college girls come is much lower than that of the general population. How much lower we do not know. The statistics already published upon this point are far from conclusive and it is certainly true that in our democratic society college girls come from all classes and those who are poor are more likely to contemplate earning their own living in single blessedness than are the rich. Are there not considerations both of sexual selection and of duty to the community which should make the marriage-rate of these brighter college-educated girls higher than the average in their social class?

In the next place the modern education of women involves a postponement of marriage at least two years for girls who stop upon the completion of the high-school course and much longer for college graduates. The former is probably desirable, the latter may be, but raises economic and psychological obstacles to marriage and certainly lowers the birth-rate. The birth-rate among college women is about half the normal. With the above-mentioned classes at Smith College there are about two children to each mother while in the general population there are upwards of four. With half marrying and less than two children to a marriage the college women are not replacing themselves. This is exactly the condition that prevails among the graduates of Harvard and Yale. Should this be so? Should not the trained woman take a higher view of her obligations to the race? As J. Arthur Thompson says:

Is there not need for getting rid of a prudery of selfishness which keeps some of the fitter types from recognizing that they have another contribution to make to the race besides their work.⁴

⁴ *Heredity*, 536.

It is also, as Shallmayer has shown, a mistake to suppose that a lower birth-rate is entirely made good by a correspondingly lower death-rate. What is the result? As Lapouge says:

If one group has a birth-rate of three and the other four the proportion between the two becomes in a generation 3:4. At the third generation 9:16. At the fourth the favored group forms 70 per 100, the other 30. This requires only a century.

The lowered birth-rate of the educated may in part be purposed and in part incident to nervous activity upon the assumption that individuation and fecundity are antagonistic. As Salleeby expresses it:

In view of the antagonism between individuation and genesis, which Spencer discovered, the very best, being engaged in making the utmost of their individual lives, have less energy to spare for reproduction—that is to say for the racial life. One cannot write a system of philosophy and successfully bring up a large family.⁵

A parable may illustrate, in a homely fashion, this inverse relation of quality and fertility. My garden recently produced a marvellous squash. It was a dream of a squash, such as falls to the lot of few to taste. A command went to the kitchen that every seed must be saved. To which the reply was that there were no seeds. "Impossible! No one ever heard of a squash without seeds;" but investigation discovered only a small seed cavity, in which were a few minute atrophied seeds and among them a single developed one, malformed and almost certain not to produce its kind—but the squash was delectable!

So much for the biology of quality! Socially and psychologically the lowered birth-rate may be sufficiently explained by the incompatibility between motherhood and the gratification of the multifarious tastes and interests of a broadened life. As Munsterberg expresses it:

From whatever side we look at it, the self-assertion of woman exalts her at the expense of the family—perfects the individual but injures society, makes the American women perhaps the finest flower of civilization, but awakens at the same time serious fears for the propagation of the American race.⁶

⁵ *Soc. Papers*, 232.

⁶ *The Americans*, 583.

Or as Tönnies says:

The rise of intellectual qualities also involves, under given conditions, a further decay of moral feeling, nay of sympathetic affections generally. Intelligence promotes egotism and pleasure-seeking, very much in contradiction to the interest of the race.⁷

To speak plainly, children have become, to many women, a nuisance, or at least unwelcome beings of an alien domestic world which years of intellectual training have unfitted the college woman to like or understand. Their environment has awakened their interests and then these imperious interests dominate their lives. Various as are the causes of this low birth-rate the effect is a comparative sterilization of presumably superior stocks. This does not appear to be a matter of much present moment but is sure to become alarming with the growth of the college habit among girls. In the United States, in 1905, there were 391,000 girls in public high schools, 43,000 women normal students, and 45,000 women in higher institutions. This latter number was only 10,761 in 1890, an increase of 400 per cent. in fifteen years while population certainly did not increase 40 per cent. The student of history condemns the celibacy of the Catholic priesthood from the selectionist standpoint—what will he have to say of the celibacy of tens of thousands of the most capable women of the country?

Now there certainly is a racial obligation, the obligation of motherhood and, let me add, an equal obligation of fatherhood. It may be admitted that if this obligation is incompatible with higher duties it ceases to be binding; but it should be borne in mind that this incompatibility is sometimes of woman's own making, sometimes pure selfishness, sometimes merely notional, and seldom of fact. The standard of social values is set by ourselves in the long run and possibly we may come again to value the more domestic virtues and the quality of self-sacrifice. You may object that a great woman teacher of hundreds of children may be doing more for mankind than by having children of her own; which is quite true, but is not a Kantian principle capable of very wide application. The fundamental obligation is, after

⁷ Soc. Papers, I, 41.

all, at home and nature avenges its neglect upon individuals and people. In another way J. Arthur Thompson expresses this when he says:

Is there any truth in the inference that failure in reproductive power is an expression of Nature's verdict against dis-social isolation of privileged classes, against every self-contradictory denial of the solidarity of the social organism?⁸

We can by no means abolish the grim facts of inheritance and selection from human society. Do not misunderstand me. My sympathies are heartily with the higher education of women but some of its present biological effects are certainly questionable. The hopeful feature of it all is that these are in part unnecessary and can be avoided by a more enlightened moral code.

From the higher education of women we have a right to anticipate two happy outcomes. Primarily it is likely, through sexual selection, to elevate men's notions of what character and conduct is becoming in them if they are to win educated women as wives. The real trouble, at the present time, is with the education of men. Their coarseness and vulgarity, even when college-men, makes them unfit husbands of college women; they offend them. If there were more men of spiritual insight and moral elevation more college women would wish to marry. What else than celibacy can you expect when a college girl returns to a small community which all the college men, such as they are, have left for the city? She must go too, or remain single. In this there is often real tragedy. Helen Bosanquet had this in mind when she wrote of American women:

Her disinclination to marriage is often intensified by the fact that she feels herself mentally superior to the man whose education has stopped short with his entry into practical life while she has continued her studies in school and college.

There is, however, the persistent danger that the college girl's own qualification of intellectuality may become uncomfortable to men. A wise man in a recent number of the *London Spectator* wrote:

Intellectual airs are disliked by both sexes. Dr. Johnson, while generously defending the able woman in whatever direction her ability may

⁸ *Heredity*, 536.

lie, admitted that instructive and argumentative women are truly insufferable. "Supposing," said he, "a wife to be of a studious and argumentative turn, it would be very troublesome, for instance, if a woman should continually dwell upon the subject of the Arian heresy!"⁹

In the second place the increasing number of educated women in social and public life may supply that spirituality and ideality in which our modern world is so deficient. There are many dangers here, however. Among them is the danger that public life will become excessively emotional and even hysterical, in crises, and the greater danger that women themselves will be corrupted in competing with men for positions of material advantage. If women's interests become materialized women will surely be degraded to the base level of all material competitions. Her strength has always been in her detachment. Is it not our conclusion that women should have the highest possible education—not that she may struggle with men but rather that she may the better rule humanity by those qualities and in that sphere in which she is most nearly divine?

⁹ *Spectator*, November 2, 1907.

HOW DOES THE ACCESS OF WOMEN TO INDUSTRIAL OCCUPATIONS REACT ON THE FAMILY?

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Although economists have discarded the classical distinction between productive and unproductive labor, it is not uncommon still to hear work that results in the creation of no tangible wealth referred to as unproductive. In the census schedules housewives not otherwise employed are classed as n. g., "not gainful." So persistent is this fallacy that Professor Smart has thought it worth while to enumerate some of those forms of income which escape assessment and which are not measurable in money, and to point out the ways in which they actually augment the social income. Among these he reckons as "the greatest unpaid service of all" the work of women in the household. With an enthusiasm unusual in an economist he urges that this service does not merely save the cost of servants' wages, but that it produces results which wage-paid labor could not possibly achieve.¹

Recent studies in biology indicates that race efficiency evolves in proportion to the differentiation between the sexes. Among the lowest orders of men, as also among the peasantry of European states, male and female are strikingly similar in physique and dress, and the character of their labor does not materially differ. Even though it has been true since the crudest stages of culture that some distinction in labor functions was observed, industry itself in the earliest periods was so simple in character as to leave little room for separation. In the patriarchal family group there arose a more definite division of labor by which certain functions were set aside as women's work. The primitive agricultural family group, of which pioneer American households are a survival, assigned to the wife's care those arts which were necessarily centered about the house, poultry-raising, gardening,

¹ *The Distribution of Income*, 70.

weaving, soap-making. This differentiation is to be explained, in general, on the theory of diverse capacities based on fundamental sex difference. Professor Thomas believes that the greater motor activity of the male and the natural fixity and conservatism of the female account for the whole history of the division of labor on sex lines. "With respect to labor," says Aristotle's *Economics*, "the one sex is by nature capable of attending to domestic duties, but weak in duties out of doors; the other is ill-adapted to works where repose is necessary, but able to perform those which demand exercise." While productive processes remained simple this differentiation of functions generally involved nothing more than setting off to each sex definite parts of the same task. To the roaming, active male the share was the procuring of such materials for consumption as could be gotten only through aggressive effort afield. To the female fell work of a more sedentary character, chiefly that which was immediately connected with consumption. Of very high antiquity, therefore, is the habit, much exploited by recent humorists, of referring to the male head of the family as the "producer" or the "provider." Aristotle again, who certainly was not a humorist, declares that "man is adapted to provide things abroad, while woman's work is to preserve things at home."

Two coincident changes have, within the past two centuries, profoundly affected the economic relations of the family. One is the concentration and specialization of industry following the industrial revolution, and the other is the shift from a predominantly rural and agricultural to a predominantly urban type of life. As the most conservative of social units, the family has but slowly adjusted itself to these changes. The home-production economy has been gradually supplanted by the money economy. Instead of being made in the home, nearly all consumption goods in the city, and an increasing portion of them in the country, are produced in specialized industries and purchased with money.

In pointing out the extent and consequences of these changes Miss Heather-Bigg says:

People who assert glibly that wives in the past had enough to do

looking after their homes seldom realize what looking after the house meant one hundred and fifty years ago. It meant chopping wood, fetching water, baking bread, spinning flax, weaving, knitting, pickling, curing, churning, preserving, washing. But now water is laid on into the house, bread is bought at the baker's, it is cheaper to buy garments than to make them, wood and coal are brought round to the door in carts, and jam and pickles, butter and bacon are all to be had from the general shop. So that now, for dwellers in big cities at any rate, "looking after the house" means only cleaning, cooking, washing, mending; care of children being the same in both cases. Even washing is ceasing to be the essentially domestic occupation it used to be, many women finding it more profitable to work at some trade in their homes and to give their washing out to a poorer neighbor to be done in municipal wash-houses or in the places set apart for washing in the model buildings.²

Historically this is only the latest of a series of industrial transformations which have affected female labor. Very early in this series women relinquished agriculture to man, as she is now surrendering to the factory those handicrafts which she then retained as her peculiar care. She would now cease to be economically functional were there not open to her some alternative sphere of activity. She might, where means permit, give herself up to the cultivation of her finer personal and social graces, and, frankly accepting the position of a parasite, become wholly dependent on man for material support. By means of specialized domestic service, housekeepers, nurses, governesses, she might even be freed from the burdens of home management. Among portions of the so-called upper classes this is the actual situation. Or she might, by a more intensive devotion to purely domestic and maternal duties, find in these full play for her powers, even though the training of children has been partially socialized through such agencies as the school and the Sunday school. With the typical bourgeois family this is a not uncommon solution of the problem. In justification of it may be urged the unquestioned fact that home-making and the careful nurture of children are functions so vital that they are worth whatever they cost to society. Another alternative is woman's entrance into the new productive processes as a wage-worker, contributing to the family income her proper share in money earned in work

² *Economic Journal*, IV, 57.

at home for the market or in the workshop for the market. In this class the question is not whether women shall work, for they have always worked. It is rather a question of the conditions under which their wealth-creation shall proceed. Specifically it is a question not of work but of wage-earning.

Insofar as it reacts on the structure of the family, two phases of the problem are to be clearly distinguished. One has to do with the class who work because they must, the other is connected with the status of those who work or who might work because they choose to be occupied rather than idle. Accepting as valid the logical deductions from census figures, the increase of female bread-winners in the United States is one of the most striking phenomena of recent decades. Growth in the numbers of gainfully employed females has outstripped the increase both of male workers and of total female population. In 1900 one out of five of all females over ten years of age were in gainful pursuits, and between 1870 and 1900 the number more than doubled.³ In Massachusetts 22 out of every 100 females were employed in 1870, as against 27 out of every 100 in 1900, and, while in the same period male workers increased 95 per cent., employed females increased 156 per cent. In the country as a whole the increase of employed women between 1890 and 1900 was 33 per cent., that of males 23 per cent. Although this growth has accompanied the rapid development of the great industries in general, it is worthy of note that it has been most pronounced in those occupations which particularly appeal to the more intelligent and ambitious. The proportion in the textile trades has not kept pace with that which is employed in clerical and mercantile branches. In domestic and personal service also, once the leading field of female wage-earning, the increase in the last decade was only 38 per cent., while that in trade and transportation was 120 per cent.

Of unmarried women of native American stock a smaller proportion are employed than among the children of the foreign-born. They undoubtedly contribute relatively less than do the foreign-born directly to the general family treasury, and are

³ Special Census Report, *Statistics of Women at Work*, 191 ff.

therefore the less to be reckoned as a factor in the economy of the family. Their earnings go either toward their own necessary support or toward providing for themselves comforts or luxuries not otherwise obtainable. Frequently, too, their wages provide the outfit for their own marriage or for future house-keeping. As an industrial class they are exceptionally weak, because the hope or definite expectation of marriage interferes with effective wage-bargaining. Of them it is particularly true that "the permanency of women in industry is as a class and not as an individual."

Numerically the young unmarried predominate overwhelmingly. In 1900, 85 per cent. of the female workers were single, and 44 per cent., were between sixteen and twenty-four years of age. How far employment has operated to lower the marriage-rate, to increase divorce, or to advance the age of marriage cannot, of course, be clearly determined, owing to the presence of other causes for these phenomena. The average age of marriage in Massachusetts increased from 23.4 in 1872 to 24.6 in 1901, and the rate declined from 23.4 per 1,000 in 1851 to 17.3 per 1,000 in 1901.⁴ In Massachusetts as in England the marriage-rate is generally found to be lower in districts where much female labor is employed. But on the other hand it is probably true that wage-earning, by developing a sense of pride and independence, saves women from the single alternative of marriage or dependence. It is also to be noted that young women employed in the skilled trades under good conditions are the less disposed to surrender their independence to men who are likely to be willing to live in idleness, supported by the wages of working wives, just as married women capable of earning a living are under similar conditions more ready to resort to the divorce courts.

Equally weak and subject to exploitation is the class of married women whose elusive position in industry makes organization impossible. The very fact that a married woman must seek employment is construed as a confession of economic stress.

⁴ *Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1902, 247, 248.* For the age of marriage in relation to industry in Europe, see Bailey, *Modern Social Conditions*, 152-62.

Furthermore, members of this class find it difficult to escape the suspicion that their labor is only incidental, home and family remaining the fundamental considerations. A noticeable proportion of those classed as bread-winners do not leave the home at all to do their work, and the fact that they do not visibly belong to the industrial army weakens the front that they might otherwise present in the struggle for a living wage. In bargaining with women workers the average employer assumes that he may safely ignore their necessary cost of living, because in general this cost is lower than that of men, and in the case of married women or widows it is calculated that the wages received are merely supplementary to the husband's income or to charitable relief.

Postponement of marriage may be in itself a less serious evil than the fact that employment in highly specialized factory or mercantile work weakens the taste and capacity for domestic management, where it does not breed a positive dislike for it. Employment in domestic service in good families, formerly almost the sole opportunity for female wage-earning, furnished an apprenticeship in housekeeping that stands in marked contrast to the work of girls today in textile mills, offices, or department stores. The study of conditions in Birmingham by Cadbury, Matheson, and Shann shows to what an extent slack conditions in the homes of employed women react on the unsteadiness and delinquency of husbands. The proportion of sober and steady men is nearly twice as great in families where the wives do not work as in homes presided over by employed women.⁵ While it cannot, of course, be assumed that all delinquent husbands have been demoralized by abnormal home conditions, the conviction of such causal relation is the natural and logical one.

The family, not the state, must in the end determine the quality of population as it undeniably determines the quantity. It is in relation to childhood that the disorganizing effects of female labor are most clearly discernible. Sir John Simon showed fifty years ago that in certain English districts where women were largely employed outside the home infant mortality was from two to three times as great as in the standard districts.⁶

⁵ *Women's Work and Wages*, chap. viii.

⁶ Newman, *Infant Mortality*, 92.

Whenever from any cause industry ceases in a district, as it did during the siege of Paris or during the periodical cotton famines in England, the death-rate of infants declines, while the general death-rate increases, because mothers are then compelled to nurse their children. Manufacturing towns show a variation in infant death-rates so closely correlated with the number of employed married women as to leave little doubt about the cause and effect relation.⁷ English and Continental medical authorities are agreed as to the disastrous results of the employment of mothers outside the home soon after confinement, and regulative legislation has been passed in all the progressive European states.⁸ Cared for by older children or by friends, fed on unwholesome nourishment, dosed with narcotics, receiving only the fag-end of the mother's strength, children who outlive such an infancy have surely proved their fitness to survive. Day nurseries or philanthropies like the French Society for Nursing Mothers may minimize these evils for the relatively small numbers for whom their services are available, but at best they are only make-shifts, and are poor substitutes for the close individual care upon which alone childhood can thrive.

Acceptance of the "lump of labor" theory involves the recognition of a sort of Gresham's law of labor, according to which cheap female labor would drive men out of industry. This fallacy is partially responsible for the attitude of labor organizations toward the employment of women. But that there is much real supplanting of men by women may well be doubted. Mrs. Webb believes that if it exists at all in England it is only "to an infinitesimal extent."⁹ The apparent transformation is attributable rather to necessary readjustment than to substitution. The transfer of so large a proportion of work from home to factory

⁷ Compare the figures for Dundee, where large numbers of married women are employed, with those of Paisley, where female workers predominate but where few married women are employed. Newman, *Infant Mortality*, 116, 117.

⁸ A summary of European legislation on this subject is given in Oliver, *Dangerous Trades*, 53, 54.

⁹ *Problems of Modern Industry*, 101. Carroll D. Wright holds that in the United States women have largely displaced child-labor rather than that of men (*Report of the Industrial Commission*, VII, 74).

has objectified woman's share in the total output without materially increasing it. But even if it could be proved that she is a successful rival to man in getting labor away from him, woman remains an inferior bargainer for wages. Some of this inferiority is only apparent, explainable on the ground of smaller productivity, but there are numerous instances of smaller wages for equivalent work. This condition of women workers is due to a certain amateurishness inseparable from the sense of their impermanence, and to the absence of the technique of an industrial class. Mrs. Webb asserts that the real foe of the working woman is not the skilled male artisan, but the half-hearted female amateur who "blacklegs both the workshop and the home."¹⁰ Examples are not lacking to prove that in districts where female and child-labor abounds the wages of men are lower than in similar trades elsewhere. Additional labor, with the consequent derangement of the home, thus brings, under these conditions, no amelioration of the standard of living, since the combined family income will little surpass that which the man alone must receive were he the sole bread-winner. Alleviation of this situation does not necessarily demand the abstention of women from industry, but it calls for such organization and intelligent application as shall enforce a wage that will really augment the family income.

So real and so patent have been the evils incident to the employment of those women who work because they must that attention has been deflected from the unwholesome idleness of those who are not compelled to seek occupation. The pathological aspects of idleness are perhaps less dramatic because more recondite. In his *Subjection of Women* Mill deplors the dull and hopeless life of women devoid of occupational interest. The void created by shifting the incidence of industry from home to workshop has, for certain classes of women, not been filled by any compensating life-interest. Under existing conditions ma-

¹⁰ *Problems of Modern Industry*, 107. Mrs. Willett has demonstrated that in those branches of the clothing industry where women workers are organized their wages approach those of men (*Women in the Clothing Trade*, chap. iv).

ternity does not in itself constitute a vocation for all womankind. When mere number of population has ceased to be the final desideratum, when the family name and the perpetuation of particular stocks is no longer a fetish, the mere bearing and rearing of offspring need not monopolize the energy of one-half the human race. No other achievement of civilization can compare with that which substitutes an economical method of reproduction for the wasteful process of savagery. The prolongation of infancy and the elaboration of child-care that accompany advancing culture may reabsorb part of the energy thus released, but not all.

The problem of a supplementary occupational interest arising from this release, like that arising from the revolution in the industrial order, has called forth three types of solution and experiment. One wholly absolves women from the narrow slavery of sex and opens to her all the social activities of the male, full share. Another recognizes her emancipation from the oriental thralldom to reproductive functions, but seeks to so exalt the maternal and domestic functions as to make of them a social service worthy to be accepted, even under the new conditions of child-rearing, as woman's sufficient contribution to the state. A third accepts motherhood as a necessary service which, however, is to be supplemented by participation in specific production outside the home.

One of the tragedies of contemporary society is the woman who, through lack of an adequate occupational interest, is chronically sickly and inefficient. Her unused abilities ferment and decay. A source of personal discomfort to herself, this lack of self-realization is a loss to society by just so much as her latent talents fail of profitable employment or are turned to unwholesome ends. A prominent physician of Boston recently voiced the verdict of the medical profession when he declared that one-half of all the nervous people (chiefly women) who come to him are suffering for want of an outlet. "They have," he continues, "been going at half-pressure, on half steam, with a fund of energy lying dormant."¹¹ Much of the marital unrest of the

¹¹ Dr. Richard C. Cabot, quoted in the *American Magazine*, December, 1908,

period is traceable to this absence of serious occupational interest among married women of the prosperous classes. Social disquietude, unwholesome forms of recreation, nervous break-down that results from overexertion in specious and profitless forms of activity, are the natural corollaries of an unrealized instinct of workmanship. Moreover, the deadening of latent powers in the unmarried through the absence of that individualization which can be realized only in the discipline of occupation is to be reckoned among the causes of the unfitness for service which characterizes so large a portion of young women.

Western civilization has imperfectly outgrown the ideal of the seclusion of women inherited from the older Orient. Missing the stimulus of a free career open to her talents, woman enters in only a half-hearted way into such trades and professions as will tolerate her presence. Yet there are certain branches of activity which are peculiarly adapted to women, and into which they have already entered in numbers.¹² When the process of industrial readjustment shall have more clearly shaped itself, it is likely that some occupations will again be definitely set aside for women and conditions therein adjusted to their peculiar needs. Without predicating the ultimate regimentation of industrial society, it is possible to conceive of a socially regulated division of labor which, while allowing a specialization of domestic service chiefly in the hands of women, shall also provide for outside occupations suitable to their capacities. This would employ in the home the whole time of some women and part of the time of others. It would remove from the home into specialized work-places much of the labor that is still retained in the household. Child-bearing would be accredited as a part of woman's work for society, demanding the fullest exemptions and safeguards. These might in some cases justify pensions for motherhood. They might require that society go farther than Jevons insisted thirty years ago, when he advocated "the ulti-

¹² Mrs. Willett has noted the trend toward a division of labor along sex lines in certain branches of the clothing industry in New York City (*Women in the Clothing Trade*, chap. iii). Women were found to preponderate in fifteen occupations in Massachusetts in 1885 (*Report of the Statistics of Labor, 1889*, 557).

mate complete exclusion of mothers of children under three years of age from factories and workshops.¹³

Vital as is the consideration that workers should, as Mill puts it, "relish their habitual pursuits," freedom of choice of occupation is of no less moment in maximizing social production. Both the ideas and the conditions that have been and are still dominant limit woman to a narrow range outside of domestic interests. In case she aspire to make a career for herself, she has to face social disapprobation on the one side and the surrender of whatever maternal instinct she may possess on the other. Child-bearing is not, under prevailing conditions, easily compatible with a "career," and yet it is both possible and desirable that a woman should, if she so desire, combine the two. The emancipation of woman, so far as it is related to the economic situation, does not necessarily involve the whole problem of women's rights as such. It need only recognize the right of the woman, whether wife or daughter, to make her contribution to the family resources in whatever manner may best suit her tastes and aptitudes. It necessitates only such a remodeling of the family economy as shall substitute co-operation for dependence. Whether she use a churn at home or work in a dairy for wages, whether she do the family washing or find employment in a laundry, her participation in production is equally valid and her contribution to the social wealth equally real.

But, granting that such larger liberty of choice is desirable, there remains the ultimate fact that the preponderant mass of women will continue domestic in taste, and for them the home will still be the center of activity. The "three generations of unmarried women" which an English reformer demands in order to produce a class who shall be emancipated from antiquated traditions of the family and who shall develop an industrial solidarity will, for obvious reasons, hardly appear. It is the woman of domestic tastes who marries and endlessly transmits her characteristics. The sexless woman, the woman whose distinctive trait is an egoistic ambition for self-determination as an independent unit rather than in the family group, may appear

¹³ Jevons, *Methods of Social Reform*.

more and more numerous in each generation but her class is not likely to become predominant. Her type is increasingly recruited through imitation as her position becomes more tolerable, but her characteristic trait is an acquired one, and in this department of society, at least, imitation must in the long run prove less potent than heredity.

That the reactions of woman's increased participation in industry have been so largely pathological is in some measure due to the one-sided emphasis which modern life places on mere crude production. Whatever changes in the structure of the family have accompanied the attempt to adjust domestic conditions to the new industrial order have been associated with productive activities, but this social readjustment has not, in Anglo-Saxon lands, kept pace with the economic transformation. Now the family is conservative because it is the natural unit not of production but of consumption, and consumption is not easily revolutionized. For the purpose of using its resources society is less effectively organized than for creating them, since it does not recognize the management of consumption as a validly accredited career. During the period when all energies were being monopolized in the production of larger supplies and of new varieties of goods by processes so exacting as to call into service all available forces, there has been no commensurate effort to perfect the faculty of turning such goods to the most useful ends.

Woman, then, more conservative than man is through her position as mother and home-maker, most intimately connected with the functions of consumption, a phase of economic activity inherently more conservative than production. There is as much call for elaboration in this field as there was two centuries ago in the machinery of production. It goes without saying that the family standard of living and the total of social wealth are as much open to improvement, on the material side, by thrifty application of resources as by augmentation of income. Although imperfectly appreciated and inadequately developed, the social values that lie in estheticized consumption are the flower of modern culture. The typical modern, and particularly the American, gulps his pleasures as he gulps his food. Even where

a certain degree of prosperous leisure exists, either conspicuous waste or unintelligent use neutralizes most of its cultural advantages. Society can afford to set its sanction on the guidance of taste in the thrifty use of goods as an economic career.

DISCUSSION

THE SELF-SUPPORTING WOMAN AND THE FAMILY

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The self-supporting woman is today the woman who is best serving the larger interests of her family, because she is fulfilling her historic mission, in the spirit of her age.

Women have always worked, and always will work. They cannot do otherwise. Woman is the working human creature. To work is an inherent tendency of woman's nature; with man it is an acquired characteristic. Woman works from instinct; man from habit.

Among primitive peoples the pursuits of the sexes, their interests, and their views of the purposes of life, are sharply differentiated. Speaking generally, the man follows war, the woman work. The man is ruled by his passions. He desires freedom, food, and sexual satisfaction; hence he seeks to conquer his enemies, to slay the beasts, and to subdue woman. The mighty hunter, the triumphant hunter, the husband of many subservient wives—such are the heroes of the tribe.

To the primitive woman the family is the supreme consideration. Her life is given to bearing children, and to laboring for their nurture. To this end she originated and followed various industries. She makes pottery, weaves, sews, gathers berries, roots, and grain, and ultimately tames the milder animals to her use. So closely is she identified with all forms of labor that to work is a distinctive mark of femininity. No primitive man who works, no matter what his excuse, commands respect. Because he works he is despised—he is a "squaw-man."

To persuade the primitive, free-roaming, fighting male to turn from war to work was a tremendous task, slowly accomplished through the long centuries. He was first induced to labor by his interest in the female. To win her favor he helped her in her chosen work of providing for her family. Soon he became interested in the children who consumed the fruits of his toil. Finally he began to enjoy the home comfort which resulted from their joint labors. Thus the woman, by attaching the man to the family group, doubled her working capacity, and gave to her children a new parent. In short, she made two parents grow where one grew before.

Inevitably, the families nurtured by both parents survived in greater strength and numbers than those left to the care of the mother alone. So

were perpetuated and increased in man the feminine trait, industry, and the feminine interest, the love of the family.

Thus, because it was better for the family, the woman's ideal has prevailed over the man's. He has accepted her view-point. He could never make her fight; but she has made him work. This was her larger service to the family.

In his new capacity, as producer instead of a destroyer, man accepted first those out-of-door tasks, most akin to his natural pursuits. He cared for the flocks and herds, and in time adopted the various branches of agriculture. Much later he began to prepare raw materials for use, performing such ultra-feminine tasks as grinding corn, dyeing yarn, and weaving cloth.

Among civilized nations only traces of the original man now remain. We have left the hunter and trapper, who vanishes before the on-coming settler; and the professional soldier, for the tramp of whose departing feet many already eagerly listen. All other men are workers—they are "squaw-men." They have come to the woman's view-point—they believe, and live their belief that life is for labor. This change of heart has been complete and genuine. The modern man of toil accepts his new vocation, not protestingly, but with the enthusiasm of a recent convert. Not content with sharing woman's tasks, he has actually re-christened her ancient industries "man's work," and seeks to hold them as a sex monopoly.

But, though woman has taught men what to do, she has not yet shown him how to do it. True to his earlier instincts, man has transformed industry into war. He has taken the work out of the home, and built great factories and workshops; but he attacks cotton, wool, and flax as he formerly attacked his enemies. He lines up an army and hurls it at the labor, without the least regard how his soldiers emerge from the fray. They come from the battle-field maimed and crushed and bleeding: the dead and dying strew the field. But the fight goes on. The leader is a "captain of industry," dominated by the lust of commercial conquest. To build higher, to produce more, to travel faster, to become richer than his competitors—these are his master-motives.

Man works as he fights—to win, to overcome his adversaries; and he cares more for the victory than he does for the safety and happiness of his industrial army. He has made the business battlefields as bloody as were ever the fields of war. There are in a single year, in the United States alone, 94,000 people killed and injured on the railways; and 232,000 more in the factories. In the last four years we have killed more people in industry—80,000 more—than all the soldiers slain in the Civil War, the Gray and the Blue combined.

With amazing energy man has developed industry far beyond the point where woman had brought it. He has done what woman possibly never could have done—invented vast power machinery and organized an immense

and intricate system of production and distribution. But in his haste and excitement he has lost the vital part of the woman's point of view. He has forgotten what industry is for. He has been so intent upon his dividends or his pay-envelope that he has sacrificed himself and his family—he is sacrificing the whole nation—to carry on this industrial warfare. He is sapping the energies of the race, and by overstrain unfitting men and women for the best parenthood.

All manner of social ills spring from this masculine mistake of transforming industry into war. Many of these evils are attributed to the presence of women on the business battle-field. We are told, and truly, that the arduous labors of shop, mill, and factory drain the vital forces of women and unfit them for good maternity. But it is equally true that the over-taxed, under-nourished working-man, of whom we have millions, is incapable of transmitting to offspring the sound, strong body and abounding health which is the birthright of every child.

Because women suffer so cruelly in this industrial warfare they are frequently told that they should return to their homes. This is an utterly impossible proposition, and one which suggests the reversal of the whole process of social evolution. Women are not going out of industry; they are being irresistibly drawn and driven into it, by tremendous social forces. This tendency is indicated in the following ways:

1. Self-supporting women are constantly increasing in numbers.
2. Their period of work, before marriage, is lengthening.
3. More of them remain at work after marriage; or, after a period of domestic life, return to work.
4. Their remuneration is increasing and they are securing more of the higher positions—those requiring long training and large compensation.
5. More women follow life-professions, even at the sacrifice of marriage, when necessary.
6. There are more skilled workers among women. Girls eagerly attend school or classes offering them industrial training.
7. Women workers are organizing, taking themselves seriously as a permanent part of the industrial world, and endeavoring to improve their conditions.
8. Society is, more and more, accepting the self-supporting woman as a permanent factor in industry, an essential part of the industrial organism. It is discussing her problems and making efforts to adapt conditions to her needs.

Meanwhile, the home activities are being continually narrowed, while the woman is being developed and enlarged. The housewife of the past, who had a meager knowledge of the three R's and whose outside interests were limited to her own town or village, found ample scope in the varied activities of the old workshop-home. But the educated woman of today, who is kept in daily touch with the whole world, finds too slender an

outlet for her energies in the attenuated activities of modern housekeeping. Her mind registers a world-stimulus that demands more than a five-room flat for expression. Hence, the single woman, the childless wife, the widow, the divorced woman, the wife of the invalid or the unfortunate, and even the mother whose children no longer require her constant care, increasingly swell the ranks of the self-supporting women. Usually, it is only under the strongest pressure of necessity that the mothers of young children perform labor that takes them from the home, but even they are frequently met in the industrial world.

These women have become wage-workers, not only to earn a living, but to raise the standard of comfort in their families. The latest figures show that nearly 10 per cent. of women workers are the sole support of a family, while 30 per cent. more assist a parent or other relative to maintain a home. Even those who support only themselves, by relieving the family income of the burden of their maintenance, raise the standard of living for the rest.

Sometimes, it is true, the first effect of women working is to lower the wages of men, so that the family income is not increased. But this condition is not a necessary accompaniment of woman's labor. It can be overcome by intelligence and organization. The "iron law of wages" is an exploded theory in a country where New York bricklayers get seventy cents an hour and the cigar-pickers of Tampa, Fla., make \$40 a week. These are but two of many trades in which the workers have, by intelligent organization, raised themselves financially, not only above "the level of subsistence," but beyond a mere "living wage," and into the comfortable middle class. Poorly organized workers, whether men or women, will always have low wages.

On the whole the woman worker does raise the standard of living, for herself and her family. We are often told, contemptuously, that she works for "finery." But what does that mean? It means that she is working to bring herself to the American level, in a country whose women are famous, the world over, for their good clothes. If the working-woman is wrong in this, then the whole United States is wrong. She is simply trying to attain the standards of her age and race.

Nor does she, commonly, desert her family and climb alone. She tries to bring them up with her. Of working-women 80 per cent live at home; and they buy rugs and curtains and pianos, as well as feathers and bracelets and furs. Pathetic, even though often amusing, are the efforts of the young woman, who, through contact with the world has gained some new knowledge or culture, to impart it to her less enlightened parents. For instance, a New York tenement-reared girl, whose mother took in washing to make her a school teacher, is now carefully training the mother to read the *Outlook* instead of the Sunday papers.

Another teacher is the eldest of the six children of a common laborer,

who drinks heavily. From the day that she began to teach she has been the self-appointed guardian or foster-mother of her five brothers and sisters. Through her efforts and her earnings they have all been educated. The three girls are now teachers, one brother is a physician and the other a civil engineer.

She has never married. In the census she is simply written down as a self-supporting, single woman, aged forty-two—one more to be mourned over, or condemned as unfaithful to her woman's duty of raising a family. But has she not, in the highest sense of the term, raised a family, by lifting into the ranks of the intelligent and educated, five sisters and brothers who might otherwise have remained permanently upon the life level of their drunken laborer father?

The self-supporting woman, however, usually marries. And in part her desire to dress well and to rise socially is due to her ambition to marry well, and thus insure to herself and her children a higher level of existence. The well-dressed girl, with refined friends, can meet and marry a higher type of man than the shabby girl, of unrefined associations. And how can a woman better serve her prospective family, than by marrying a man who will help her up, instead of one who will drag her down?

Thus, in various ways, the self-supporting woman is a direct factor in raising the economic and the social status of her family. That she gives this service at too great a health-cost to herself, is her misfortune and the misfortune of the race. It is not her fault; it is the result of the present organization of industry, which measures prosperity by profits, regardless of the welfare of the workers.

Women have been forced to work, by necessity and by their instinct of industry; but they are laboring under conditions which they have not created, and which they do not approve. They are doing their work in man's way, in the midst of the strenuous conflict which is his idea of business. Women suffer, not because they work, but because they work as men work, under conditions that men have created for themselves.

Where men live, act, or work together, and without women, they are always harsh, often brutal, and sometimes actually savage. The immigrant men who come here live like barbarians, so long as their wives are not with them. But once the women come the whole race moves upward, seeking constantly higher levels.

Let a group of American men, who have been well-behaved members of some quiet, law-abiding eastern community, go to a western frontier town; presently most of them will be carrying knives and revolvers, while half a dozen will have turned into fighting desperados.

So man-managed industry, though it is an improvement on warfare, is still destructive of life. Man the soldier destroys life and property. Man the worker produces property and therefrom preserves it: but he still holds life lightly, as a cheap and plentiful thing. Man, left to the guidance of

his own instincts, will always be lavish of human life; for it does not cost him anything.

So long as industry remains warfare, it is not true industry. It is a sort of hybrid activity, a cross between war and labor, a semi-savage game, unworthy of a developed, humane people. It is as illogical and absurd as "civilized warfare;" and its chief value lies in the fact that it is leading up to something better.

Industry must be civilized—in the interests of woman and of the family. And only the presence of women in industry can civilize it. So long as the woman could live, work, and rear her children in the home, it was perhaps sufficient for her to civilize and humanize the home. But that is not enough today. She must live, work, and rear her children in the outside world as well as in the home. Therefore we must have a civilization that will reach from the heart of the home to the nation's outmost rim.

Men and women are working together, and more and more they will work together. But the conditions under which they work cannot continue to be determined by man's endurance; they will have to be altered to meet woman's need. She, not he, is the sex supremely important to the welfare of the race. "If she be small, weak-natured, miserable, how shall men grow." Wherever men and women live and act together, the conditions of life must be brought to her level, or the race will suffer; and industry must obey this law.

Already our six million working-women have had a humanizing effect upon many of the trades and professions. A direct result of the employment of women has been the whole movement for welfare work—the comfortable rest and lunch rooms, the girls' clubs, the summer vacation homes, the welfare secretary, and the numberless other comforts and helps provided by so many up-to-date factories, shops, and stores. The principal purpose of the Consumers' League is to improve the labor conditions of women—the same motive that animates the workers themselves in their trade organizations and in the Woman's Trade Union League. As working-women increase in skill and numbers, and therefore in influence, they will do still more to modify conditions, and to make the factory like the old-time home—a place of safe, cheerful, and companionable labor.

The great, present-day task of woman is thus to remake the industrial world, to change the basis of industry from war to co-operation, to put people before property, and life before labor. She must teach man that industry is but a means to an end; and that healthy, happy, noble-minded men and women are of more importance than sky-scrapers, factories, and steel rails. In this work, the self-supporting woman of today is the advance guard. She is working not for herself only and for her immediate relatives, but for the nation. She is giving a great social service to the race. And thus she is fulfilling, in a new, large sense, the historic mission of her sex—the nurturing and uplifting of the family.

HIGHER EDUCATION OF WOMEN AND THE FAMILY

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Whatever the virtues of the proprietary family, it does not encourage initiative, least of all feminine initiative. For its own safe-guarding, Manu's dictum is wholly to the point. "By a girl, by a young woman, or even by an aged one, nothing must be done independently, even in her own house"¹ In the mediaeval proprietary family just as in the Hindu there was no place for the innovating woman. In mediaeval and even later days she could be herself only on a throne or in a nunnery or brothel. Elizabeth of England, Elizabeth or Katherine of Russia, and many a less famous princess ignored the institutional family. Like the royal ladies of the African west coast, they made over domestic law in their own favor—substituting polyandry for the prevailing Christian type of polygyny. Other noble ladies in whose souls stirred the power of leadership but for whom no throne, or at least no undivided throne was available, betook themselves to the cloister. Radegund, of France, for example, who was modern enough to keep her royal husband waiting at meals for her, so absorbed was she in "charity"—and I have no doubt that some cross sixth-century paraphrase of "charity begins at home" was thrown at her—Radegund bullied a bishop into consecrating her a deaconess and then founded a nunnery at Poitiers. Here she undoubtedly found it far more agreeable to hob-nob with the notables of her day, one of whom, the poet Fortunatus, called her "the light of his eyes," than to have staid at home subject to the marital temper and occupying the somewhat irksome status of fifth among King Clothacar's seven wives. Conspicuous among other family iconoclasts were Agnes, of Bohemia, who, as soon as her father died, broke her engagement to Fredrich II to found, with papal sanction, a nunnery and hospital at Prague; and Hedwig, of Silesia, another famous founder of hospitals, who after having presented Duke Heinrich with a proper number of progeny, made herself liable to a suit for the restitution of conjugal rights. For any ambitious woman of humble birth who wanted to see the world, to correspond with scholars, to become an artist in caligraphy, embroidery, and miniature painting, to compile history and legendry, to write Latin dramas or *materia medicas*, the cloister was the only open door. If she were too utterly wayward to brook cloistral, as well as familial, discipline, she became an attaché of another institution, whose ways many a nunnery copied and whose inmates were licensed to take part in public processions, to entertain visiting notables and to contribute to the treasury of state and church.

All these queens, nuns, and *femmes de joie* were the celibate or grass-widow pioneers of woman's rights, the ancestresses of the modern emanci-

¹ V, 147.

pated woman. Nor did this genealogy escape popular notice. It is little wonder then that college education for women, one of the first steps of the woman's movement of the nineteenth century, was at first denounced as incompatible with family life.

Besides, it was. The first college women, like their mediaeval forebears, turned their backs on the family, but they were not so much traitors as outcasts. The proprietary family, or what was left of it, had stigmatized them as evitable spinsters, but whether, as one controversialist put it, it was the woman who would not marry who went to college rather than the woman who went to college who would not marry,² or whether the social ostracism or at least suspicion which the pioneer college woman was under itself disqualified her for marriage, must always be an open question. Where she was no longer on the defensive her matrimonial eligibility certainly increased. For example in a study of the marriage-rate of 1078 members of the A. C. A. in 1890 it was shown that of graduates over forty years old 83.3 per cent. of the graduates of western and coeducational colleges were married as against 41.7 per cent. of the graduates of eastern and separate colleges.³ This difference was, of course, due in part to the numerical inferiority and consequent superiority in the strategies of courtship of women at large in the west, but we may also surmise that it was also due to the fact that coeducational colleges are twenty years older than separate colleges and that they accustom the potential husband to the college girl and perhaps vice versa. We may assume that this mutual toleration raises the marriage-rate 6.1 per cent. for the coeducated college girl above the separately educated from a comparison made in 1895 between the marriage-rates of both types of eastern college graduates—the influence of locality being removed.⁴

In all discussion of the unseemly marriage-rates of college women we must also remember that until quite recently it has been difficult to speak with much conclusiveness on the statistics of college women. Their record was too short-lived. For example, out of 705 members of the A. C. A. in 1885, 196 were married and 509 unmarried, giving a marriage-rate of 27.8 per cent., but then only forty-six were over forty years old.⁵ Of the 1805 members of the A. C. A. in 1895, 28.2 per cent. were married, but of the members who were past forty, 54.5 per cent. were married.⁶ This

² *Nation*, I, 330.

³ *The Overland Monthly*, XV (1890), 444.

⁴ Shinn, "The Marriage-Rate of College Women" in *Century Magazine*, XXVIII (1895), New Ser., 947.

⁵ Howes, *Health Statistics of Women College Graduates*, Boston, 1885, pp. 25, 28. We must remember in using these figures that a greater proportion of married than of unmarried members of the A. C. A. withdraw from it.

⁶ Shinn, *op. cit.*, 946.

higher rate is exceeded or approximately by still more recent figures. In 1903 the marriage-rate of graduates of the first ten years of Vassar 1866-76) was 55.41 per cent.; of Smith (1878-88), 42.70 per cent.; of Wellesley (1878-88), 46.55 per cent.⁷

With every allowance, however, the original college girl does not seem to have married at the same rate as her non-college-bred contemporaries—assuming that the superfluous or unmarried woman at large is to be calculated at 20 per cent.

During the last few decades several changes have come over the family which render it much more gracious to the higher education of women. The age of marriage is considerably later than it was. Our grandmothers married in their teens, our mothers in their early twenties, and we between twenty-four and twenty-six.⁸ As the average of graduation from college is twenty-two, or even lower,⁹ we did not have to choose between marriage and college from the point of view at least of life's time schedule.

Then in endless ways girls at large are far freer than they were. Not many mothers could any longer be found who, like Hilary's, would consider a daughter's proposal to work for a man indecent or caution her to always carry a parcel and an umbrella as a safeguard. The object of the nineteenth century's bloodless revolt of the daughters was the assimilation of their lives with those of their brothers, and a college education was naturally down on their programme.

Now the point of view toward the college education of boys has itself undergone a change which has reacted upon popular ideas on the education of girls. As late as the middle of the nineteenth century the college was conceived of as primarily a training place for service in church and state. Two-thirds of its graduates were priests or lawyers.¹⁰ When the churchman began to yield to the business man, and the college became merely a continuation school for the undifferentiated boy, a college education became much more conceivable for the undifferentiated girl.

How closely the college girl has come to approximate in recent years to the type of her home-staying contemporary is seen in the careful study made by Professor Mary Roberts Smith in 1900 of 343 college-bred married women and of their 313 non-college-bred married sisters, cousins, and

⁷ Hall & Smith, "Marriage and Fecundity of College Men and Women," in *Pedagogical Seminary*, X (1903), 301-5.

⁸ In England in 1891 the average age of marrying spinsters was 24.8. In Massachusetts for the twenty-year period, 1875-95, the average age was 25.4 (Smith, 8).

⁹ Howes, *op. cit.*, 16; Shinn, *op. cit.*, 246; over 22 for Vassar, Abbott, "A Generation of College Women" in *Forum* XX (1895-96), 378, 379.

¹⁰ *Yale Review*, VII (1898-99), 341-45.

friends. The average age at marriage for the college woman was 26.3, for her kinswomen and friends 24.3.¹¹

The most interesting point in this study is, I think, the comparison of the reproductive capacity of the two classes of women. The college woman had borne 1.65 children,¹² the non-college woman 1.875. The non-college woman had borne therefore an absolutely larger number of children than the college woman, but in proportion to the number of years of married life the college woman had borne 9 per cent. more children than the non-college women.¹³

And so we see that originally an exile, the college girl has been taken back into the bosom of a penitent family. In earlier days she may have been one of the many factors in the degeneration of the proprietary family. Has she any influence on its present day relics? She marries, bears children or is unable or refuses to bear them much like the non-college-bred woman. Some slight differences between her and the latter there may be. She marries a year or so later. Her marriage-rate is still no doubt comparatively low. She seems to add to the demand for college-bred and profession-following husbands.¹⁴ Divorce statistics might show that she is a comparatively successful wife. Her children may be even a little sturdier or better cared for than those of non-college-bred mothers.¹⁵

But in all these ways is the college woman anything but a particularly emphatic expression of a changing family type? That she is actively accelerating the change in the only way that is at present open I fail to see. Her economic status is just the same as that of the non-collegiate wife. Her daily round of occupations is very much like that of every other housewife.

¹¹ Even this high average is somewhat misleading. It is brought down by a certain number of very early marriages among the non-college women.

¹² For early college classes this rate is, of course, higher. In 1903 the rate per married graduate of the first ten classes of Vassar (1866-76) was 2.03; of Smith (1878-88) 1.99; of Wellesley (1878-88) 1.81 (Hall & Smith, *op. cit.*, 301-5). In 1902 the birth-rate per married graduate of the six Harvard classes from 1872 to 1877 was 1.99 children (*Harvard Graduates Magazine*, XI (1902-3), 356).

¹³ Statistics of College and Non-College Women" in *Publications of the American Statistical Association*, VII (1900-1), 24.

¹⁴ In Professor Smith's study it appeared that three-fourths of the college women married college men, while only one-half of the non-college women married college men. Of the husbands of the college women 65 per cent. were professional men, as against 37 per cent. of those of the non-college women (18).

¹⁵ Of the children of Professor Smith's college-bred mothers 96.3 per cent. had satisfactory health as against 95.4 per cent. of those of the non-college-bred mothers (15).

Her household may be run a little more systematically, but it is run in the traditional way. She too is the vicarious consumer of her husband's wealth, in Professor Verblen's lively terms, the foremost illustration of his power for conspicuous waste.

We have, of course, been considering only the undifferentiated college-bred woman, the woman who may work, who in large numbers does work, a few years after graduation and before marriage, but who at marriage becomes the conventional housewife, who leaves blank space in *questionnaires* calling for her occupation. What of the relation of the college-trained professional woman to the family? In some ways she is in much the same position that the mere college girl once held. She is a family outcast. Her added period of professional training makes a later marriage more likely, although not more necessary. She can get her three or four years' training and apprenticeship before marrying and yet marry at the alumna's average marrying age. If, however, she practices that "art of detachment" which Dr. Osler so relentlessly insists upon for success in his profession at least, she may not marry until two or three years later. Then I surmise that in nine cases out of ten she comes to a parting of the ways, matrimony on the one hand, her profession on the other. Prejudice against married women in schools, in colleges, in government service, in almost any kind of work in fact, her suitor's traditions, the exigencies of his own work, her own traditions or her moral or intellectual faithfulness, one or another insists on a sharp cut answer as to whether she will

run with Artemis

Or yield the breast to Aphrodite.

Unfortunately we have no statistical information about her answer.¹⁰ Nor have we of her answers to the even more interesting questions which confront her if she finds a way to combine matrimony and work. What is the birth-rate in *her* family? What incompatibilities has she found between maternity and professional work? Have they been great enough to force her to undergo either?

Had time allowed I should have liked to have as my contribution to this discussion the outcome of the following three queries made with considerable detail of course to the professional and ex-professional married women of the country. Did you give up your profession at marriage—if so, why? During childbearing and rearing—if so, why? How are you solving the problem of combining marriage and maternity with your profession?

¹⁰ Professor Thwing has pointed out that of 633 distinguished women figuring in Appleton's *Cyclopedia of American Biography*, a publication dated 1886-9, one-half are married (*North American Review*, CLXI (1895), 549, 550); but then we do not know how many of these women took to a career after marriage or merely as a substitute for marriage.

My returns would have been an index to the rate of progress or, according to one's point of view, deterioration, in our contemporaneous family type. The emasculated form of the proprietary family which now prevails is in my opinion bound to persist until the economic status of the wife is altered, until she becomes independent through her own productive labor, whether or not her reproductive work is, as some would have it, state paid. Until she is economically independent she is bound to more or less approximate the harem type. Nor will she until then share equally with their father, either in law or custom, in the control of her children. Moreover, this economic independence must be won by the women of the higher cultural classes before the character of the family can be thereby affected. The hard-driven tenement house-wife who supports her good-for-nothing or unemployed husband, the farmer's wife who works harder than even her hardworking husband, or the factory hand's wife who supplements his wages, are in spite of their labor thoroughly unemancipated women. Because in many ways a more primitive type of woman they are perhaps even more subject to marital mastery than their leisure-class sisters. As Gabriel Jarde has pointed out to us, it is only the people at the top of the scale who have enough social prestige to negotiate radical social changes.

It is then on the fight of the professional woman to get back into the family that the future of the family will depend. But in the present temper of the community and under existing economic conditions it is likely to be a losing fight. Under our wasteful competitive system of production, the worker must adjust himself or herself to the standard economic day, or go to the wall. A whole day's work or no work are the alternatives. People who are capable of a good half or even two-thirds of a day's work are either worn out with over-exertion or forced into unmitigated unproductiveness—a sin against themselves, and an economic loss to society. Many men and almost all women suffer from this economic inelasticity. The working schedule of the potential or actual child-bearer must vary from time to time for the sake of both her productive and reproductive capacity. Women therefore should be peculiarly hospitable to any change in the productive system tending to eliminate competition either between men and women or between child-bearing and non-child-bearing women.

MRS. ISABEL C. BARROWS

It was half past ten when Mrs. Isabel C. Barrows was called on for her word in the discussion. Owing to the lateness of the hour she took but seven minutes, in which brief time she rapidly considered the family itself, in order to see what would be the reaction upon it of outside industries, and of the higher education. The country family was a closer unit, she

believed, than the city family. Any discordant element in it usually found a way to reach urban life. Those who were left worked as a whole for the betterment of the circumstances of the family, and though conditions were often hard yet a fine race of boys and girls was brought up under these influences, even when there was much outdoor work for all. Higher education coming into such a family was also to its advantage.

The city family that had to find outside work for each member was more likely to be a house divided against itself. The effect on the younger members was to lessen their respect for their parents. The effect on the mother, to be looked on as an underpaid wage-earner, a drudge, was also bad, quite aside from the fact that she had to neglect her duties as the head of the house and the mother of the children. No work could be good for any mother in a home unless it increased the respect of husband and children for her. She was justified in letting someone else do her domestic work when she could earn large enough wages to have it better done than she could do it. It may be true that there is a larger birth-rate among working-people who have not troubled themselves about higher, or indeed lower, education, but the birth-rate was of small consequence as compared with the *death-rate*, or the *life-rate*. The number of children dying in such families is appalling. On the contrary though the college woman may have fewer children she takes wiser care of them and the number of deaths in proportion to the births, so far as figures have been ascertained, is highly in favor of the educated woman. It may also be true that she has wider interests, and perhaps employment, that take her much from home, but with her larger earnings she replaces herself in the home so that that does not suffer.

In this country there is another home that one finds much less frequently in Europe, and that is a home made up of two women, usually professional women, but sometimes working-girls, who carry on all the functions of housekeeping, making charming centers for a wide and helpful influence in the community. They not infrequently adopt one or two children, so the mother-love in the heart has an opportunity for expansion and the child grows up in an atmosphere of industry, purity, and self-help, as well as with the spirit to help others.

It may be true, and it is sad, that the number of childless homes is increasing in this country, but Mrs. Barrows did not believe it was true of the majority of American mothers that they were unwilling to bear the joys and sorrows of motherhood. Even if true among the rich and gay, it is not true in the great number of modest homes, where the daily bread is not a source of wearing anxiety. There is much more danger to fear, judging from the painfully accurate paper of Dr. Morrow, that the fault lies not with the overwork nor the overeducation of women, but with the vices of men and the false standard of morals which requires purity of life of women and not of men.

CONCLUDING REMARKS OF PROFESSOR WELLS

However divergent our opinions appear to be I am sure that we all are united in a common aspiration for what is good and helpful to the world in which we live. May I plead for seriousness in the discussions of these questions and emphasize the fact that certain biological conclusions are now well established and cannot safely be ignored in the life of any people?

[We regret that the paper on "The Statistics of Divorce," by Dr. Joseph A. Hill, of the Census Office, which here followed, was not received for publication.—EDITOR.]

IS THE FREER GRANTING OF DIVORCE AN EVIL?

PROFESSOR GEORGE ELLIOTT HOWARD
The University of Nebraska

Increasingly for nearly four centuries the meaning of the freer granting of divorce has challenged the attention of thoughtful men. The moralist, the theologian, and the statesman have each shared generously in the discussion. Now the sociologist takes his turn. Emphatically this morning we have set ourselves a world-problem. It behooves us to use strategy in the attack. Possibly we may contribute most to the solution of the general problem by confining the discussion mainly to the part—by no means a small part—which the American people have in it.

The movement of divorce in the United States during the twenty years, 1887-1906, is now fully disclosed in the great report of the Director of the Census. That report is surprisingly satisfactory to the scientific student, when he considers the shamefully imperfect or totally lacking registration of vital statistics in most of the states and territories; and that the facts presented had to be gathered mainly from the manuscript decrees of some 2,800 divorce courts: which decrees, of course, were not framed to suit the sociologist. These carefully planned tables and luminous interpretations have provided the student of American society with a rich mine for exploitation during many years to come.

The admirable summary just presented by Dr. Hill renders any formal analysis of the report in this paper unnecessary. From that summary it seems reasonably clear that in our country there is a "freer granting of divorce." We need not beg our premise. Divorce is about three times as frequent as it used to be. This is the salient fact. In Europe, too, while the *number* of divorces is relatively small, generally the *rate* is rising. Clearly we are face to face with a phenomenon, huge, portentous. What is its meaning? How should it be interpreted? Assuredly

it signifies somewhere the action of antisocial forces, vast and perilous. Doubtless here we have to do with an evil which seriously threatens the social order, which menaces human happiness; an evil to overcome which challenges our deepest thought, our ripest wisdom, our most persistent courage and endeavor. Is divorce the evil or the symptom? the cause or the effect? the disease or the medicine?

If we appeal to the decision of occidental thought since the Reformation, the answer is perfectly clear. From Luther and Bullinger to Milton and Beza, from Humboldt and Condorcet to the statesmen who have shaped the codes and molded the juridical theories of the twentieth century, always and everywhere the prevailing dictum is that divorce is prescribed as a remedy for a social malady. This is the justification of the divorce policy of the western world. Nay, this theory was acted upon with characteristic thoroughness by the Puritans of old New England. Logically, they instituted civil divorce as the counterpart of civil marriage. The documents of the colonial era, especially an exhaustive examination of the extant manuscript records of the ancient Massachusetts courts for nearly a century and a half, prove conclusively that in form and substance the American type of liberal divorce law and procedure was developed in Puritan days, long before the birth of our federal Union. Is this time-honored theory of divorce false? Is divorce, except perchance on the one "scriptural" ground, immoral, and therefore the fountainhead of the malady which afflicts us? It may be so; for often the sanction of centuries of traditional belief has but perpetuated a dangerous error. That which *is*, of course, is not necessarily a proof of that which *ought* to be.

Let us attack the problem by searching for the basic causes of the divorce movement.

I. IMPERFECT LEGISLATION AND FAULTY JUDICIAL PROCEDURE ARE NOT A PRINCIPAL CAUSE OF THE DIVORCE MOVEMENT

1. A certain, though not a large, percentage of the divorces granted, it must be confessed, is due to bad law and to lax

administration. In other words, if divorce be looked upon as a remedy, the disease which it seeks to cure may actually be spread through the mal-application of that remedy by our legislatures and by our courts. At first glance, this assumption appears to be inconsistent with the facts. A careful examination of the entire legislation of the last two decades reveals a decided improvement in American divorce laws. Gradually more stringent provisions for notice to the defendant have been made, longer terms of previous residence for the plaintiff are required, more satisfactory conditions of remarriage after the decree are prescribed, while some of the worst "omnibus" clauses in the lists of statutory causes have been repealed. Nevertheless, during the period the divorce rate has gained a threefold velocity. This result tends to prove, if proof be needed, that the real grounds of divorce are far beyond the influence of the statute-maker, and to sustain the well-known dictum of Bertillon that laws extending the number of accepted causes of divorce or relaxing the procedure in divorce suits have little influence "upon the increase in the number of decrees." It may indeed be impossible to measure exactly the effects of lax or stringent legislation. Still the reformer need not despair. Without the reforms accomplished the rate might have been higher. From all the evidence available, it seems almost certain that there is a margin, very important though narrow, within which the statute-maker may exert a morally beneficent, even a restraining, influence. He may render the legal environment favorable to the operation of the true remedy. Emphatically there are *good* divorce laws as well as *bad* divorce laws. From its very nature a bad law may become a dead letter, thus tending to destroy the popular reverence for law itself. It may even encourage domestic discord by offering opportunity for evasion, collusion, or lax interpretation. On the other hand, good laws may check hasty impulse and force individuals to take proper time for reflection. For this reason, the adoption of the decree *nisi* should be encouraged; while the sanction by the states of the remarkably sane recommendations of the Washington-Philadelphia divorce congress of 1906 would greatly contribute to the creation of the healthful legal environ-

ment, just mentioned. Eventually, this might aid us in getting at the root of the matter: the fundamental causes of divorce which are planted deeply in the imperfections of the social system—notably in false sentiments regarding marriage and the family; and which, as presently will appear, can only be removed through more rational principles and methods of education.

2. Regarding the effects of law and procedure in several points the report of Director North is enlightening. It is significant that only 15.4 per cent. of the divorces granted in the twenty years (1887-1906) were contested; and "probably in many of these cases," we are told, "the contesting was hardly more than a formality, perhaps not extending beyond the filing of an answer, which often has the effect of expediting the process of obtaining the divorce." The percentage of contested cases is slowly rising; and, except where the cause is adultery, the wife more than the husband is likely to resist the granting of a decree. Divorces on the ground of cruelty are most frequently and those on the ground of desertion least frequently contested. When notice is personally served, 20.4 per cent. of the cases are contested; while only 3.2 per cent. are resisted when notice is by publication. Usually the latter form of notice is "confined to those cases in which the residence and address of the libellee are either unknown or are outside the state in which the suit is brought," implying, "therefore, an existing separation either of considerable duration or of considerable distance or both." Now what is the meaning of these figures? Do they not in actual practice reveal an astonishing leaning toward a freer granting of divorce than that implied even in the enumerated statutory grounds, however ample the list may be? In effect though not in theory, do not these figures disclose a tendency toward dissolution of wedlock by mutual consent or even at the demand of either spouse?

3. On the other hand, the tables here presented confirm the conclusion based on the statistics compiled by Colonel Wright twenty years ago, that interstate migration for divorce has not much contributed to raise the average rate. For a particular state or town the judicial traffic with a divorce colony may be a serious matter; but contrary to the popular notion, on the divorce

movement as a whole the influence of clandestine divorce of this sort is almost negligible. Of the 820,264 divorces during the two decades granted to couples known to have been married in the United States, 21.5 per cent. were married outside the state in which the decree was rendered. But, of course, this does not mean that one couple out of five whose marriage was thus dissolved migrated for the purpose of obtaining divorce. "On the contrary," says Dr. Hill in the *Government Bulletin*, "it is probable that that motive was present in a comparatively small proportion of the total number of cases, and that to a large extent the migration was merely an incident of the general movement of population, which takes place for economic and other reasons, unconnected with the question of divorce." In fact, according to the census of 1890, 21.5 per cent. and by that of 1900, 21 per cent. of the native population were living outside the state or territory in which they were born. Making all due allowance for this striking coincidence of proportions, and considering that the average duration of marriage before divorce is ten years, it seems clear that Mr. Dike's judgment based on the statistics of the first report must still stand: "The establishment of uniform laws," he declared in 1889, "is not the central point" of the divorce problem.

4. Some light is thrown by this investigation on another objection to the modern divorce policy. In effect does not the very existence of liberal divorce laws constitute an incentive to unstable or other bad marriages? Are not risky, temporary, or immoral unions consciously formed in full view of their easy dissolution? The statistics, though inconclusive, afford little or no ground for an affirmative answer. The average duration of divorced marriages is ten years; while 60 per cent. of the total number of such marriages last less than ten years, and 28.5 per cent. of them less than five years. During the first year of married life are granted 2.1 per cent. of all divorces, or 18,876. The number rapidly increases until in the fifth year the maximum of 73,913 divorces or 8.2 per cent. is reached. "From this point on the number steadily diminishes year by year; but it does not fall below the number granted in the first year of married life

until the eighteenth year is reached." There are nearly twice as many divorces in the twelfth year of the wedded life as in the first. Now, when we consider that probably there are more people in the first than in the eighteenth year of married life, and that, as will soon appear, we have more cogent reasons to explain the laxity of the marriage bond during the early period, we are scarcely warranted in assuming that liberal divorce laws in themselves are perceptibly weakening the nuptial tie.

5. On the other hand, if people do not get married in order to be divorced; do they get divorced in order again to be married? Popular opinion answers this question decidedly in the affirmative. Yet in this instance, too, the popular judgment is doubtless wrong. Although only foreign evidence is available to test the point, it is not probable that restrictions upon the re-marriage of divorced persons in any large measure influence the divorce rate. Prussian and Swiss statistics, now too old to be very satisfactory, show that divorced men re-wed during the first three years at about the same rate as do widowers; while divorced women remarry somewhat more rapidly than widows.

II. THE MODERN DIVORCE MOVEMENT IS AN INCIDENT OF A TRANSITION PROCESS IN SOCIAL EVOLUTION; AND HENCE IT IS DUE PRIMARILY TO SOCIAL MIS-SELECTION AND THE CLASH OF IDEALS

1. As a general result of the foregoing discussion it may perhaps be admitted that, however harmful are the effects of bad law and administration, we must dig deeper to reach the secret of our problem. Of a truth, to the serious student of social evolution the accelerated divorce movement appears clearly as an incident in the mighty process of spiritual liberation which is radically changing the relative positions of man and woman in the family and in society. Through a swift process of individualization for the sake of socialization the corporate unity of the patriarchal family has been broken up or even completely destroyed. More and more wife and child have been released from the sway of the house-father and placed directly under the larger social control. The new solidarity of the state is being won

at the expense of the old solidarity of the family. The family bond is no longer coercion but persuasion. The tie which holds the members of the family together is ceasing to be juridical and becoming spiritual. More and more the family is dominated by the sociogenetic or cultural forces and less and less by the so-called "natural" or phylogenetic desires. Essentially the family-society is becoming a psychic fact. Beyond question the individualization for the sake of socialization is producing a loftier ideal of the marital union and a juster view of the relative functions of the sexes in the world's work. Immediately, from the very nature of the process it has inured most to the advantage of the woman. In the family, it is releasing her from *manu viri* and making her an even member of the connubial partnership; in the larger society, it is accomplishing her political, economic, and intellectual independence. In a word, it is producing a revolution which means nothing less than the socialization of one-half of human kind.

Now, this process of individualization, of liberation, is not yet complete. Indeed, its swiftest progress, its most visible results, belong to the last fifty years. Emphatically we are at the height of the transition from the old régime to the new. Therefore, it is not strange that there should be frequent mis-selection, many maladjustments of newly sanctioned social relations. The old forces of social control have been weakened faster than the new forces have been developed. The old legal patriarchal bonds have not yet been adequately replaced by spiritual ties. There is frequent and disastrous clash of ideals. The new and loftier conception of equal rights and duties has rendered the husband and wife, and naturally the wife more often than the husband, sensitive to encroachment, and therefore the reaction is frequent and sometimes violent. In the present experimental stage, the finer and more delicately adjusted social mechanism is easily put out of order. The evil lurks, not in the ideals, but in the mistakes of the social builder.

2. In the light of these facts, let us now examine the problem of divorce.

First of all, it is significant that liberty of divorce has a

peculiar interest for woman. The wife more frequently than the husband is seeking in divorce an escape from marital ills. During the two decades (1887-1906) in the whole country over 66 per cent. of all decrees were granted on the wife's petition. Among the principal causes only for adultery was the number granted to the husband (59.1 per cent.) greater than the number granted to the wife; and in this case, were social justice attained, who can doubt that the ratio would be reversed? In large measure, directly or indirectly, this anomaly is due to the vicious dual standard of morality by which society still measures the sexual sins of man and woman, to the woman's disadvantage. The divorce movement, it is safe to say—and we shall gain more light on the subject presently—is in large part an expression of woman's growing independence.

3. Again, the process of liberation whose character has just been explained enables us to understand the underlying motive of the state in sanctioning an ever-extending list of legal causes of divorce. In the main, making all due allowance for mistakes, does not each new ground in effect give expression to a new ideal of moral fitness, of social justice, of conjugal rights? As civilization advances, the more searching is the diagnosis of social disease and the more special or differentiated the remedy. It is not necessarily a merit, and it may be a grave social wrong, to reduce the legal causes for a degree to the one "scriptural" ground. Adultery is not the only way of being unfaithful to the nuptial vow; not the only mode of betraying child or spouse or society. For example, the most enlightened judgment of the age heartily approves of the policy of some states in extending the causes so as to include intoxication from the habitual use of strong drinks or narcotics as being equally destructive of conjugal happiness and family welfare. Decidedly it is not a virtue in a divorce law, as often appears to be assumed, to restrict the application of the remedy, regardless of the sufferings of the social body. Indeed, considering the needs of each particular society, the promotion of happiness is the only safe criterion to guide the law-maker in either widening or narrowing the door of escape from bad marriages.

4. A glance at the tables showing the relative number of decrees on each principal ground granted to the husband or to the wife, respectively, reveals the deep interest which the woman has in the divorce remedy. In 83 per cent. of all decrees granted for cruelty, in 90.6 per cent. of those granted for drunkenness, and 100 per cent. of those granted for neglect to provide, the husband was the offender and the wife the plaintiff. That the sources of the divorce movement are bad social conditions which may be remedied is illustrated by the sinister fact that directly or indirectly 184,568 divorces, or nearly 20 per cent. of the entire number reported for the two decades, were granted for intemperance; and in nine-tenths of these cases the culprit was the man. Surely the situation calls loudly, not for less divorce, but for less liquor and fewer saloons.

The extent to which divorce is due to desertion challenges our most serious attention. The number of decrees on this ground reaches the astounding total of 367,502 or nearly 38.9 per cent. of the entire number on all grounds for the two decades. Moreover, of the whole number of decrees granted to the husband for all causes, 49.4 per cent. (156,283) or nearly half were for desertion; while 33.6 per cent. (211,219) or one-third of all those granted to the wife were for the same cause. Here too, the woman is the chief sufferer and the chief beneficiary. The causes of the phenomenon of desertion are doubtless complex; but in a remarkable way it is a signal proof of a transition phase in American society. In large measure, is it not due to our vast sociological frontier, urban as well as rural? The martial renegade is lured by the ease with which under the existing conditions of social control he may hide himself on the range, in the lumber camp, in the mines, and amid the seething purlieus and slums of our great cities. Now for the abandoned family desertion often involves the bread-and-butter problem which the aggrieved spouse must have full liberty to solve. What is the remedy? Assuredly not the restriction of divorce, but the proper punishment of the deserter and the civilization of the sociological frontier.

5. There remains for consideration one more source of the divorce movement, and that the most prolific source of all. In no other way, perhaps, has mis-selection, the failure to develop methods of social control adequate to the new psychic character of the family been so harmful as in dealing with marriage. No one who in full detail has carefully studied American matrimonial legislation can doubt for an instant that, faulty as are our divorce laws, our marriage laws are far worse. There is scarcely a conceivable blunder left uncommitted; while our apathy, our carelessness and levity, regarding the safeguards of the marriage institution are well-nigh incredible. We are far more careful in breeding cattle or fruit trees than in breeding men and women. Let me repeat what I have more than once written: the great fountain head of divorce is bad marriage laws and bad marriages. The center of the dual problem of reforming and protecting the family is marriage and not divorce. One "Gretna Green" for clandestine marriages, like that at St. Joseph, Mich., is the source of more harm to society than are a dozen "divorce colonies" like that at Sioux Falls, S. D. Indeed, the "marriage resort" is the fruitful mother of the divorce colony. There is crying need of a higher ideal of the marriage relation; of more careful "artificial selection" in wedlock. While bad legislation and a low standard of social ethics continue to throw recklessly wide the door which opens to marriage, there must of necessity be a broad way out.

To the sixteenth-century reformer divorce is the medicine for the disease of marriage. Emphatically it remains so today. The wise reformer must deal with causes and not with effects. He will recognize that in a general but very real sense the divorced man or woman is a sufferer from bad social conditions. He will not waste his energy in unjustly punishing divorced people although some of them may deserve punishment. Rather he will strive to lessen the social wrongs of which the divorced man or woman is the victim. Let ecclesiastical synods, if they would serve society, concern themselves more with restraining the original marriages of the unfit. Let them reflect on the social wickedness of joining in wedlock the innocent girl with the

rich or titled rake; of uniting in the nuptial bond those who are tainted by inherited or acquired tendencies to disease and crime.

Therefore, to the question today put to me: "Is the freer granting of divorce an evil?" I answer: While social disease increasingly menaces the health and happiness of the family—and this in part because the family ideal is rising—a more liberal application of relief is just and righteous. It is not without significance that the highest divorce rate is found in two of the most enlightened and democratic nations in the world—Switzerland and the United States. Yet divorce is merely a healing medicine for marital ills. It is needful to apply the radical or preventive remedy. That remedy is proper social control; but adequate social control can be achieved only through the thorough socialization of education. We are in sore need of a rational system of education broad enough to embrace the whole complex problem of sex, marriage, and the family. That is the noblest and the hardest task which now confronts the American people.

DISCUSSION

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The paper of Professor Howard, it is enough to say, is worthy of the author of the monumental *History of Matrimonial Institutions* and admirably brings the subject before us. Let me first make some random remarks suggested by his statement of facts.

I should say that divorce is both the evil and the symptom, both the cause and the effect, both the disease and the remedy or relief. Nor let us forget that divorce implies the confession of the helplessness of the case. That is, so far as the family in question is concerned, it is not a case for remedial treatment but for surgery. From one point of view every application for divorce presents the question: Is the case hopeless except as we use the knife and sever the bond? Have the parties themselves, their friends, and society used every possible means for recovery, and are we taking the judicial knife as the last resort?

Let us beware, too, of taking certain percentages in the statistics at their face value. For example, that women are petitioners in 67 per cent. of the cases does not so much indicate that women are the chief sufferers to that extent as that it points to the probability that it is often more convenient for the wife to bring the suit. Desertion, cruelty, drunkenness, and non-support are made to cover a multitude of other marital sins. The technical grounds chosen for a divorce are often those most easily worked with little regard to their reality. Mutual consent as the real cause is

probably increasing, perhaps rapidly. The large percentage of uncontested cases shows this. While women are more frequently the sufferers than men I think it probable that among certain classes the demand for dress and other luxuries, social ambitions, and sometimes aversion to motherhood, as well as the selfishness and excessive sexual demands on the part of men, have much to do with divorce.

That easy divorce is something of an incentive to hasty and inconsiderate marriage is clear from positive private testimony rather than from any statistics on the point. One of our states, Connecticut, furnishes from its registration reports confirmation of Professor Howard's opinion that divorces as a rule do not issue in a speedy remarriage and that many divorced persons do not marry again. The number of divorced persons married in Connecticut for several years is about 40 per cent. of the number divorced in the same time. And the fact brought out in the government report that on the average six years elapses between separation and the application for divorce and three years more between the application and the divorce points very clearly to the probability that the desire for another marriage is not present at the time of the seeking of divorce in a large majority of the cases as has been hitherto supposed. Then the restrictions many states are now making on the remarriage of divorced persons does not seem to affect the divorce-rate very much. What Professor Howard says of the limited extent of migration for divorce is quite true. An examination of the statistics of the Dakotas by counties shows that the illicit divorce business in those states was confined to three or four counties and that the state as a whole was not very far from normal.

To my mind one of the most serious evils of our divorce business is suggested by the fact that in the last twenty years the percentage of divorces that occurred after twenty-one years of married life was 10.2 per cent. of the entire number of those divorced in the last twenty years and, what is more significant still, has risen to 10.2 per cent. from 7.8 per cent. in the preceding twenty-year period, an increase of 40 per cent. in twenty years. It is true that in one aspect of the case this is less of an evil than divorce earlier in married life. But I think careful reflection will discover a grave evil in it.

But now let us pass to some considerations which the second part of Professor Howard's paper suggests. His main proposition is that "the modern divorce movement is an incident of a transition process in social evolution; and hence it is due primarily to social mis-selection and the clash of ideals." Now while I think him substantially correct in this I would, for one, put the case a little differently. The word "transition" implies too much of suddenness and I think that "mis-selection" and the phrase "clash of ideals" do not quite cover the ground. I would state it in somewhat less of the terminology of scientific sociology. Perhaps I may use the generalization of Sir Henry S. Maine in his *Ancient Law*, when in looking

over the drift of western society for more than two thousand years he said that modern society had been marked by a movement from the family to the individual and from status to contract, the two movements having gone on together. In other words, contract, which underlies most business law, has taken the place of status in our treatment of most social relations, and along with it and as its cause too, has gone the substitution of the individual as the unit of social thought for the family. The growth of the larger combinations has been very largely at the expense of the family notwithstanding their reinforcement of it in many ways.

The divorce movement is probably the most momentous of the evil consequences of this fundamental social change. The movement for the larger political rights of woman and for her greater industrial opportunities has gone along with it. And, as Maine also pointed out elsewhere, the movement in behalf of woman is not so much a movement in the interests of sex as it is a movement in the interests of property. It is the influence of property compelling woman to find an easier place under its industrial yoke that is forcing women into the ranks of the industries. The growth of property tends first to separate out individuals, both men and women, from all lesser corporate forms, like the family and the small business corporation, and, secondly, to combine them in the largest possible unities. Anarchy and socialism are the extremes of the outcome. The family, the primary social group, is between the upper and nether millstone of this process. Of course the great spiritual appeal of Christianity and of society to the individual during the centuries has had its part in the movement.

As a consequence of this profound social movement we have on the one hand the growth in much that is healthful for the individual and the development of the useful corporate institutions of modern society. But on the other hand we have an intense individualism with all its disintegrating forces. Egoism and selfishness do their destructive work in this soil. The family loses its organic character in the eyes of many and becomes a mere *modus vivendi*, dependent on the simple contract of business for its formation and easily dissolved by agreement of the parties who made it. This is the theory of the social contract, which we discarded in our Civil War, applied to the most fundamental of all social institutions. And here lies the political mischief of our lax divorce system.

But it has other than mere political evils. The 72,000 divorces annually, involving twice as many persons as husbands and wives, and about as many more children, and almost as directly as many more relatives are poisoning society quite as disastrously in other ways. For among the divorced reverence for each other, regard for the rights of others, love, sacrifice, and service as the nourishment of the sources of character are often entirely gone or sadly weakened. Industrial ambitions are lessened, frugal habits discouraged and the intellectual and moral training of a happy home that depends on a wholesome, honest facing of burdens, is

weakened. In short the very warp into which is woven that religious, intelligent, industrious, and patriotic domestic life which makes the fabric of the nation is enfeebled at the place where of all others it should be strongest. The relief to the suffering individual is purchased at fearful cost to the social value of the individual, which after all is absolutely essential to his own perfection. The real problem is that of the family, whether we consider divorce, unchastity, lack of offspring, or the more subtle, yet I think more dangerous of its ills—those which come through the disuse of the family in the transfer of its legitimate functions to church, school, and other substitutes for the home.

The direct influence of lax laws in producing the great increase of divorce in the last forty years is relatively small. On the whole the lax measures added to the statutes of our states in the last forty years have been few and comparatively unimportant. And the tendency of legislation the last twenty years has been decidedly in the direction of greater stringency. The systems that we now have are largely a legacy from colonial days and the early settlements of the West. The remedies must be sought chiefly, though by no means wholly, in other directions. The instructions of the church and the school, better industrial conditions and an improved social sentiment must be our chief reliance for reform. We need what may be called the socialization of the individual through his better adjustment to society as a whole and that must come about through his better adjustment to the family and the other corporate institutions of society.

If divorce is due "to mis-selection and the clash of ideals," a form of statement that seems to me somewhat inadequate, nevertheless I do not think the correction of ideals or better selections necessarily the immediate cure of the evil or the chief means of meeting the difficulty. While undoubtedly better selections should be made and higher ideals held, yet there is more need of recognizing the value of loyalty to relations already existing, both for the good of society and the perfection of individual character. The moral cowardliness that runs away from a situation because it is hard is not a good thing out of which to make the men and women whom society needs. The ideal of a lifelong union in which hardships are used for the discipline of life should be the goal before us—that and not the feeble adjustment of laws and institutions to human weaknesses and whims should be our aim, toward whose attainment we should move as fast as we can. We should remember that in social evolution mutations are far more possible than in the lower ranges of life. For here and in proportion as we rise in the scale of being, the human will comes in as a mighty factor for changing the trend of movement. Human society has no business to succumb to drifting tendencies in its evolution. For it is called upon to resist tendencies and to shape them toward the highest ends.

The first stage in modern society found the husband and wife merged

in one and that one, as Blackstone put it, the husband. The second stage has made them two individuals only with all the perils of individualism. May we not now have come to a third stage in which we are to find, not simply two individuals living in contractual relations, but two persons finding their relations to each other not only as individuals but as members of the family, which is something more than the sum of the parts composing it? To bring this about do we not need something more than a selfishly individualistic struggle for the narrow ideals of self? Must not the forces from within be directed and inspired to an evolution that finds its highest incentives from without? And may not what we need from the church be, not dogmas on divorce, but inspiration toward the highest ideals and real leadership in that direction?

THE MARRING OF THE MARRIAGE BOND

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We are told that divorces are increasing three times as fast as our population; that during the past twenty years the marital bonds of nearly two millions of husbands and wives were legally severed; that, taking the United States as a whole, no less than one marriage in twelve has terminated by divorce; that in some states the proportion is as high as one to seven; that the number of divorces in our country is larger than that of all the European countries combined.

This report, though no surprise to those who have observed the trend of things in late years, has startled the nation, and has kept the prophets of ill quite busy since its publication. Some of these are practically counting the days when marriage will be no more. Basing their estimate on the present rate of divorce, they claim that in the year 1920 every marriage entered into will ultimately be severed by the law. Trial marriage, advocated a few years ago as a novelty, according to their view, has become a reality. When men and women plight their troth before a preacher or magistrate it is no more for a union that shall last "until death do them part" but until such time as the one shall cease to care for the other. But a step, they assert, separates trial marriage from that free love which is being advocated in some of our latter-day novels and plays, and large is the number of those who have already passed from one to the other. Man's modern conception of marriage, according to them, is largely that of the poultry yard. Men and women, having been polygamous and polyandric in the remote past, are fast reverting to the primitive and bestial type out of which thousands of years of civilization have labored hard to lift them. So great has become the corroding influence of prosperity on marital morality that, when the passions bid, there religion and law forbid in vain.

While the facts and figures contained in the latest census report are

saddening, I fail to find in them a reason for utter disheartenment, or for such predictions of calamities as foretold by our prophets of ill.

At times I am rather inclined to find in those figures a hope of brighter days coming, of a nobler conjugal life and a larger domestic happiness than have yet obtained in human society. When I analyze the causes of unhappy marriages, when I note by whom, for the most part, divorces are sought, to whom they are granted, and for what cause, when I find that two-thirds of the divorces are granted to wronged women, that wives find it more and more insufferable to continue yoked to husbands who have disgraced their manhood, who have violated the sanctity of womanhood, who have polluted the purity of the marital tie—when these facts I note, I see the coming day when marriage will have a far different meaning from what it has now, when entrance into it will constitute a coveted privilege, not a convenience or speculation or diversion, when purity not purse will constitute the absolutely necessary prerequisite, when all the honor that is now demanded of women will be demanded of man, when a lack of it in man will constitute as much of a bar to marriage, or to continuance in it, as a lack of it now constitutes a bar for woman.

That there are more divorces in our country than there are in Europe we freely grant, but we do not prepare to grant that the fewer European divorces are a sign of a larger morality than is found among us, or of a higher regard for the sacredness of marriage, or of a greater respect for womanhood.

The less number of divorces in European countries is due principally to the fact that in a large number of them the church, as well as the law, forbids divorce. A wife in those countries may suffer the agonies of hell, her husband may neglect her, starve her, abuse her, outrage her, dishonor her, he may be a drunkard, an idiot, a brute, a criminal, he may consort illicitly with a dozen other women, there is no help for her, she is yoked to him for life, she can escape from him only through the gateway of the grave. Although half a dozen matchmakers may have labored assiduously to effect the match, and although parents and notaries may have haggled long over the dower settlement, religion and law proceed in these countries on the theory that the match was made in heaven, and what God has joined, no man may sunder.

And in many of those European countries where divorce is permitted, woman has been so long accustomed to masculine tyranny, to being lorded over, to being regarded as belonging to a lower order of beings, to possessing few if any rights, to being wholly dependent on man, to being treated as a household drudge, as a man's sport, as a mere child-bearer and child-raiser, that no matter how great the injustice she suffers, no matter how great the indignity heaped upon her, she regards it her duty to lick the hand that strikes her, to honor the man that dishonors her, to submit to every whim of her lord and master, to bear her cross with

patience and with resignation, for such is the lot of woman, such is the will of her Father in heaven.

Not so the American woman. Occupying a position of equality with man, she insists upon her equal rights. The honor and virtue demanded of her she demands of her husband. She does not believe in one standard of morality for the wife, and another kind for the husband. Responsible for the moral well-being of her children, she will have their father as well as their mother serve them as exemplars in virtue. What constitutes moral guilt in woman constitutes it no less in man. Her whole nature rebels against that injustice that forever expels from decent society the woman that is led astray, while it opens wide the best of homes and the best of marital chances to the moral leper, if his bankruptcy in morals is compensated by a plethora of wealth. She has not yet discovered, and never will, that difference in sex constitutes a warrant for different morals. To her the seventh commandment, as well as the other laws of similar import, are as binding upon the man as upon the woman. If her husband would keep her love and respect, he must, in turn, continue to give her all the love and respect to which her womanhood, her wifehood, her motherhood are entitled. It is well enough to teach the duty of blessing those that curse, loving those that hate, but woman, with all the divinity in her soul, is after all but human, and she cannot forever go on blessing where she is cursed, loving where she is hated. When much sinned against she has all she can do to keep herself from sinning; at times, alas, her struggle is hopeless and she succumbs.

The true American woman will not, cannot, condone moral depravity in her husband, in the father of her children. As pure as he wants her so pure does she want him, or not at all. Her nature revolts against continuing in holy wedlock, in its full meaning, with a man whose every thought is vice, whose every breath is pollution, whose body is a sink of corruption, a whited sepulcher. For the sake of the public she will suffer quietly, much, and long, but in the end, she will value her self-respect more than the public's gossip, and free herself from a presence that poisons her moral atmosphere, that debases her body, soul, and mind. Possessing the American spirit of independence, not afraid or ashamed to work, capable of self-direction, she will free herself from a bondage that is more painful to her than self-support and self-dependence can ever be. A thousand times rather will she brave alone the hardships of life, a thousand times rather will she battle alone single-handed for a livelihood for herself and her children, then continue in wedlock with a man whose troth at the marriage altar was a lie, whose professions of lasting love were but a hollow mockery, whose motive for marriage was but a bestial or mercenary one, who, notwithstanding sacred pledges given before God and man, continues after marriage the revels and debaucheries that marked his preparation for the holy state of matrimony.

But man is not the only transgressor against the sacredness of marriage. Woman, too, bears a large share of the responsibility for the present-day frequency of marital separations. We were told that two-thirds of our annual divorces were granted to wives. What of the one-third that is granted to husbands? What of the desecration of the marital tie by woman? Considering the nature of womanhood, its greater seclusion and protection, its larger and longer training in modesty and self-control, considering all this, is not the charge against woman as great as that against man?

The preparation which young women are given in all too many homes is but a training calculated to lead in the shortest time possible from the marriage altar to the divorce court. From the day the daughter enters young womanhood, the chief thought of such homes is man-catching. To that end, no expense is spared, no extravagance denied, no field barred, no artifice shunned, that shall enable the gorgeously decked-out huntress quickest to entrap her victim, and to bring him conquered to her feet.

With too many parents there seems to be little consciousness that, besides a body to hang clothes upon, and besides certain social accomplishments with which to charm, the marriageable daughter has also a mind, a heart, a soul, a pair of hands, that require training in the science and art of keeping the husband contented and happy within the home of her sovereignty, and keeping herself contented and happy with the prize she has won. There is no preparation for the needs and responsibilities of domestic life, of home-companionship, of economic housekeeping. There is no knowledge of the art of settling down contentedly and happily with the man to whom she is linked for life, no skill in harmonizing differences of tastes and temperaments, which unharmonized, often prove disastrous to early married life. There is no love implanted for the sacred joys of motherhood. There is no knowledge of the meaning of the word "help-mate." There is no conception of the difficulties involved in earning money, seeing how lavishly it is being expended upon her, seeing with what readiness her every demand for it is supplied.

There is probably no thought which occupies a young society woman more than the thought of being married; there is probably no thought which occupies her less than that of how to be happy when married, or how to make her husband happy.

Entering upon marriage with such a conception of its meaning, with such resolutions, it is not difficult to tell what its ending will be. When a young wife's hands and mind have nothing useful to do, they soon turn to the unuseful and ignoble. When a wife does not know the art of home-making, she soon opens for the husband the doors of other homes. When a wife has no love for her husband, when she refuses him her sympathy, encouragement, and companionship, a husband is very apt to seek these where he can find them. When a wife seeks to wield the

authority of the husband, she soon loses the privileges of the wife. When a wife's time is so much occupied with society as to have little or no time for a husband, it is not long before he finds those who have plenty of time for him. When a wife, of her own free will, bars out of her life the blessing of maternity, and with it a peace of heaven, she is very apt to send her matrimonial bark adrift without anchorage, and to increase the danger of its foundering upon the rocks of discontent, dissension, and disunion. When a wife accustoms herself to seek her pleasures outside of her home, and without her husband, she not only points to her husband where he is to seek and find his pleasures, but also runs the danger of accustoming each other to seek apart pleasures that are forbidden. When a wife burdens her husband with extravagances beyond his ability to satisfy, she but hastens the day when he will endure neither the burden nor the wife. When, vampire-like, a wife saps a man of his manhood instead of inspiring his soul with strength and enthusiasm to fight his battles and win his victories as behooves a helpmate, she soon finds herself unable to live contentedly at the side of the wreckage of her making. When a wife feels that she cannot do without the extravagances which her husband will not or cannot grant, and if she has no resources of her own, she will endeavor to obtain them from others than her husband, and, not infrequently, at a cost for which settlement is made in the divorce-court.

It is not whether there shall be one way or another way or no way at all out of marriage that is of prime import to society, but that couples shall live so happily together that there shall be no need of any exit at all. The real remedy lies not in making divorce difficult or impossible, but in making entrance into marriage hard, in taking every precaution in advance that those who join in holy wedlock for life shall possess those absolutely necessary prerequisites that may render possible a healthy, happy, sacred marital union.

What better illustration of the truth of this than that which is afforded us by the history of the Jewish people?

Their code of law recognized the right of divorce from the very first, and granted it for offenses far less weighty than those for which divorces are issued in even so obliging a state as Dakota. And yet, notwithstanding this readiness of the law to dissolve marital unions even for slight offenses, divorces in Israel were exceedingly rare. And rare have they continued in Israel to this day, because the care that was exercised in olden days with regard to a proper entrance to marriage, with regard to a proper preparation for it, and a proper behavior while in it, is, for the most part, exercised to this day.

The chief care of society must therefore be the prevention of the rise of marital misery, so that divorce, rigorous or lenient, may become wholly unnecessary. The present large number of divorces will, I believe, effect,

before long the needed cure. Where the church has failed the divorce court will succeed.

Alarmed at last by the large number of marital separations, parents will inquire into the cause, and but a little search will show them that they themselves bear a large part of the responsibility. And the young woman, too, will recognize the seriousness of marriage, and will duly fit herself for it. She will recognize that it is largely the wife who makes or mars the home, that, however desirable a butterfly-life may be in maidenhood, it has no place in the wedded state.

DR. J. P. LICHTENBERGER, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

I wish personally to express my appreciation of the admirable paper presented by Professor Howard. In the first half of the caption of the second division of his paper it seems to me he has given us not only the clue to the answer of the question under discussion but the basis for the right understanding of the whole divorce movement. My contribution to the discussion, therefore, will be little more than a confirmation of the conclusions to which he has so skilfully led us. His contention that the divorce movement is the product of causes inherent in our modern social situation is strengthened by a study of the correlation of the statistical curve of the increasing divorce-rate with those representing the growth of population, the movement in civil and ecclesiastical legislation and those describing such social phenomena as suicide and insanity. Population shows a relatively constant ratio, and, as Mr. Hill has pointed out, cannot account for the divorce-curve. Professor Howard stated, a fact easily confirmed, that civil legislation has tended slightly toward stringency, while a careful survey of the enactments of the churches comprising the Inter-Church Conference on Marriage and Divorce reveals a purposive and vigorous effort to meet the exigencies of an accelerated divorce-rate by restrictive measures on the part of the clergy and the church. If effective, or even greatly influential, the divorce-rate should have shown, in the second period, a diminution. As a matter of fact, there is no perceptible correlation between "the threefold velocity" which the divorce-rate has gained in the last twenty years and these movements. The case is different when we turn to those phenomena which are clearly the product of social causes. I quote from Morselli on suicide (p. 152): "The relation between the number of suicides and the general economical conditions is demonstrated by the continuous growth of the former in the century which beyond all others has witnessed the development of commercial relations, and the perfecting of the industrial arts by science. It seems almost as if the character of an epoch is reflected in that phenomenon of our social life, namely, the increase of psychological aberrations, nay, this reflection is such, that by the variable average alone, either of the mad or of suicides,

or of criminals, the economical well-being of a year or of a country can be determined." The thoughtful investigator will not be at all surprised to find that the divorce rate bears a striking correlation to the phenomena here described, and Morselli, with equal propriety, might have included divorce among his indices of general prosperity. Unfortunately the waste products of an advancing civilization have often been mistaken for the signs of social deterioration and attention has been focused at the wrong point. Remedial measures have often hindered a process they were designed to help. We might as well seek to stop suicide by prohibitive legislation as divorce. The sane method, as Professor Howard has indicated, is constructive treatment of the causes rather than destructive treatment of results. Marriage, in the aspect we are discussing, is the legal sanction of the social custom of the family. It is dependent upon law neither for its institution nor for its perpetuation. We need to get rid of the fear that the family will disintegrate unless held together by law. The family always has and probably always will arise and disintegrate as the necessities of life require with scant regard for our laws on the subject.

It would be bold and presumptuous, within the limits of a ten-minute paper, to attempt to present a classification of the inherent causes which have produced "the mighty process of spiritual liberation" which Professor Howard assigns as the general cause of the freer granting of divorce. But since this spiritual process has material foundations it may not be amiss briefly to note them.

1. The roots of social causation lie deep in the soil of physical processes. Social institutions enjoy no exemption from the law of survival. A dynamic physical environment is destined to produce radical changes in the psychological and social processes. Therefore, in the new adjustment of the family, necessitated by the industrial revolution, are to be found, not only the causes of much domestic infelicity, but changed ideals regarding the family. Rising standards of living, pressure of the modern economic life upon the home, the passing of the economic function of the family and the economic emancipation of women are among the most important material facts which have produced changed ideas and ideals and serve as a partial basis on which to explain the movement toward spiritual liberation.

2. The struggle for social liberation in the United States has been particularly rapid since the Civil War. Individualism has thriven on our soil. Free from inherited traditions regarding the sacredness of institutions, inherent in a monarchical or despotic form of government, Americans assume toward them the same attitude as toward government itself. Institutions exist to promote "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. When for any reason they become destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish them and to organize new ones, laying their foundations on such principles and organizing their powers in such form

as to them shall seem most likely to effect their welfare and happiness." (Slightly paraphrased.) The popularization of law, increased popular learning, and the improved social status of women, conspire to render intolerable domestic conditions placidly endured under the régime of economic necessity and patriarchal authority.

3. These arguments seem to me implicit in Professor Howard's generalizations and I have merely called attention to them, but a third of no less vital and fundamental importance he has omitted. I refer to the transition in religious and ethical concepts which has taken place in the same period.

Since Darwin published his *Origin of Species* in 1859, the whole intellectual process has been transformed. The old static, dualistic view of the world has been replaced by the new scientific outlook with its evolution-concept and its stringent genetic method. What are the results in the sphere of religion and ethics? Two generations have witnessed the passing of the dogmatic age in Protestant theology. The heresy trials of the last few decades witness the throes of transition as clearly as strikes and riots do the struggle of readjustment in the industrial world. The time-honored landmarks of religious authority have been obliterated and the new basis has not yet been fully established. The case is not different in the sphere of ethics. With the changed point of view have come new ethical valuations. The stern morality of Puritanism, based on theoretical standards, is being replaced by a practical morality arising out of our changed social conditions. As a combined result, virtue no longer consists in literal obedience to arbitrary standards set by community or church but rather in conduct consistent with the demands of a growing personality. Whereas piety in marriage once consisted in loyalty to the institution, and any suffering which might arise was to be endured rather than to bring reproach upon an institution vested with peculiar divine sanction, today our revised ethical and religious ideas cause us to feel that marriage was made for man and not man for marriage, and that the moral value of marriage lies in the mutual happiness of those who enter into it. Popular moral sentiment, which more than ever regards the ideal marriage as the supreme method of realizing the perpetuity and education of the race, nevertheless recognizes worse evils than divorce and has come not only to approve but to encourage the breaking of the conventional marriage tie to the crushing of the human spirit.

A group of practical consequences are thus brought into view as the result of a rising and not a falling standard of ethics.

1. There is a growing intolerance of evils formerly endured. Assume that the moral status of marriage conditions remains the same and that moral perception is clarified. The result will be precisely the same as if the moral consciousness should remain undisturbed while immorality increased. Improved ethical standards or increased ethical culture may

therefore become as efficient disturbing causes as increased immorality. Until the time comes when moral conduct shall more nearly conform to improved moral ideals, the high divorce-rate will continue to be a vigorous protest against the discrepancy.

2. Practical ethics knows no distinction of sex and the "vicious dual standard of morality by which society still measures the sexual sins of men and women to the woman's disadvantage" is deemed ultimately to disappear.

3. Ideals compatible with the nature of the economic family of necessity are inadequate under improved ethical and religious standards. As the family ministers less to the necessities of life it ministers more to its amenities. A relation deficient in the higher ethical values, easily endured, if at all perceived, in the family whose coherence rested chiefly upon its economic advantage, may furnish the strongest motive for disintegration in the family based upon mutual happiness and helpfulness.

4. Perhaps the chief effect of the causes we are considering is manifest in the development of the new basis of sexual morality. As the function of the family undergoes the transition from that of practical expediency to the higher functions, uncongeniality and incompatibility become more serious matters. They are quite as capable of destroying the purpose of marriage as much graver difficulties under the old régime. Ethical values come to reside in those qualities of mutual attraction and preference which constitute the new basis of marriage. Aside from certain modifying limitations of social utility, sincere affection is coming to be recognized by society as the only normal and decent basis for marriage and parenthood. It is from this point of view that we begin to regard all marriages based upon economic or social advantage as a bargain in sex and a form of legalized prostitution. And furthermore, that coercion, whether on the part of church or state, which compels one person to live with another person of the opposite sex in repugnant conjugal relations, does violence to all the finer ethical instincts of the soul and thus comes to be regarded as a species of despotism incompatible with free institutions.

If these generalizations are approximately correct, then it is certainly clear that the actual compelling forces in the sphere of religion and ethics are not ecclesiastical enactments and reactionary clerical resolutions which represent the conservative influences in the church, but those which reside in the nature of our modern social, intellectual, and religious life, and while less spectacular are nevertheless actually producing the practical results we are witnessing in the accelerated divorce-rate.

It is in these three groups of causes, namely, economic development, social progress, and religious and ethical readjustment, all of which have exerted their most potent influences in this country in the period covered by the two divorce reports, that we find the basis of the divorce movement.

Adhering then a little more mercilessly to the forces of social causa-

tion I do not wholly concur with the leader of the discussion in the strong emphasis placed upon "bad marriage laws and bad marriages." So far as hasty, ill-advised, and misfit marriages are concerned, the relatively small number of divorces (2 1-10 per cent. in the first year) in the early years of married life does not reveal an overwhelming number of those marriages which result in speedy termination. That the great majority of divorces occur after the fifth year, and half after ten years of married life seems to indicate that causes other than those due to bad marriages are exerting a constant and increasing pressure. As to biological misfits and mis-selection, like those due to social diseases, it is difficult to show why these should become increasingly dynamic in the last four decades, except that the changed environment furnishes the stimuli, which I think is the true explanation. I should say, then, as Professor Howard did of divorce laws, that there are good marriage laws and bad marriage laws, but I should incline strongly to the same conclusion in respect to their effects, viz., that the solution of our problem would not be at hand even if all marriage laws were good so long as the forces operate as they now do in which we have located the causes of the rising divorce-rate.

The increasing disruption of the family is a clearly recognized evil, but the necessary readjustment of the legal and social status of persons whose marriage relations have broken down, which we call divorce, is necessary and moral. Until the new family finds its equilibrium in the changed economic, social, and religious environment a high rate of divorce is inevitable, and is an index of progress rather than a sign of social disintegration.

HON. WALTER GEORGE SMITH, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

1. Professor Howard is quite correct in tracing the origin of divorce to the Reformation. It is a strong inference from the theory that marriage is a civil contract, that the state recognized it and also recognized its dissolution.

2. The professor is right also in his conclusion "that the real grounds of divorce are far beyond the influence of the statute maker, and to sustain the well-known dictum of Bertillon that laws extending the number of accepted causes of divorce or relaxing the procedure in divorce suits have little influence 'upon the increase in the number of decrees.'" And, of course, all must agree with him that reforms of the statute may exert a morally beneficent effect, though a narrow one, and such laws as the decree *nisi* and the other recommendations of the Divorce Congress of 1906 "would greatly contribute to the creation of the healthful legal environment."

3. Again the professor is absolutely right in saying that the fundamental causes of divorce "are planted deeply in the imperfections of the social system, notably in false sentiments regarding marriage and the family, and

which can only be removed through more rational principles and methods of education."

4. Again his inference is just that from the analysis of the figures of the report of Director North, though he puts in, in the form of a query, that "they . . . in actual practice reveal an astonishing leaning toward a freer granting of divorce" and "disclose a tendency toward dissolution of wedlock by mutual consent or even at the demand of either spouse."

5. And again we can agree with him and with the Rev. Dr. Dike that "the establishment of uniform laws is not the central point of the divorce problem."

6. I confess I do not understand the professor's reasoning from the statistics that "there are nearly twice as many divorced in the twelfth year of the wedded life as in the first. Now, when we consider that probably there are more people in the first than in the eighteenth year of married life, and that we have more cogent reasons to explain the laxity of the marriage bond during the earlier period, we are scarcely warranted in assuming that liberal divorce laws in themselves are perceptibly weakening the nuptial tie."

7. While it is not fair to assume that a very large proportion of marriages are entered into with the deliberate intention of obtaining a divorce later, yet here is the qualification to distinguish between that which is explicit and that which is implicit. The community are being gradually educated (if they are not now fully educated) to a knowledge of the fact that with little trouble, little expense, and a little loss of social prestige (the last becoming more and more negligible) marriages can be terminated practically at the will of the parties. Surely this must have the effect of making them more careless in assuming the marriage relation.

8. Nor can I believe with the professor that the proportion of divorces obtained for the purpose of entering into new marital relations is not very significant, notwithstanding the inferences he deduces from the Prussian and Swiss statistics.

9. With the rest of the professor's paper I am compelled for the most part to disagree. Perhaps this disagreement arises to a certain extent from a lack of appreciation of the professor's terminology. When he speaks of "the mighty process of spiritual liberation which is radically changing the relative positions of man and woman in the family and in society," and points out with apparent satisfaction that "more and more wife and child have been released from the sway of the housefather and placed directly under the larger social control;" when he speaks of the new solidarity of the state as being won at the expense of the old solidarity of the family, and says that "beyond question the individualization for the sake of socialization is producing the loftier ideal of the marital union and a juster view of the relative functions of the sexes in the world's work," and adds that "immediately from the very nature of the process it has inured most to the advan-

tage of the woman," he is expressing satisfaction with a gradual social revolution that fills my mind with alarm, because it is based upon an absolute extinction of a fundamental religious principle; it is attempting to do what nature has not done in giving an equality of responsibility to man and to woman, and is setting up a deified state in the stead of the God upon whose laws, both natural and revealed, our civilization has been founded.

I deny that the granting of divorces from 1887 to 1906, where the applicants in 66 per cent. have been women, has resulted otherwise than in demoralizing the attitude of men and of women toward the married state.

Fortunately, there are certain fundamental principles of natural justice that all men share in common, and there are certain benevolent tendencies known as natural virtues which exist strongly in some natures where religion seems never to have held sway. These noble dispositions, generous impulses and compassionate feelings appear in all that Professor Howard has said. He sees the evils arising from immorality in all its phases upon the part of the husband, and the consequent suffering that ensues to the wife, and he thinks that by removing the husband from the position in which he has been placed by nature and permitting the wife to hold over him the constant threat of divorce the situation will be cured. This is the "perverted chivalry" of which Sidney Brooks wrote not long ago in endeavoring to find an explanation of the marvelous growth of divorce laws in the United States.

Of course, Professor Howard and men of his school are at the opposite pole from men who look upon the marriage relation as a sacrament, as a relation that rises so high above a civil contract that the state is guilty of usurpation in attempting to dissolve it. Marriage, it should be borne in mind, up to the time of the Reformation was looked upon as a status creating the family, and the family antedated the state, the state proceeding from the family. The attempt to individualize so as to give to man and woman the same sphere of action is going contrary to nature. It is not a question whether man is superior or inferior to woman. I suppose most of us are united in the belief that to woman is given the greater natural purity, the greater natural spirituality. Certainly those virtues that are peculiar to the feminine will not lack of recognition in any assembly of educated men, and surely it is the finest test of civilization that it gives to woman that peculiarly exalted position that is, in accordance with true chivalry, the position that is hers, not by the compulsion of any law, but by the recognition of her real high place in the ideal community. But the attempt to establish an equality that results in comradeship, that endeavors to ignore the relative strength, mental and physical, of the male and female, men who have studied the philosophy of history aright, even without a religious bias, must conclude is founded upon fallacy. I suppose the nearest approach to an equality of the sexes in the sense in which the term is understood by those who are advocating it in these modern days existed

in the time of the Roman Empire under Augustus and his successors to the time of Constantine. Is it desirable to have a similar social condition in these modern days?

It is a pleasure to agree with Professor Howard when he says "the center of the dual problem of reforming and protecting the family is marriage and not divorce." All he says upon this subject meets with my hearty concurrence.

To sum up, in my judgment divorce is both a cause and an effect. I do not believe that any education of the character that Professor Howard suggests, no matter how widespread, can ever change nature, and the legislator who endeavors to change it will find his laws are a dead letter. For many centuries, and even down to our own time, divorce was so exceptional among the masses of the people, even among those who followed the teachings of Luther and his associates, that it was practically negligible.

The contention that Switzerland and the United States are the most enlightened and democratic nations of the world would, of course, not be contested in either of them. But what shall we say of England, of Ireland, not to speak of the Latin countries and Canada, where divorce is practically unknown?

It seems to me that the chasm between men of the new school of thought, who believe that the tendencies of human nature implanted by the Creator can be regulated otherwise than by religious sanction, and those who believe that the inevitable tendencies of our common nature can be controlled only by an appeal to religion cannot be bridged. Professor Howard has presented in scholarly form the best results of what is known as the scientific method of considering the divorce problem. I trust I do him no injustice when I say that he forgets the proposition, which is old as time. A recent writer has expressed it thus:

"For that there is a distinction between right and wrong; that orthodoxy and heresy are absolute realities and not mere prejudices; that there is such a thing as standing on one's feet and seeing the world aright, and such a thing as standing on one's head and mirror-reading the universe. . . . We have talked of progress, of the relativity of knowledge, of science and empirical realities until we have come to the conclusion that absolute reality and absolute truth are sheer adumbrations, the survival of phantoms created by the human mind in its myth-making and fetish-worshiping stages. 'General theories are everywhere contemned; the doctrine of the rights of man is dismissed with the doctrine of the fall of man. Atheism itself is too theological for us today. Revolution is too much of a system, liberty too much of a restraint. We will have no generalizations. Everything matters except everything.' But why this fear of the infinite and the absolute? Are not the finite and the relative equally mysterious? . . . And since the credentials they produce fail to satisfy him, he decides that these noisy latter-day prophets are nothing but common heretics—men who struggle

vainly in a topsy-turvydom of their own creation. They are obsessed by what he calls 'the negative spirit,' the spirit that discovers weakness and failure, the spirit of disillusionment and dead ideals. 'The eye that can perceive what are the wrong things increases in an uncanny, and devouring clarity, while the eye which sees what things are right is growing mistier and mistier till it goes almost blind with doubt. . . . To us light must be henceforth the dark thing, the thing of which we cannot speak. To us, as to Milton's devils in pandemonium, it is darkness that is visible.' And yet we talk of progress, and modernism has become almost a religion."

PROFESSOR E. A. ROSS, UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

First, a word touching ecclesiastical pronouncements on this problem. Clergymen say they are in a position to state what is the will of God in the matter of divorce. We sociologists, less fortunate than they, know no way of settling the problem save by painstakingly ascertaining what divorce policy conduces *to the greatest welfare of the individuals concerned and of society, in the long run*. Now, either these two standards—the divine and the human—accord, or they do not. If God wills the happiness of his creatures, then we may rest in the assurance that the right interpreters of the divine will regarding divorce will, along their chosen route, reach, with an enviable swiftness and ease, the same practical conclusions as the sociologists, who make the effect of individual and social well-being the basis of judging an institution.

If, on the other hand, it be held that the divine decrees regarding divorce may clash with the welfare of the individual and of society in the long run, then those who undertake to declare the divine will *had better provide themselves with very solid and incontestable credentials* if they expect people to follow their guidance, even at the expense of individual and social happiness.

The champions of marriage as a sacrament twit us with standing for marriage as a mere civil contract. There are, to be sure, many shallow people who take the latter view; but I do not believe that the scientific students of society assimilate marriage with an ordinary contract. Their view is that marriage is *a socially approved status*, which a man and a woman voluntarily adopt, but which they may not renounce without the consent of society.

I am not of those who insist a grown man and a grown woman may assume any mutual relation they please. The welfare of the children—if there are any—and of society at large must certainly come into reckoning. At the same time, I fear our discussion has so far dwelt too exclusively on these factors. Surely the individual happiness of the mismatched couple should count as at least *a factor* in the settlement of the problem. After all, divorce is not a monster going about breaking up happy homes.

No harmonious union was ever ended by divorce. The fact that in twenty years the proportion of divorces granted to couples who had been married twenty-one years or more, has increased from 8.3 per cent. to 10.6 per cent. was cited as if something ought to be done about it. I agree it is sad to see a man and woman give it up after the years have brought them to the time of life when new and satisfying ties are not easily formed. Still, is it not rather presumptuous for society to tell two middle-aged people, probably without young children, who, after twenty-one years of experience, agree they would be happier apart, that it knows better than they do what is best for them?

Excepting the small proportion of cases of hopeless incompatibility of temperament, a divorce testifies, no doubt, to some defect in efficiency or character in one or both of the spouses. Our divorces are, therefore, symptoms of a great evil, but it does not follow that the evil is any greater now than it was formerly nor that the evil can be lessened by narrowing the way of exit from marital unhappiness. Let those who are alarmed by growing divorce look further back. Let them center their efforts on lessening the proportion of unhappy marriages. There are open to them a number of promising policies which I shall commend to their consideration without comment.

1. Instruction of girls in domestic science, housekeeping, etc.
2. Systematic instruction of the youth of both sexes in the ethics and ideals of the marriage relation.
3. Safe-guards in custom, perhaps in law, against the marriage of pure women to men tainted with venereal disease.
4. Marriage only at place of residence of one of the parties.
5. Repudiation of the "common-law marriage."
6. A filing of declaration of intention to marry not less than (say) six weeks before the issuance of a marriage license. (Statistics show that the success of a marriage is in direct relation to the length of time the parties have been acquainted before marriage.)
7. Where the volume of business warrants it, the creation of special divorce tribunals on which women shall sit as well as men.

CONCLUDING REMARKS OF PROFESSOR HOWARD

In his address closing the discussion of the session, Dr. Howard said in substance: It is objected by Dr. Lichtenberger that too much importance is assigned to bad marriage laws as a cause of divorce; and that this is inconsistent with the position that divorce statutes, good or bad, have little influence on the divorce-rate. In reply, it is freely admitted that bad marriage law is not the chief source of divorce. Nevertheless, it will account for the dissolution of wedlock in far more instances than will a bad divorce law. For, in reality, clandestine marriage are very often due

to this cause; and clandestine marriages are apt to terminate in divorce. Moreover, bad marriage laws may permit or fail to prevent the union of those who are unfit because of venereal disease, insanity, crime, or degeneracy. Thus there is a radical difference between a bad divorce law and a bad marriage law.

Professor Ross likewise believes that too much stress has been laid upon "bad marriage laws and bad marriages" as the center of the divorce problem; and he believes that we must go deeper in harmony with the second proposition of Dr. Howard's paper. But do not "bad marriages" really go to the heart of the problem? Marriages, not legally, but sociologically bad, are meant. They include frivolous, mercenary, ignorant, and physiologically vicious unions. They embrace all that would be forbidden by Francis Galton's science of Eugenics; all that might in part be prevented by a right system of education. Indeed, bad marriages are the cause of the clash of ideals referred to. At present men and more frequently women enter into wedlock ignorantly, or with a vague or low ideal of its true meaning. The higher ideal of right connubial life, of spiritual connubial life, often comes after the ceremony. It is *ex post facto*; and it is forced upon the aggrieved by suffering, cruelty, lack of compatibility, "prostitution within the marriage bond." An adequate system of social and sex education would tend to establish such ideals before the ceremony. "An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure."

Dr. Dike objected to the form of the second proposition, believing that Sir Henry Maine's dictum, that the movement of progressive societies has been from status to contract, is a more satisfactory expression of the evolutionary process under consideration. To this criticism it may be replied that Maine published his *Ancient Law* in 1861, many years before the birth of sociology as now understood. While it is true that since Roman days there has been a great advance from status to contract in the sphere of legal relations; it is not less true that in the present half-century there has been a vast progress from individualism to collectivism, from the person to the state. Were Maine now living, doubtless he would see the need of reshaping his dictum to express the new process of "individualization for the sake of socialization." Not individual contract but social control is the key to our problem.

Mr. Smith has brilliantly presented the sacramental conception of indissoluble wedlock. "I have a proper respect," declared Professor Howard, "for the courage and firmness with which the ancient church of Rome maintains her ideals, even her mediaeval ideals. In truth, from her unity, her centralization of authority, the Catholic Church today holds the point of vantage which sometime under a wise and progressive head may make her among religious organizations the leader in social achievement. But progress cannot be won by clinging to the authority of ancient ideals in social questions. We are assured that indissoluble monogamic marriage is

according to both natural and divine law. But did natural law cease to work in old Jewish days? May it not be possible that natural law now guides social evolution? Moreover, is marriage any more "divine" than other social institutions? Was the only sacred wedlock created in the Garden of Eden by the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob? Verily there are more gods than one, if we are to judge from the comparative history of matrimonial institutions. Many backward, even barbarous, peoples, who never heard of Javeh, are quite capable of teaching us useful lessons regarding divorce and marriage. Nay, in the days of Abraham, 2250 B. C., according to the Code of Hammurabi, the Babylonians, the teachers of Israel, had developed marriage and domestic institutions in many respects far more "modern" than those described in the sacred scriptures of the ancient Jews. Besides, as Rabbi Krauskopf has just shown, the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob did not forbid divorce.

Truly, for the apostle of social righteousness, God did not close his revelation in olden times. Today, more clearly than in Judaea, he inspires the hearts and brains of devoted men and women to cleanse the slum, battle with social disease, and rescue women and children from sexual or industrial slavery. It is high time to cease the appeal to mere authority, and to accept marriage, the home, and the family as purely human social institutions to be freely dealt with by men according to human needs.

HOW FAR SHOULD MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY BE INDIVIDUALIZED?

PROFESSOR JAMES E. HAGERTY
Ohio State University

The changes in industrial and social organization in recent times have modified greatly the relationship between members of the family which existed in the patriarchal régime. The relations of the patriarch to the members of the household and the economic system which he controlled are too well known to need restatement here. The family was organized to perpetuate the family name and unity, and no rights of individual members were recognized which compromised this purpose. This ideal has been changed to one where social welfare is sought in the recognition of the rights of individual members of the family to the greatest possible latitude in the development of their capacities and powers. The power of the father and husband in the family has gradually weakened, while the rights and privileges of the wife and mother and the children have been strengthened. These changes are expressed both in statute law and in public opinion.

The rights and privileges of the wife have been most completely developed in America. A discussion of the sphere of woman has attained a dignity which prevails in no other country, and this is a clear indication of her status.

The marriage contract still in use requires the husband "to love, cherish, and protect." The wife is required "to love, honor, and obey." The husband must support, protect, and be responsible for his wife. The wife is required to render personal service to the husband, and to obey him. While in places the wife is legally bound to these obligations imposed upon her, public opinion does not support the claims of the husband to the wife in these respects. While she is expected to conform to the habits, tastes, and peculiarities of her husband, he has no redress if she

refuses. However, he is the head of the home and the wishes of the wife must yield to his when their interests clash.

When unmarried, woman's right to earn her own support by going into industrial pursuits is generally conceded in the United States. When she earns her living, she is free from the obligations due a parent arising from economic dependence on him, and is thus, so far as economic reasons are concerned, under no requirement to marry. If woman owns property when married, she is permitted to hold this property and to have jurisdiction over it in nearly every instance. In some states she has the same rights of inheritance as the husband and the tendency of legislation is to put her upon the same plane as the husband in this regard. While the common law does not give the mother the right to the labor and services or earnings of a child until it is of age or marries the same as the husband, there is a tendency to grant her these rights especially if she is a widow. Her title to the earnings of her children in the latter case ought to be much more clear than that of a husband in any case except that of misfortune.

There is a tendency to consider the earnings of the husband as a joint product to which both husband and wife have an equal title. Where this principle has given rise to the allowance system the wife is free from the petty annoyances of begging funds from the husband to meet the expenses of the household. She then enjoys a regular income which may be used for her own personal expenditures as well as for the keeping of the house. The allowance system may be used however in a way not in conformity with the above theory. The husband may decide how much the wife is to have out of his earnings for certain purposes, and the wife may have nothing to say in regard to the matter. Upon the other hand, without the allowance system the total household and other expenses may be met in such a way as to emphasize the fact that the family earnings are a joint product. Whether the allowance or some other system is used the method employed in meeting expenditures should not embarrass the wife; it should result from a conference in which the husband and wife are equal factors in the decision.

Recent laws which give the wife the same rights in inheritance as the husband tend to support the theory that the family earnings are the joint product of husband and wife in which each should share equally. The slow development of this theory must be traced to other factors in the subordination of woman than those connected with her relative earning power. Man's sphere has been almost exclusively in the productive occupations which yield financial returns. Woman's work has been that of home-making and home-keeping and consequently she has been engaged in the so-called unproductive consumption for which there is no monetary return. But in home-keeping she renders a service to her family and society which gives her an economic value equal to that of her husband. The recognition of this principle, however late, means much for the complete emancipation of woman.

In the household, in the making of the home, woman renders her greatest social service and finds her highest function. Here she should be queen and priestess and no household arrangements should interfere with the development of her personality in its highest functioning.

The education and culture of woman is conceded in the United States, and it has been made possible for her to receive training equal to that received by man. Opportunities for the higher education of woman have not until recently been afforded on the continent of Europe outside of Switzerland, and the necessity for training comparable to that which man receives is even now denied. In the United States the right to an education has been put upon individualistic grounds, that is, the right to self development, to culture, and to happiness. This notion has arisen here as a part of our democracy.

The social advantages of the higher education of woman have not been properly emphasized in this country. Women as mothers are the educators of the children and on this account they should be well trained. As soon as we understand that the environment of infancy and early childhood is of more importance than later training we will appreciate the social importance of cultured mothers. Long ago in his great essay "What knowl-

edge is of most worth?" Mr. Spencer gave due emphasis to the social need for well-trained mothers.

A recognition of an equal partnership of husband and wife in the marital contract is the present tendency. Public opinion is tending to support this view regardless of the wording of the marital contract, and laws in the statute-books of states discriminating against the wife are becoming dead letters. In no group does public opinion support the coercive authority of the husband except among the lower classes, and even here laws protect the wife against cruel and malicious treatment by the husband. Most people are willing to concede the advantages of the equal partnership of husband and wife, both upon the contracting parties and upon the children of the family. The education of woman qualifies her for this relationship. Where the husband and wife are upon the same level, where the woman is educated so that she is in fact the equal of her husband, this sort of marital relationship elevates the social and spiritual status of the family. Where this relationship exists parents can co-operate to good advantage in training and in developing their children.

The emancipation of woman has introduced certain social conditions the value of which is questionable. When woman is educated she marries later in life and is less inclined to marry. She uses better judgment in marrying and will not marry in a given case unless the alliance gives a very definite promise of happiness. She is very likely to make head interests a necessary supplement to heart interests. With the opportunities for women in industrial pursuits she is freed from the economic necessity of marrying. When she marries later in life, she has fewer children. If this reduction in numbers means an improvement in quality, the outcome is wholesome.

Biological problems, however, are introduced which as yet are unsolved. All we can do is to state them. It is claimed that the chances of having offspring diminish with the better education and the higher development of woman, and when she becomes a mother, the offspring are not as healthy and vigorous as are those of other classes.

CHILDREN

The social recognition of the rights of the child against the inordinate claims of the guardian are now well recognized in democratic countries. There was a time when a child could be punished for failing to pay the debts of a parent and for the misdeeds of a parent, so strong was the family bond and the family obligation. These restrictions have long since been removed.

Nearly everywhere the father is entitled to the labor and services or compensation for the labor of a child until it is of age. Many restrictions have been placed, however, upon the labor of a child. Child-labor laws forbid the employment of children under a certain age in specified employments. In rural communities, as a rule, the parent is rewarded by the fruits of the labor of children until they are of age. In cities, however, where as a rule the minor does not work for the parent, public opinion does not support the claim of the parent to the rewards of the toil of the minor unless the income of the latter is necessary to maintain the household. When he lives at home he will pay his board and the balance of his income will be used in defraying his personal expenditures.

The child-labor legislative movement began in England in the early part of the nineteenth century as a result of the abuses connected with the employment of pauper children in the factories. This movement which continued throughout the century consisted in placing greater and greater restrictions on the employment of children. In the United States a movement comparable to this has taken place. Most of the Northern states have child-labor laws. Through the aggressive policy of the National Child Labor Committee this movement has extended to the Southern states. In the Northern states the tendency now is to make the child-labor laws more uniform and to raise the minimum age at which children can be employed.

These laws are passed primarily to protect the child, to give him ample time to secure the rudiments of an education, to give his body a chance to grow to normal proportion, and to protect his morals while he is young from the contaminating influence

of evil associates. The secondary purpose of this legislation is to safeguard the interests of society, as its security and advancement depend upon a well-trained moral citizenship free from physical degeneracy.

The child may be protected immediately from his own desires, or from the selfishness of his parents, or from the needs of the family of which he is a member. Social experience has taught us that in the absence of child-labor laws, the child would neither be educated nor be given the proper physical development. The opportunity to earn money has enticed many a child to a factory at an early age. Here lack of either a mental or industrial education and a narrow routine position have condemned many a child to a permanent mediocre position and a low standard of living. The selfishness of the parent may also start the child of tender years to labor with the above-named results. In these laws the state invades the home and protects the child from its own ignorance and its parents' shortsighted selfishness. The right to pass child-labor laws, and the necessity for them are now generally conceded.

Education is becoming less optional than formerly, as most of the states are passing compulsory educational laws requiring children to attend school until they are 13, 14, 15 years of age, or until they have finished certain branches of study. Experience has shown that many children will not be educated unless they are required to go to school. Even with a compulsory law the truant officer must be vigilant to enforce it.

Reports of the Commissioner of Education show that our achievements in general education are even yet very restricted. In the report of the Department of Education for 1900 it is stated that

over 50 per cent. of all public-school pupils were in the first and second grades and were less than nine years of age; 87.5 per cent. were in the first five grades and under twelve years of age.

In his report for 1908 the Commissioner says that

The mere ability to read and to write indicates a very slight remove from a crass ignorance, and a large proportion of our people are in danger of stopping at this point. The early withdrawal of pupils from school is a

fact universally recognized, although up to this time there have been few systematic investigations as to the extent and the causes of the evil. It is, however, significant that they all indicate a marked decline in school attendance between the fourth and fifth school years or grades, and continued decrease thereafter.

Education is considered a social function and social right has taken priority over family rights. In democracy everything depends on the quality of the citizenship, for without an educated citizenship democracy must fail. A census of our prison population will show that the great majority of criminals are ignorant. One-third of the 1,600 convicts of the Ohio Penitentiary cannot read or write and the education of another third of these convicts is limited simply to the ability to read and write. As conditions here are typical of those prevailing in similar institutions, the shortsightedness of our past social policy in not making education obligatory will at once be obvious. A showing equally as bad could be made for ignorance as a cause of pauperism. The positive side of social action is of more significance to the state than the negative. It is more important to train good citizens because of the value of such citizens to themselves and the state than it is for the state to protect itself against the demoralizing influence of the anti-social criminal and dependent classes.

The state invades the home for another reason, and passes judgment on the method of governing the family. If parents abuse or maltreat their children, if they allow them to have evil associates, if the moral atmosphere surrounding the home is impure and demoralizing, the state steps in and takes the children from the parents. Here parental authority reaches its last ditch. It may be exercised if it is wholesome, and if the function rendered cannot be performed in a better way by the state, as the educational function. However, when parents are deprived of their children by the state, the latter are placed in another home. The best judgment of child-saving authorities today is that the normal home is the best possible environment for the growth and development of children. Institutional homes for children have been tried but are now considered by the best authorities as very inferior substitutes for home training.

One other way in which parental authority has been weakened in the United States remains to be mentioned. The right of parents to dispose of offspring in marriage is a survival of parental ownership. In Germany the right of parents to choose a husband for a daughter or a wife for a son is still conceded. In a number of continental countries practically similar parental rights exist. In the United States the consent of parents to marriage of children is necessary only in case of minors, but when minors marry without parental consent, the marriage is valid. Who will deny that better unions result when choice is left to the contracting parties rather than to parents? Parental dictation in these matters is so repugnant to our theories of individual rights that efforts to control usually result adversely.

The modern family is becoming democratic in many ways. Coercive power is giving way to control by persuasion. It is generally admitted that children are under better control when persuasive instead of coercive methods are used. When given privileges and responsibilities this method of control trains them for efficient citizens in a democracy.

Certain social and industrial forces have been at work which have weakened the solidarity of the home and have released its members from some family obligations. Formerly certain household industries were well developed. Some of these have been taken out of the home in relatively recent times. The kitchen is now the only productive factor in the home, and the preparation of many kinds of foods which were formerly produced in the kitchen, is now left to factories. Where the boarding-house and the family hotel are in use, even the kitchen has ceased to be a factor in home economics. Where the industries have been removed from the home, children have been released from certain obligations of household duties.

The home was once a place of worship, and family prayers in religious families were regular features. The religious education of the children, which formerly took place in the home, has now been assumed by the Sunday school in connection with the church. The prayer meeting has tended to take the family from the home to the church for religious worship, and the church, in

a still wider way, has assumed most of the religious functions of the home.

In education the former home interests have been invaded to the greatest extent. With the development of the public school, and especially with compulsory education, children are sent from the home to be educated. With the appearance of the kindergarten, the home is turning over very small children to the school for purposes of education. The play-ground, the social settlement, and the socialized school are meeting in a much larger way the educational needs of children.

These institutions are breaking up the solidarity of the family, and are making the individual members less dependent upon each other, and upon parental authority. What is still worse, parents are in danger of delivering over to these outside agencies practically all cultural and educational training, thus weakening still further the bonds between parents and children. Where will this social tendency stop? Will it lead ultimately to the disintegration of the family as a social institution? However, with all encroachments upon it, the family is still, and, I believe, will remain the fundamental social institution.

The use of boarding-houses and the establishment of homes in flats and family hotels mark a still further departure in the destruction of family unity. The boarding-house and the family hotel are abnormal institutions in which to develop family integrity and strength. Their influence on the personality and training of the child is very questionable. In these institutions family unity and the welfare of children suffer without any apparent advantages.

Family solidarity is better maintained in the country than in the city. In the country, children usually remain at home until they are of age. Many of the outside agencies above described are not present to weaken the influence of the home. In urban communities, social conditions are so diversified that new developments must of necessity be sought. In the city it would seem that the hope of the children of the poor lies in the social settlement, the playground and the school. The condition of home life in the city, so far as the great masses are concerned, makes it im-

possible for the home to do the functions well of any of these agencies. Family solidarity must be maintained by both rich and poor alike, by an increased interest by parents in their children and in the training of the children. A very busy college man once told me that he had a schedule of one hour a day with his two boys which he always kept. "I want a chance at them" was his statement.

No definite solution to the question proposed is attempted here. All we can do is to state the present tendencies and to point out the good and bad features in the development of the modern family. Living in large numbers in cities is a comparatively recent phenomenon and adaptation to city living is one of the great problems of the present. In the changes taking place it is inevitable that the family must change.

Less attention to clubs and less interest in club life by parents, and more interest in their children should be a present-day demand. With the better education of both fathers and mothers, it will be easy for them to supplement the training of the school, the church, and the socialized agencies. The state may provide better educational facilities than can the family, but state education, with its system and methods, must be supplemented by individual education by the parent. The development of personality needs individual influence and training and no one can give these things better than the parent. Persuasion must displace coercive authority, and, upon the whole, we will have better-trained, more cultured, more responsible young men and young women.

ALBION W. SMALL, THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Professor Hagerty's valuable paper deserves thorough discussion. It seems to me, however, that, in the brief time at my disposal, I can do a better service by applying my remarks to our whole programme.

As I review my own impressions from the discussions thus far, it seems to me that a stenographic report of everything that has been said would give the city editor of a yellow journal all the excuse such an imaginative gentleman usually requires in such cases for asserting that this Society regarded the American family as on trial, with the presumption rather strongly against it.

I have no right to speak for the Society, but my version will have at

least as much claim to a hearing as the city editor's. My dictum is that the thing on trial is not the American family, but every condition which interferes with general realization of the American family in full fruit of its spirit.

At all events I want to go on record in protest against everything in our proceedings which would tend to justify substitution of the yellow journal version for mine.

I do not believe I am phenomenally unsophisticated. It has been a good many years since I have heard of anything new in the way of sexual irregularity, except accidental variations of number and place. When I was a boy of ten, the nearest building to the school I attended was a brothel. More or less vitiated instruction about the meaning of the institution was the one thing I remember from the experiences of the school yard, and the stamp of those recollections is much more distinct on my mind than anything I heard from the teachers.

I cannot pose as a reclaimed rake. I am obliged to admit that my knowledge of sexual vice is entirely third personal. Unless that is a disqualification, I have had fairly liberal means of reaching informed judgments about the rôle which irregular relations of the sexes plays in our American society. From that tenth year I do not remember a time, till I was twenty-five or thirty years old, when additions to my knowledge of the subject were not accumulating. Fortunately or unfortunately, I had such progressive instruction, from my own observation with that of others, that I can recall only one or two instances in which variations of sexual depravity overtook me with surprise. It has been more than twenty years since anything reported from official or unofficial social clinics has added, except in quantity, to what I was already perfectly familiar with in principle about abnormal relations between men and women. I do not believe, therefore, that I am expressing the reaction of a recluse in a fool's paradise.

I do not deny the existence, in certain groups, of the prevalence of the evils that have been alleged or hinted at in some of the papers in our programme; I do deny most emphatically that those evils constitute in any considerable degree an indictment against the American family as an institution.

In the first place, the invidious inferences that have been suggested, more than uttered, by some of the essayists, get their supposed sanction from that delightfully simple mode of reasoning popularly known as putting the cart before the horse. It amounts to this: Because the family is sinned against, therefore the family is the sinner.

To this easy flippancy I would reply, Nothing that has been put in evidence proves anything very important against the American family. It merely proves that a large fraction of our population is more or less unfit for membership of a social group of that advanced type.

In other words, as a rough general proposition, all the disturbed or

destroyed families that we know anything about in the United States are effects of causes independent of the family type itself. Of course these disturbed or destroyed families become in turn aggravations of some of the evils from which they resulted, and breeders of other evils, but this is merely equivalent to saying that the family institution has not force enough to counterbalance all the demoralizing conditions of surrounding society, or to neutralize all the unsocial propensities of the undomesticated persons who compose it.

In the second place, most of the point to most of the smart flings at the family is gained by manipulations of the evidence that are either ignorant or disingenuous. What I mean by that is this: The American family is out of gear in two strata, in both of which pretty much everything else is out of gear. On the one hand is the stratum of the over-wealthed, over-leisured, over-stimulated, under-worked, under-controlled. Nothing in their conditions is normal. Nothing is right. Only miracles could save this stratum from rot. Its families necessarily show the taint, and what else could be expected? On the other hand is the stratum of the over-worked, under-fed, under-housed, under-clothed, under-hygiened, physically and morally, under-leisured, under-stimulated except by the elemental desires. Nothing in their lot is right. Nothing in their lot could be good enough to hold its own very securely against the swamping bad. The family suffers in the general evil. It is as absurd to accuse the family institution on that evidence as it would be to denounce the atmosphere in general because the air this stratum has to breathe is foul.

If we deduct the collapsed families in these two strata, where they must be regarded more as effects than as causes, and confine ourselves to the families that are in relatively normal conditions, the great mass of families in the industrious middle stratum of our society, the family is not breaking down. It is probably working at least as well as any other organ in our social structure.

Not as proof, but as illustration, I may draw from my own experience. Five years excepted, I lived in the state of Maine until I was thirty-eight years old. The last eleven of those years I had to visit all parts of the state, and I had acquaintances, sometimes a considerable number, in nearly every town. During those thirty-eight years I knew by name only one family resident in the state that had been broken up by divorce. The state contained few people at that time rich enough to be outside the working class. It contained relatively few dependants who were not defectives. The great middle class contained here and there a divorcé, but so rarely that most of the people knew them only as the average New Yorker knows of Navajo Indians.

I do not mean to question the statistics of divorce. I mean first, that when we subtract the divorces that occur in the upper and lower non-social strata, and divide the number remaining by the number of families in the

substantial middle stratum, the percentage of divorces is higher than it ought to be, but far below the rate which decryers of the family would have us infer; and I mean, second, that the actual divorces in that stratum constitute no such case against the family institution as the same decryers want us to believe.

In the third place, I want to point out the hysterical character of another line of innuendo against the family. Because Frenchmen are supposed to treat conjugal fidelity as a joke, because English tradition places the wife among the husband's assets, because normal family relations are impossible in abnormal conditions of irresponsible wealth or insuperable poverty, because John Smith occasionally finds himself married to the impossible Jane Jones instead of the possible Hannah Johnson, and because an occasional couple that could not live with anybody try to live with each other, therefore all the evils in all these conditions are counts against the normal American family! This sort of neurotics has not been silent in these sessions.

It is not an uncommon thing for railers against the family to talk as though "the position of woman" in the United States were not merely like that of the wife under the common law until recent decades, but substantially like that of the wife at Rome in the palmiest days of the *patria potestas*. On the other hand it is not uncommon for European visitors to speak out the impression that the American husband is simply the jaded beast of burden collecting the wherewithal for his wife and daughters to be physically, mentally, and morally dissipated. One of these exaggerations is as superficial as the other. The average animus of the American family is more nearly reflected by an incident that occurred at the University of Chicago the year of its foundation. Between the unreclaimed swamps and the temporary caravansaries crowding the available sites to shelter World's Fair visitors, the immigrant faculty families had a dismal outlook for abodes. Upon their gloomy contemplation of the prospect there suddenly dawned a vision of relief. It was in the shape of plans and specifications for a block of model houses. An architect and his wife, the latter furnishing the ideas and the arguments, the former the drawings, were the messengers of hope. The wife called a meeting of the professors, and showed how an available block near the University might be converted into lots for forty-five houses, with a club house in the center, to contain heating plant, laundry, servants' quarters, and restaurant, which the families could use at their pleasure, or the meals could be delivered by a miniature elevated electric railroad to each family which so preferred. There was a co-operative purchasing plan attached through which each family in the group could order supplies as liberally or frugally as it pleased, and pay for them at wholesale rates.

Every man at the meeting pronounced the scheme ideal; and I am unable to explain why they did not then and there put their signatures to contracts,

and order building to begin next day—or at least the first forty-five of them to crowd their way to the front. For some unrecorded reason it was decided to go through the formality of showing the plans to the wives of these exultant professors, before actually breaking ground. These supposed silent partners in those families assembled next day. They examined the plans. They listened to the eloquence of their authors. They thought again of their homeless condition, and then they—decided with one voice that they would remain homeless all their days sooner than consign their children to the unknown evils of a common community back yard. That settled it. Many of those families have remained wanderers on the face of the earth till the present hour, simply because in the American family man proposes but woman still disposes.

Seriously, it is worse than silly to talk as though the American family were a radically faulty institution. There will be a certain ratio of friction and frustration and waste, in every possible human association, so long as human beings lag this side of perfection. With our human nature as it is, there is no conceivable form of association in which men and women could be more helpful to each other and better placed to do their best for society, than in the form frankly filled by the spirit of the typical American family.

JAMES A. FIELD, THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The question which we have to discuss is a very large question, and a very vague one. I shall confine what I may say to an attempt to make it less indefinite by suggesting one or two distinctions—by pointing out not an answer but a more specific problem to be solved.

The original query which Professor Hagerty has considered in his paper—"How Far Should Members of the Family Be Individualized?"—includes within its scope at least two questions. If we assume the continued existence of the family substantially in its present form we may inquire how we should divide and adjust the functions of family life among the members of the family, and how far the members as individuals, and especially the man and the woman, should in their family relations be regarded as equal in responsibilities and rights and in all that they are to give and to gain. That is one of the questions, and that is the one which Professor Hagerty seems chiefly to have had in mind. The other, which challenges what was before assumed, is this: Is an increase of individualization consistent with the continued existence of present-day family life? Such an inquiry suggests Spencer's familiar antithesis of individuation and genesis. Briefly Professor Hagerty has alluded to this phase of the problem by mentioning the effect of the higher education of women upon marriage and the rearing of children—though it is by no means only through woman that the dictates of individual ambitions may disrupt the normal family

group. But I believe this second form of the question is too important to be so casually passed by. It demands attention if we but consider the real purport of further individualization. For, to the ordinary person, the thought of individual development means more than equivalence of privilege within the family. The individualization we strive for is an ideal individualization which means freedom in every way to develop and to do. It means achievement and a successful career. Consequently we must seek to see what distinction can be drawn between the standard of individual success and the qualification for parenthood.

To command the esteem of others a person must first of all show affirmative characteristics. It is not enough to go through the world harmlessly. We admire the person who takes the active attitude toward his surroundings and does things—who makes a mark that compels us to recognize him as a center of energy which he can direct as he chooses. Such masterfulness is admired even if it is exercised to the detriment of others; but to command genuine approbation it must serve the general advantage. Success, then, is essentially measured by the reward, in goods or in good repute, given for positive acts of service. It comes as a sort of equivalent, in exchange. And here, as in other cases of exchange, it is easy to look too narrowly at the return and to miss the significance of what is given. So, in the effort to attain success, as success is judged, persons are led to excessive specialization and intensity of effort. This amounts to a process of self-exploitation, which, though it is destructive to those who thus overwork, seems to be acceptable to society, since the continual renewal of the stock by reproduction and the spread of ideas by imitation permit unexhausted persons to take up the unfinished tasks where their predecessors were obliged to drop them. The pursuit of individual success, then, really often involves, as a response to the demands of others, the sacrifice of what may still be regarded as the normal individual life.

The qualification for parenthood, on the other hand, is pre-eminently the even balance of abilities. The life of the specialist is ill-suited to parenthood, whichever of the functions of the parent we may emphasize. As the source of hereditary traits in the child, the parent should, so far as we can venture to decide, be all-sided, not one-sided. For the training and rearing of children unimpaired physical health is requisite. For the education of children in the home extreme specialists are not desirable unless we assume that the innate aptitudes of the child fit him for a special career which closely corresponds to the equipment of both his parents, and that such a career will be appropriate to future conditions as to past. But this inquiry into the qualifications for parenthood, perplexed at best, need not be pushed far here. Whoever, by specialization, becomes a distortion of the normal biological type, may fairly be regarded as poorly equipped for the essentially biological function of maintaining the race.

In the light of the distinction that has been suggested we may predict

either that our present view of the family relations must undergo extensive change or that the further progress of members of the family in individualization, as this is commonly understood, will sooner or later be limited by the necessity of maintaining the species. Assuming that the family is likely to retain essentially its present form, higher and higher specialization by individuals will take us toward the point at which the reproducing of the stock will cease and the generation which stands to benefit by the sacrifices of specialists will no longer exist to justify or encourage these sacrifices. Without being pessimistic or radical one may therefore suggest that if increasing individualization is not to become a cause for concern we should revise our standard of success until it is more in accord with the living of normal lives.

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The question before us is too large and complex to be adequately discussed in the time allotted. Certain points, however, deserve special mention. First, the modern, individualistic family, consisting of two persons only with their children, is still too new an experiment in social order for us to be certain about all its tendencies. The older civilizations were all built upon a family life in which the character and capacity of the two young parents were reinforced and disciplined by a collective or patriarchal family connection. If one husband could not care for the wife and children the men of the larger family circle must. If one mother was not equal to the demands of child-life, as then understood, the rest of the women of the family were enlisted. Now for the first time, so far as we know, a young man and a young woman are left to make their own marriage choices, and on the character and intelligence of these two young people is placed the heavy social responsibility of the success of that domestic venture. What wonder that where character is weak, industrial power limited, and social ideals undeveloped, the fathers "desert" when family cares prove unexpectedly heavy, and the mothers fail to keep their children alive because of the too great burden placed upon them? It seems to some of us that the patriarchal type of family with its support and control of the individual parents must have some sort of modern social substitute in order to make the modern type of family, of one father and mother and their children, more successful. It may be that motherhood will be seen to be such an important function that its protection against excessive labor, against poverty below point of health and child-bearing strength, and against immoral and degrading surroundings, may be considered a state duty. It may be that fatherhood will be seen to be such a high civic obligation, and of such vital importance to the common welfare, that its duties and sacrifices shall justly demand some public recognition in proportion to the social value of the service rendered. At any rate we should clearly recognize the fact that the modern type of family places

a unique and very heavy responsibility upon men and women in their youth and that it is not strange that many fail to bear it easily and well. Again the tremendous importance of the family life as an agent in the development of human personality should be clearly perceived by us. That mysterious quality or process which gathers universal elements of being into a unity of life which can be known as "you" or "I," that which can be educated as a conscious and purposive creature able to react upon the environment which has shaped it and thus to create an ever-renewed environment—it is well for us to think how difficult a process it has been to develop this human personality. Think of the cosmic cost of will, of unselfish affection, of articulate aspiration! Think how the germinal human being passes rapidly through many of the age-long processes that have thus created human personality; and how many times Mother Nature makes a slip and the human creature becomes but an "unfinished infant" for all its life. And when the baby is fairly born, think how difficult it is for it to keep its footing on this slippery ball and really "be somebody." This achievement of the ages of evolution does not work automatically. Feeble-mindedness, physical weakness and degeneracy, moral incapacity in manifold forms, witness that the cosmic struggle to make human beings out of the strain and stress of life is not completed *for* humanity but *by* humanity. Now the family is up to date proved the best and most effective aid in this process of developing personality. It has so far furnished a breakwater against the non-social forces that work against human development. And so far that breakwater has consisted in large part of exclusive affection, reserve of intimacy, and close personal ties between parents and children. The attempt to bring up children, (even a small class for a definite end, as in Sparta), outside of home life has not produced fine personality, although sometimes (as in Sparta) it has produced a few great soldiers. The methods of child care in even good institutions generally result in dulled individuality even if the training for specific kinds of work is effective. The child seems to need as a "buffer" against the world at large a certainty that he is an essential element in the social order, such a certainty as seems seldom given except by the parental partiality of affection.

Moreover, so far in human development, this function of the family in the protection and development of personality as it struggles toward expression in the child has demanded that someone in the family shall have and express a type of individuality which is not primarily concerned with or dependent upon specialization of vocational work, but is rather devoted supremely to the family unity and to the varying wants of the family group. If children are to gather themselves together "out of the everywhere" it seems necessary that someone shall be close at hand when wanted and not leave "hours" and seasons when the child cannot get at anybody to whom it knows it belongs. So far in the organization of the family the mother has been the person so readily at hand when the child's needs, physical or spiritual.

demand the steadying influence of a companionship on which it felt a rightful claim. This has been thought to be a natural arrangement because the child was closest to the mother physically. But there is a deeper reason that underlies both that closer physical relationship and the function of the mother in the development of personality through constant companionship. Speaking generally, the feminine side of humanity is in "the middle of the road" of life. Biologically, psychologically, and sociologically women are in the central, normal, conservative part of the evolutionary process. On the one side and on the other men produce more geniuses, and more feeble-minded; more talented experts, and more incompetents who cannot earn a living; more idealistic masters of thought and action, and more neer-do-weels who shame their mothers. It is because to woman is committed in a peculiar sense this function of development of personality in child-life that they are the practical, teaching half of the race. In the development of individuality it is most essential that the conserving weight of the middle virtues, and the mean of powers, should be nearest the child. It is later, in the more formal educational process, that the highly specialized "variants" which men exhibit, and which directly tend toward human progress on the one side and toward human degeneracy on the other side, have their functional use as example or as warning.

All this has direct bearing upon our subject "How far should the members of the family be individualized?" We have removed from the single pair and their children all the props and discipline of the patriarchal family, and now we are rapidly democratizing the family. This has gone already so far that we are even afraid of controlling effectively our own children lest we check their growth toward self-government. The problems of modern education in respect to moral culture inhere in the fact that we have achieved high ideals of the sacredness of personality and the dignity of individual choice but as yet have not acquired pedagogical technique to work these into character-building. The democratizing of the family, certainly so far as its two adult heads are concerned, is, however, an absolutely essential step in human progress.* It is essential especially for that process of making persons to which the family is devoted: for now we need not classes nor castes in the social order but free individuals to make a free and progressive state. It is therefore vital that both parents shall be of the stuff out of which the higher type of human creature is made, and such can only come from a democratic home. The industrial changes, however, which have dominated all recent social movements, have introduced into the modern ideal of individuality an exaggerated demand for highly specialized vocational effort. Men must do some one speciality effectively or they are not considered to achieve success in life. Women are more and more called by education and industrial life to work in the same specialized manner for some definite end of personal achievement. This has given a tendency among some leaders of women's industrial and educational progress to minimize the experience of mother-

hood, and to magnify the social value of the method of work that suits the prevailing machine-dominated industry. In so far as this tendency implies that motherhood may become a relatively small and rapidly finished task, one which will not interfere with a constant, lifelong pursuit of one speciality of vocation on the same terms as men do their one task, I deplore the tendency. That women should all be educated for self-support at a living wage is a social necessity; that women should be economic factors now as they have always been in the past is also unquestionable; that women must reshape many of their activities to suit that general scheme of modern industry that has created the factory is certain; that women should for their own best good and for the general ends of social progress keep their hands on some specialty, so far as may be, through the years when they cannot follow it as the first obligation, so as to be ready to re-enter their vocation when the children are grown, this is coming to be seen more and more as the wise plan for all women who would do something worth while in life. But that the exigencies of family life can ever be reduced to a perfect system of specialties of work so as to place men and women on the same plane of competitive professional and manual labor, I do not believe. That the majority of women who marry and have children can be the best of mothers and at the same time be as constantly devoted to some particular pursuit as is the average man seems not to be in accordance with facts. There is, it seems clear to some of us looking below the surface, a deep sociological reason for this division of interests and activities in the lives of the majority of women. Personality is not the power to do a specific thing well, although vocational effectiveness is a part of personality; nor is it a capacity to excell all previous achievements of the human race in some one line of endeavor, although great persons may be geniuses of this sort. Personality is above all the quality of unity, some individual wholeness that prevents the human creature from wholly losing himself in the whirl of things. And to develop this in the average life it seems to be necessary that somewhere at the child's first efforts to become a person there shall be some quiet brooding, much leisurely companionship of the beloved, a rich and generous sharing of some larger life always near when needed, and not so much absorbed in its own individual doings as to fail of noting each movement of another toward a truly human existence. For this reason the individualization of women within the family may be often subordinate, so far as vocational effort of the modern industrial type is concerned, to the development of a kind of personality which is effective through its breadth and its normal balance rather than by reason of its technical achievements. In any case the family as a prime factor in the development of personality is the chief concern of all social effort, and therefore the individualization of its members must be controlled by the law of its own supreme function.

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The question of how far the members of the family should be individualized happens to touch upon a very fundamental question of social theory, namely, what is the individual? There is still much difference of opinion among sociological thinkers as to what an individual really is, and over the true relation between the individual and the social order. Perhaps it is a good thing for these questions of fundamental theory to come openly into our discussion, for it can well be maintained that good theory is the most practical thing in the world. Furthermore, it is quite possible that what laboratory training does toward making natural scientists becomingly modest, patient, and sane, can be done for us partly by our wrestling with questions of fundamental theory.

What does it mean to ask how far the members of the family should be individualized? Perhaps it means, especially, how far should wives, mothers, and children be afforded opportunity for freedom of choice. In reality, of course, every individual must individualize himself, because the very essence of human individuality lies in independent judgment, personal, responsible, characteristic, and unique. How can one be a real individual if he does not make up his own mind and carry out his own plans, bearing and expecting to bear most of the consequences himself? All that other persons can do for him, through any kind of social action, is to furnish him with opportunity of some sort. What we are really enquiring into today, therefore, is not *how far*, but rather in what *direction* persons should be individualized—or better, how far unrestricted choice is consistent with their highest personal development, and by whom and in what respects the opportunity shall be afforded. Perhaps it will illustrate my meaning to suggest that it is no more individual for a woman of today to get a divorce under intolerable conditions than it was for the woman of yesterday to throw flatirons under similar provocation. And it is still a debated question between certain manufacturers and social workers whether legislation limiting the hours of working-women is individualizing them or whether it is doing the exact opposite. Would one say that a woman lawyer is more individual than a mother? Or a criminal than a college president? The real question is between different kinds of individuality, as I said before, and different ways of realizing it. If we have the right kind, it is hard to see how the members of the family can be too much individualized, so our question is answered at the very outset; but what *is* the right kind? It seems to me that all social effort is directed toward fostering strong and high individual personality, whatever that may be. If the range of choice for women and children has been recently extended, what we are most concerned to know is whether it has resulted, on the whole, in stronger and better personality or in degeneracy. Of course in judging in this matter we must have in mind some ideal.

It is not established that degeneracy has resulted from the larger opportunities afforded women. Probably there are more good wives and mothers, even, than there ever were before. When before were there so many mothers' clubs, so much interest in child-study, and so many periodicals relating to housekeeping? When before did mothers take so much interest in the education of their children? It is obvious that much depends on what we consider bad effects of enlarged opportunity. The principal speaker of the afternoon has said, "In the making of the home woman renders her greatest social service and finds her highest function." The same thing has often been said before. We can all agree with it, provided it does not imply too much. It should not imply that greater freedom of choice, provided it leads some women to choose not to make homes, is a misfortune. Such an implication would only beg the whole question. What we might better say is that some women, as some men, find their highest function in raising a creditable family, and that some women and some men find their highest function in doing something else that is socially useful, but that neither men nor women serve either themselves or others by choosing to do anything which they cannot do well, or which is narrowly selfish. There are some who seem to think that raising a family is a social service, rather deserving of reward, but nobody has been able to prove that raising a family with bad heredity or bad family training is anything other than a social disservice. All depends on how well one's work is done, and there are more ways of serving heaven and earth than are dreamed of in some men's philosophies. If a woman finds her chief field of self-expression, of individuality, in club life, or some other form of social service, who shall say that this particular woman was not better fitted for this kind of work than for motherhood? Who knows? And who *can* know? Only the most obviously injurious kinds of eccentricity can be safely set down as really bad, for the stone which is rejected of the builders may become the head of the corner. Some results of larger freedom for women have been certainly good, and a great many others we are not yet in a position to pronounce upon.

When we come to discuss the freedom of choice afforded children, we must recognize that there are some limitations which a child cannot escape, simply because he is a child—because of his ignorance and inexperience, and because he must grow up under the eye of whatever parents he may happen to have. In making the recurring choices which fix his habits, and so his character, he must rely upon his parents for almost constant guidance, for good or ill. Yet something can be done for him, and much has already been done for him. We try to enlarge the freedom of the child, for instance, by schools, child-labor laws, playgrounds, etc., and more recently and insistently by industrial education. These help the child, no doubt, but it is not established that the school has grown *at the expense of* the family, as Mr. Hagerty intimated. It is more nearly true to say that

both the family and the school have expanded in function. One need only stop to reflect, for instance, to see that the child of working-class parents a few hundred years ago was not taught to read and write by the parents, *instead of* by the school; he simply was not taught to read and write at all. It became necessary as a new demand and was taken over by a new institution. And it is still more certain that the speaker was wrong in thinking that the church has grown at the expense of the family: the fact is that *both* have suffered by the decay in religious thought, feeling, and action. But however that may be, to come back to the question now immediately before us, more and more people are coming to see that compulsory-school-attendance laws and laws against child labor go but a short way toward really enlarging a child's freedom of choice, invaluable though they are. They go no farther than to remove the ignorance and greed of his parents so far as these stand in the way of the child's being in the schoolroom or on the playground. They leave him still subject to the ignorance and greed and incapacity of the parents in a hundred other directions, such as in language, manners, foresight, industry, ideals of conduct, etc., and they leave immediately untouched all the limitations upon his freedom of thought and action which flow from the poverty of the family, from its home and neighborhood surroundings of every kind. It is to remove some of these limitations that housing conditions, playgrounds, etc., are being looked after. Besides, a child may be in the schoolroom or upon the playground and yet be deformed, or sick, or unable to see well or to hear well, or he may be habitually underfed—all conditions preventing him from learning much or indulging much in strenuous play, in which lies the building of character, the foundation of individuality. Here are limitations which challenge society to overcome them.

To this end there are some current proposals of much interest. In addition to furnishing schools and playgrounds and industrial and household and hygienic training, it is proposed by some to emancipate the child still further by furnishing free medical inspection and attention, and also furnishing free meals to school children, and possibly even shoes and clothing. Still more far-reaching is the proposal to give state aid, as by pensions, as a matter of right, to all mothers, from the first coming of their children.¹ In support of this last it is said that state pensions to mothers would set some of them free from the unreasonable domination of their husbands and also from the necessity to go from home to work in factories; the idea is that such freedom would permit women of the working-classes to develop a truer individuality, in caring for their children, than is now possible for them. Such pensions might also result in the children being rescued from neglect, thus coming into larger opportunity and perhaps using it to develop real individuality. All these are

¹ See H. G. Wells, *New Worlds for Old*; also *Socialism and the Family*.

important proposals. Some of them are already being adopted here and there. The distinctive thing about them is that they are directed toward enlarging freedom of choice by furnishing the economic means, instead of depending upon the father to furnish them as has heretofore been done. To indicate where the line shall be drawn upon such methods of "individualizing" the members of the family, in the light of the best sociological theory, would seem to be one of the chief purposes of this discussion. As I have not been able to mature my views on this matter I shall not attempt to answer the question.

Those who attempt to answer it, however, must ask, in regard to all these proposals, What is likely to be their effect upon the standards of family relations? Will they raise and define the standard of what shall be considered by the average community a good husband, a good wife, a good father or mother? Will they lead to stronger and more effectual approval or disapproval, as the case may be, of large families, reckless marriages, neglect of wife or children, the indulgence of children by their parents? And will they lead to greater definition of standards in these and other respects? It is mostly in the light of their effects upon these standards, and thus upon the character of individual fathers and mothers, that these proposals must be judged. It is upon such a basis, it seems to me, that those who feel themselves competent must proceed in answering the question of how far such methods of "individualizing" should be pursued.

As to the general subject of the advantages of freedom of choice, it is only when there is some, but not too much responsibility felt by the person making the choice that the results are good. Increased knowledge of all kinds, including that as to human nature and the social order, increased foresight, including that into the social effects of this kind of conduct and that, such as the treatment of children, increased sense of responsibility for marriage, etc.—in these, of course, lies the hope of the future. But there is nothing very startling or sensational about this, I am very glad to say. All moral effort of everybody—teachers, preachers, social workers, business men, upright citizens—fostering any of these ends just mentioned will foster the true individualization of members of the family.

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Professor Hagerty deplors the breaking-up of family solidarity. But, as he himself recognizes, this has been the historical tendency. The early clan and patriarchal organization was based upon the principle of kinship. Since then the basis of social organization has been widening constantly. It is, therefore, not safe to assume that the breaking-up of family solidarity is necessarily an evil. On the contrary, if family solidarity is broken up it may be superseded by a larger social solidarity which will more than compensate for its loss.

I have no far-reaching generalizations as to the future of the family to propose, nor am I so certain as Professor Hagerty that the family will remain the fundamental social institution. I shall therefore limit myself to speaking of a few of the numerous factors which enter into the family life to lessen its value for the members of the family and especially for the children. It has been my good fortune to have the opportunity of studying the careers of several hundreds of criminals and in the case of many of these I have been able to determine what factors there were in their early family surroundings which helped to start them on criminal careers. These same factors serve in the case of many other individuals to make their careers more or less unsuccessful though not necessarily criminal. These factors may be classified in two groups, the first, abnormal, the second, normal. By abnormal factors I mean those which enter into the family life through accidental means and therefore cannot be foreseen and are unusual. By normal factors I mean those which enter habitually into the lives of many families because they arise out of conditions which are now widespread in society.

Among the abnormal factors are the following: The presence of a step-parent in the home lessens very greatly the value of the family life for the children because a step-parent cannot have the same affection for the children that the real parent has. A step-mother is likely to do most harm to young step-children. Though lacking maternal love for these children yet there are imposed upon her the duties of a mother which she is very likely to neglect. She is especially likely to do this if she has children of her own, when her feeling of indifference toward her step-children may become dislike and hatred. A step-father is most likely to do harm to older step-children, especially a boy verging on manhood. Then a step-father is liable to feel that this son of a former husband of his wife is an intruder in his home and this feeling is a prolific cause for dissension.

Incompatibility of temperament between the parents tends to make the family life unwholesome for the children. Dissension between the parents weakens their authority over the children and without parental restraint the children are likely to run wild. In many immigrant families there comes a break between parents and children because the children become Americanized more rapidly than their parents. The knowledge of English and of American customs and ways which the children get so quickly in the public schools and elsewhere gives them a sense of superiority over their parents and makes the parents quite helpless to exercise any authority over them.

In some families undue restrictions are laid upon the children because the moral and conventional standards of the parents are more rigid than those of the surrounding community. This may account for the proverbially bad character of the minister's son. These restrictions are usually upon certain pleasures which the religious or moral prejudices of the parents consider bad. Such restrictions are especially aggravating when these pleas-

ures are countenanced in the vicinity of the home. The time comes when the pent-up desires and energies of the child force him or her to break loose. Frequently the first move is to run away from home.

The principal normal factors which lessen the value of the family life are poverty, and ignorance, which is frequently the result of poverty but sometimes its cause. Poverty frequently causes privation of the necessities of life for some or all the members of the family. It causes a lack of recreational facilities for the children. When the mother has to go out to work it removes restraint from the children at home. Ignorance both in poor and in well-to-do families leads to failure on the part of the parents to feed, clothe, and bring up the children properly.

Society should be ready to step in whenever possible and supply the want when the family fails. The principal social agencies for this purpose are the public schools, children's aid societies, the probation system, etc. Society can supply the want quite frequently when the abnormal factors we have mentioned above enter into the family life, but very little can be done to eliminate these abnormal factors. It can help quite frequently also when the normal factors mentioned above enter into the family. But it should be the ultimate object of society to eliminate poverty and ignorance. The accomplishment of this, however, may not strengthen the family, for the guarantee of well-being which society will then make may be to the individual member of society rather than to the family as a unit. In that case family solidarity will be superseded by a larger social solidarity.

CONCLUDING REMARKS OF PROFESSOR HAGERTY

At the outset the question stated was: How far should the state go in individualizing members of the family? The secretary in submitting the subject to me changed it to its present form: How far should the members of the family be individualized? The paper which I read is a discussion of the latter question, which is considered from the view-point of public opinion or the social judgment as well as that of state action.

The writer of the paper labored under the impression that those who were to lead in its discussion were as familiar with the meaning of the subject, as interpreted by the makers of the programme, as he was. On this account an interpretation of the subject was omitted from the paper. If those who discussed the subject had comprehended its intended meaning much that has been said in this discussion would have been omitted. Under the circumstances the writer frankly admits his error in not interpreting the subject without agreeing, however, with much that was said by those who have commented on the necessity for definition of terms.

I dissent entirely from Mr. Parry's criticism of the statement in the paper that "in the household, in the making of the home, woman renders her greatest social service and finds her highest function." I admit with

him that *some women* should not marry and that they can be more useful to themselves and to society by abstaining from marriage and by engaging in pursuits suited to their talents. This admission, however, in no wise conflicts with the contention that women as a class render their greatest social service and find their highest functions in the development of homes and in the keeping of homes.

Mrs. Gilman protests against the citation of the failure of the orphanage as indicating the superiority of the home as the normal and proper institution in which children should grow up. While the orphanage deals with an inferior class from the point of view of heredity, when these children are placed in homes, the home deals with precisely the same class securing much better results than the orphanage. Besides, the orphanage frequently has the advantage of expert talent in organizing the work of the institution and also expert talent in training the children.

In spite of these features it is a failure. No other method of rearing children has ever been known which is comparable to home training in the development of efficient and useful citizens.

In institutions organized to reform juvenile delinquents, the cottage system, where the conditions of home life are as far as possible reproduced, furnishes the ideal institution. The smaller the cottage and the fewer the number of children in the cottage making possible imitation of family life, the better is the institution.

HOW FAR SHOULD FAMILY WEALTH BE ENCOURAGED AND CONSERVED?

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It is understood that this question refers to the encouragement of the accumulation of wealth by the family and to its security, by means of efforts exerted outside of the family—individual efforts, the efforts of associations of individuals, and even of the state.

Hence the discussion seems to invite an examination of some fundamental principles of economics, of politics, and ultimately of biology. Anything of this sort is too large a proposition for this paper, and the endeavor will be mostly to follow lines along which we may not be radically at odds, even though some of us may be state socialists and others individualists and still others occupying various positions between the two extremes.

Why should a family want wealth beyond what is merely sufficient to provide for necessities and comforts? What is called civilization answers the question. There is a minimum standard of living of varying descriptions which, society insists, should be maintained, and this not solely for the betterment of the individual as an individual, nor mostly so, but for his betterment as a member of society and because of the general social elevation in civilization promoted by that of the individual. So society has a legitimate interest in the welfare of every member and in raising the standard of living. Family income, and wealth, too, are closely related to its welfare.

DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH

In this country, family wealth exists on a high general level, yet inequalities of wealth-distribution are enormous. It seems probable that one-half of the families are almost without wealth, their possessions being mostly confined to household and personal belongings and the implements required by their occupations.

Among the 19,000,000 families there are millions whose property of the descriptions indicated is worth less than \$500, and some millions of these, worth less than \$200. That is wealth, not income.

Fifteen years ago, favored by exceptional opportunities for exploring the subject of wealth-distribution in ownership, the writer ventured to indicate its character in arithmetical terms. In the meantime great changes have taken place—the multiplication and increase of great fortunes, the accumulation of minor fortunes so common as to fail to attract attention; and, at the other extreme, increasing tenancy of the home, both on the farm and in the town and city, and the continued building-up of the great class of low-wage receivers.

Between these two extremes, another class has been building, what is called the middle class, containing about one-half of the total number of families, and among these the farmers have gained conspicuously. Since 1890 the value of farm capital, including land value, has increased 75 per cent., a gain of three-fourths in 18 years, partly due, however, to extension of cultivated area by new farms.

What the resultant fact of all these diverse movements of the last 18 years upon the character of wealth-distribution is can only be inferred, but it seems probable that inequality has increased. The reference is not to the increased gap between the very poor and the very rich, but to inequality, mathematically expressed so as to measure the effect of the acquisition of say \$10,000,000 by one family, and the acquisition of the same amount by 2,000 families at \$5,000 each.

It is probably not the growth of large fortunes alone that has caused the increasing inequality of wealth distribution, for there is some indication of a larger hopelessly poor class. We may differ as to the reasons for the existence of this class, but at any rate we shall have to consider among the causes environment, occupation, heredity, and many social efforts to preserve the unfit and enable them to continue their kind.

So it seems probable that the writer's old statement of wealth-distribution made for the conditions of 1890 would not make the

case worse than it is if applied to the present time. The statement was that

about 19 per cent. of the wealth is owned by the poorer families that own farms and homes without incumbrance, and that these are 28 per cent. of all of the families. Only 8 per cent. of the wealth is owned by tenant families and the poorer class of those that own their farms and homes under incumbrance, and these together constitute 63 per cent. of all families. As little as 4 per cent. of the nation's wealth is owned by 52 per cent. of the families, that is, by the tenants alone. Finally, 4,047 families possess about seven-tenths as much as do 11,560,293 families.

The purpose in quoting this is to call attention to the large fraction of the families that are poor, really poor; it is about one-half. It is still to be remembered that the subject is wealth, not income.

The probate statistics of Massachusetts afford further light on distribution. If the estates are classified according to amount and the classes are arranged in order of amount in columns, the number of estates and the total amount of wealth in each class, some interesting observations can be made.

The distribution tended to become more even from 1830 to 1860, but more uneven from 1860 to 1890. Analysis localizes this feature. At the extremes of the scale—in the poor and in the rich—the distribution becomes more uneven. On the contrary, within the middle class, distribution becomes more even.

Any general plan to encourage family wealth would encounter a situation, it would seem, in which wealth-distribution is becoming more uneven and in which there is an ample quantity of material to work upon. In one of the richest states, Massachusetts, the inventoried probated estates valued at less than \$500 are 15 per cent. of the total and those valued at less than \$1,000 are 27 per cent.; while, in the whole United States, perhaps one-half of the families may be regarded as poor in accumulated wealth.

CAUSES OF THIS DISTRIBUTION

Some understanding of the causes of the present deficient distribution of wealth and of the large fractions of the poor and very poor, may guide our efforts to encourage family wealth, or possibly prevent some of them. Wealth is accumulated out of

wealth produced, primarily in the division of the product between labor and capital, and subsequently in the transfer of this wealth from one place and person to another. The process of wealth-accumulation works mostly in favor of the capitalist. If the working-man accumulates much wealth, it is because he has become also a capitalist and mostly because of returns to his capital, either in interest, or rent paid by real-estate tenants, or in unearned increment to land value, or in pure profit.

Years ago the *New York Tribune* ascertained the sources of the fortunes of all of the reputed millionaires of this country. The results were unavoidably imperfect, but after all they roughly indicated the facts. Over 4 per cent. of the millionaires became such through logging and lumbering, nearly 7 per cent. through mining, and 65 per cent., more or less through increase of land value. All instances in which there is a trace of labor as a source of wealth, and these are confined to the professional kinds, may be segregated. They form but 3 per cent. of the total and in all cases the accumulation out of salaries and fees is qualified by the explanation that these were invested in real estate or other property returning interest and pure profit.

It is possible for a skilled mechanic with wife but no children, abstaining from alcoholic liquors and tobacco and nearly all unproductive expenditures, to accumulate in twenty-five years of good health, unremitting industry, parsimony, and compounding of interest on savings, enough income-returning property to sustain his widow in comfort. This is possible, because it has been done, but the man who did it was a marked man, and he had no children, either to render his feat impossible or to preserve his characteristics for future social good.

Savings banks are often referred to in popular writings as having deposits composed entirely or mostly of the savings of working-people and of the poor. This is a wide-spread fallacy in a large degree. The Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor, years ago, investigated this subject to ascertain the extent to which working-people were taking advantage of savings institutions, but these people were conspicuously few.

Although working-people may constitute a considerable frac-

tion of depositors, their aggregate deposits are comparatively small and the fact is that these banks are more properly investment institutions than savings banks. A man could be mentioned who had \$2,000 in each of twenty savings banks in Massachusetts, and his case was exceptional only in degree. These banks did for him what they did for nearly all depositors—they performed solely the function of an expert investment agent.

Wealth is unevenly distributed because, partly, savings out of wages and salaries play a very small part indeed in comparison with savings out of returns to capital. Then why do not wage and salary receivers strive to build up an income-returning capital? The answer may be given in many forms—circumstances, psychology, defective heredity, public opinion and policy, restrictive, repressive, or subdivided competition, and the social atmosphere.

As we in this country live and as we are agreed that we should live, there is little to be had out of wages and salaries for conversion into income-bearing capital, if a man has wife and children to provide for. The wage-earner is subject to causes that weaken his saving power, both in periods of industrial depression and in times called prosperous. In times of depression he suffers for want of employment and in times of great activity in production, cost of living has increased in a greater degree than wages have. There is a popular inversion of this latter fact due to a misunderstanding of the annual reports of the United States Bureau of Labor concerning wages and retail prices of food.

From 1890 to the latest year, the Bureau has established a series of index numbers standing for relative weekly wage-earnings per employee, and another series representing relative retail prices of food, weighted according to family consumption.

Then, another series of index numbers has been computed to merge the former two into one; that is, to express the purchasing power of full-time weekly earnings per employee measured by retail prices of food weighted according to family consumption. This series of combined index numbers is the decisive one in the matter of wages and cost of food, but it is doubtful that it has attracted the attention of one newspaper writer throughout the

length and breadth of the land, and the result is that there is a general misrepresentation of this conclusion of the Bureau of Labor.

The fact is this: The purchasing power of wage-earnings in terms of food from 1890 to 1907 was lowest in 1893, in May of which year a long and severe industrial depression burst upon the country. The purchasing power increased during the period of depression and was highest in 1896, the last year of the depression, and next to the highest in the following year, since which time there was decrease, with oscillations.

The general fact established is that the purchasing power of wage-earnings in terms of food-consumption was on a higher level in the so-called prosperous times of 1897 to 1907 than in the similar sort of times in 1890 to 1892; but also that the working-man's earnings bought more food in the period of depression from 1895 to 1897 than in the preceding fat years for capital; and, again, in the years 1896 and 1897 bought more food than in the periods of great expansion that followed.

It clearly appears that wage-rates are less responsive to elevating and depressing influences than food-prices are.

If the Bureau of Labor's index numbers of weekly wage-earnings are computed into purchasing power of all commodities as shown by Bradstreet's index numbers, the results are of the same sort as those above mentioned, but more boldly expressed than when applied to the prices of food alone.

In the case of all commodities, the purchasing power of wages is conspicuously high in the period of low industrial activity from 1894 to 1898 and decidedly low in the following years of expansion.

The time when productive capital "makes money" is when prices rise faster than wages do; the favorable time for wage and salary earners and persons with fixed or nearly fixed incomes is the period of depression, except in so far as want of employment may reduce wage-earnings.

Attention should be directed to an apparent exception in recent years in the case of the wages of farm labor. There seems to be small mobility and less versatility in the labor of the city man;

but the country man will go to the city and turn his hand to almost anything. If he does not become a conductor on a street car, he will prepare to become the president of the company in a few years; he will operate a delivery wagon, or become a merchant, or a telephone lineman, or a banker, and so on with a long list of occupations. The demand for labor in town and city, increasing from 1897 at an apparent gain over country labor in real wage-earnings, although not properly so in fact since they were only wage-rates, tended to deplete the country of agricultural labor, and the consequent increase of farm wages was greater in degree than the increase in the prices of all commodities. From 1895 to 1906 these prices increased 35.8 per cent., while the wages of farm labor by the month for the year or season without board increased 38.4 per cent. and with board 41.4 per cent.; wages by the day in harvest without board increased 46.5 per cent. and with board 55.4 per cent.; and the wages of ordinary labor by the day without board increased 55.6 per cent. and with board 61.3 per cent. The prices of all commodities increased only 35.8 per cent.

The examination of the causes of low wealth-accumulation by the many may be continued. There is occupation. In 1900, twenty-nine million persons had gainful occupations and a very large fraction of these had occupations of low productivity of wealth or of small personal or professional service—at any rate regarded as low or small on pay day. There were over four and one-half million agricultural laborers, 112,000 clergymen, nearly half a million teachers, nearly three million undescribed laborers, 386,000 persons doing work of washerwomen, more than one and one-half million servants; many soldiers, sailors, and marines, boatmen, hostlers, messengers, porters, and so on; and more than half a million dressmakers and seamstresses, nearly two-thirds of a million clerks and copyists, and about the same number of salesmen and saleswomen.

The unskilled, and poorly remunerative, occupations gave employment to probably more than one-half of all persons having gainful occupations.

What fraction of the persons having gainful occupations shall

be assigned to those who are employed under wages or salary? Years ago, the writer worked at this question for all censuses in which occupations were sufficiently described, and it seems probable that the fraction of the employed is increasing.

The question was subsequently propounded to a statistical office in Washington several years ago and a man very competent to answer the question arrived at a percentage differing by about 3 and he did not know that the writer had worked on the problem. The conclusions were 65 and 68 per cent.; that is to say, these are the wage and salary receivers.

Analyze the population of all ages and observe how small a fraction is fitted or disposed, or is in a position, to accumulate wealth after maintaining a family and the required standard of living. The negroes are 11.6 per cent., the foreign-born whites 13.5 per cent., the native white females 36.7 per cent., and the native white males under 30 years of age, 25.2 per cent. Of course there is no sweeping generalization that all of these classes cannot be and are not wealth-accumulators in some degree.

After an allowance of one-half of 1 per cent. for Mongolians and Indians, there remains the chief wealth-acquiring class—the native white males 30 years old and over who constitute only 12.5 per cent. of the population; and how many of these must be rejected as even possible wealth-accumulators?

Still further may be considered the subject of the obstacles to wealth-accumulation. Bradstreet's agency has a record of the failures among nearly a million and a half persons, firms, and corporations engaged in business in the United States. From 1899 to 1907, the mean percentage of annual failure was 0.78 of 1 per cent.; somewhat under 1 in each 100 is the yearly business death-rate.

Unfitness of various descriptions accounts for most of the failures—incompetence for 23 per cent. of them in 1907, inexperience for 5 per cent., lack of capital for 37 per cent., unwise credits for 2 per cent., extravagance for 1 per cent., neglect for $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., speculation for 1 per cent., and fraud for 10 per cent. In all, more than four-fifths of the failures were because the responsible persons were not qualified to manage and con-

serve the capital employed; and yet 90 per cent. of the failures had a capital of less than \$5,000.

There are social elements not qualified, or not disposed, to produce enough wealth to afford any surplus as a family possession, or if qualified and favorably disposed to produce the wealth, not disposed to save a surplus away from consumption and expenditure. There is the army of the lazy, another army of the mentally incapable, and the many with criminal natures, the sick, weak, and deformed, the degenerates, the atavists, and the spend-thrifts. It requires a mighty good inheritance to enable a man to subordinate present satisfactions to future good and greater future satisfactions; and so income disappears in present consumption.

The wastefulness of our people is a world-wide byword. We have been supplied so prodigally that habits of economy and saving have not been forced upon us. To the Chinese we must seem to have taken hardly our first lesson in getting the greatest utility out of things. All this is destructive to saving out of income.

A cord of wood delivered in a cellar in Washington costs \$8, and the same cord delivered in little bundles in the kitchen, one at a time, costs \$20. As an untried proposition, the cord would cost only two-fifths of the bundles, but upon trying it there will often be found an unexpected factor. When buying by the cord and having an abundance of wood on hand, it is burned unnecessarily and so wastefully that two and one-half cords will not last as long as one cord delivered by the little bundle.

Two pounds of sugar in a single purchase may last as long as five pounds do in kitchen experience. An exhibition of a plentiful supply of butter, soap, and other things will incite the cook and laundress to a riot of waste.

These are illustrations of a widespread and prevalent waste, found not only among servants, but perhaps among your next friends.

So it is often found that the most economical way to live in affairs of the kitchen, where about one-half of the working-man's income is consumed, is the costly one of small purchases at the

highest prices, instead of large quantities at wholesale prices. Experience of a similar general nature with a wide range of application is very common in American life.

Now, take the families that are able to accumulate some wealth for investment. How many of them in 100 can invest it so as to keep it from getting away? And how many, or better how few, are competent to use their savings as productive capital and conserve it? The fractions of the competent in these cases are small. A majority of men can work for others better than for themselves; only exceedingly small fractions are organizers and managers even on a small scale.

A few words must be said about income, or there may be some false impressions derived from what has been said about wealth-distribution and the large element of the poor. A family may be poor—that is, have little or no wealth but personal and household belongings and the implements of occupation—and still have a good-sized income. The family may prefer to raise the level of its living and expense to the height of the income rather than to keep the living and expense down and let a surplus remain for building up the stock of family wealth. This is the favorite policy in the United States. The preference is to raise high the standard of living and expense and let the comparatively few provide the nation's capital.

So when we observe the general appearance of well-being throughout the land, the inference is that wealth is well distributed; and, on the other hand, when we are confronted with the probable distribution in fact, we are horrified at the dreadful condition of humanity that it is assumed to indicate.

It is time to put the brakes on our unproductive consumption. Much of this is of no benefit to the family and some of it is detrimental. This topic needs considerable time for its treatment and only a general protest can be entered here. With a reduction of this sort of consumption, there would be available for building up the family wealth, a portion of family income that is now practically wasted.

ENCOURAGEMENT

From whence shall a family get its encouragement? Shall it be from the state? Shall the state treat the family as a child, enforce saving, invest its wealth, guarantee the deposits, establish postal savings banks, the solvency of which will be protected by the wealth of the nation? These questions need not be answered in the affirmative until great social necessity requires such answers, and need not receive consideration at all until self-help, with neighborly encouragement, has failed.

In the meantime degrading conditions should receive attention. Not from the point of view of social welfare, but from that of social preservation, it may be demanded of the state that it shall remove such conditions. This is justification of such legislation as that for improving tenement houses and the conditions of labor in them.

There are many things that we cannot do, or at any rate, will not undertake to do, unless associated with others. By means of co-operation the building and loan association provides loans to its members and at the same time stimulates family savings. Co-operative investment of capital in small contributions by many persons will establish and sustain a co-operative store, or a co-operative laundry, or a co-operative coal yard, or a co-operative printing office, or a co-operative milk-buying and delivery service. The field for economic co-operation is very large, and it may be carried on in many directions.

Co-operation has been enormously developed by farmers in this country and successfully established, and it is working in favor of accumulating the wealth of farmers' families and of conserving it. The magnitude of this movement deserves some words, because of the demonstrations that it presents. Eight or nine years ago, there were obtained from 35,000 crop correspondents of the United States Department of Agriculture, representing all of the townships of the country, the names of the farmers' co-operative economic organizations, and afterward statements of their business were obtained. One who has kept in touch with this co-operative movement of the farmers during the intervening years may risk the statements that follow.

Farmers' economic co-operation in the United States has developed enormously, and it is safe to say that at the present time more than one-half of the 6,100,000 farms are represented in economic co-operation; the fraction is much larger if it is based on the total number of medium and better sorts of farmers, to which the co-operators mostly belong.

The most prominent object of co-operation is property insurance, in which about 2,000 associations have probably 2,000,000 members. This kind of insurance costs the farmers only a few cents per hundred dollars of risk above the actual losses.

The co-operative creameries number more than 1,900, and the cheese factories about 260, the membership of the two classes being very large and representing an immense number of cows.

With the exception of insurance, the greatest success in the farmers' co-operative movement is in selling. Associations to regulate, promote, and manage the details of selling the products of co-operating farmers are found in all parts of the United States. There is co-operation for selling by fruit growers, vegetable growers, nut growers, berry growers; by live-stock men, by the producers of cotton and tobacco, wheat, sweet potatoes, flax, oats, eggs, poultry, and honey. Farmers co-operate to sell milk for city supply, to sell wool, cantaloupes, celery, cauliflower, citrus fruits, apples, and so on with a long list.

Co-operative buying is conducted by about 350 stores in this country, a majority of which are mostly owned by farmers. This is chiefly the result of a very recent movement. Another form of co-operation for buying is based on the discount plan, as carried on by the granges, farmers' clubs, and various other associations of farmers with co-operative buying as either a primary or secondary object. Things bought in this way are all sorts of store goods: potatoes, wheat, etc., for seed; coal and wood; and a great variety of farm and family supplies.

Warehousing is conducted by farmers on the co-operative plan with success, particularly for the storage of wheat and corn. A co-operative cotton-warehousing movement is of recent date.

Co-operative telephone service has permeated vast regions,

and the co-operative feature has kept the expense at the lowest figure, both of equipment and of service.

Co-operative irrigation is carried on by many thousands of associations in the arid and semi-arid regions, and there is co-operative drainage for reclaiming swamp land.

The progress of farmers in forming and expanding associations of an educational and semi-economic character has made great advances. These associations are national in their scope, or are confined to state lines or to sections within states, and are devoted to the interchange of ideas and experiences, the assembling of information for common benefit, the holding of competitive exhibitions of products, the devising of plans for the common good, and business of a like character; and are concerned with special subjects, such as horticulture, floriculture, dairying, plant breeding, live-stock breeding, poultry breeding, the scientific aspects of breeding, forestry, agricultural education, fraternal association with incidental educational and economic features, seed-breeding, agriculture, vegetable-growing under glass, and the nursery business.

Important associations of the social sort, with incidental economic features, are farmers' clubs, of which there are a great many.

Altogether the number of farmers' co-operative economic associations must be fully 75,000, and may easily be many more, with a membership rising above 3,000,000, without counting duplicates.

Contrary to his reputation, the farmer is a great organizer and he has achieved remarkable and enormous successes in many lines of economic co-operation in which the people of other occupations have made no beginning.

Economic co-operation is a feasible proposition in scores of directions, each of them making at least a small demand for wealth-saving and offering opportunity for investment. If you are engaged in encouragement, you do not wait for fellow-co-operators to come to you, but you go to them and so you are incidentally doing missionary work along lines suggested by the

question now under discussion. You may be sure that the co-operator in the successful association will not let go.

The highest form of social co-operation is the voluntary sort. All co-operators are willing, and not a minority of them unwilling as in politico-economic co-operation. Another thing in its favor is that it reacts upon its members to enlarge, or at any rate to strengthen, their individuality. It is a scheme for promoting both socialism and individualism, and it leaves and preserves the largest degree of liberty consistent with the social compact.

In the work of encouraging family wealth, as in other matters, co-operation is selective. Only the suitable ones can become co-operators and remain such. The unsuitable ones will not respond to suggestion and offers of help.

The writer was spending the summer on a farm in Virginia a few years ago, the guest of the owner of 250 acres, 150 of which were nominally improved, and producing a gross return of only \$3 or \$4 per acre. Partly because it was painful to behold such poor agriculture, and partly from friendly feelings, the services of some of the most talented practical agriculturists in the United States were enlisted to direct the farmer. They promised a gross return of say \$75 per acre within five years upon the adoption of their plans, and no doubt their promise was good, but the farmer neglected to accept the offer. He was one of the unimprovable incompetents, irresponsible to social stimulus.

If efforts in behalf of such a farmer or in behalf of your neighbor, to encourage him to add to his family wealth by suggestion, by offer of opportunity, by invitation to co-operate with you and others, are unfavorably received, let that end the matter. Nothing further can be done, unless the state takes charge of him. If it does, the state, and not he, will practically be the saver and conservator; and neither Spencer's nor Weismann's theory of heredity perceives in such procedure the creation of a transmissible habit of saving.

REVIEWS

Studies in the American Race Problem. By ALFRED HOLT STONE, Dunleith. With an Introduction and Three Papers by WALTER F. WILCOX. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1908. Pp. xvi+555.

For a number of years Mr. Stone has been pursuing a thorough and comprehensive study of race relations in America. Those interested in the scientific determination of the race problems in the United States have been looking anxiously for the final results of Mr. Stone's investigations. As a preliminary survey of the subjects he offers this volume to the public, "which in the main," as he says, "are by-products of investigations in a broader field." Nearly all of the material presented in the book has already had a partial hearing before the public. The first and second papers, on "Race-Problem Contrasts and Parallels" and "Foundations of Our Differences," respectively, are consolidations of three lectures, one given at Cornell University in 1905, and two at the University of Michigan in 1906. The paper on "The Negro in the Yazoo-Mississippi Delta" was read at the annual meeting of the American Economic Association at Washington in 1901. "A Plantation Experiment" appeared in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, February, 1905. "The Economic Future of the American Negro" was read at the annual meeting of the American Economic Association at Baltimore in 1905. "Race Friction" was read at the second annual meeting of the American Sociological Society at Madison, Wisconsin, in 1907. "The Mulatto Factor in the Race Problem" appeared in the *Atlantic* in May, 1903. The remaining two papers by Mr. Stone on "Mr. Roosevelt, the South, and the Negro," and "The Negro in Politics," are new to the public. The three papers by Walter F. Wilcox, "Negro Criminality," "Census Statistics of the Negro," and "The Probable Increase of the Negro Race in the United States," have appeared before. The first was an address before the American Social Science Association at Saratoga in 1899, the second appeared in the *Yale Review* in November, 1904, and the last is the substance of a lecture given at Harvard University in April, 1905, which was published in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics* in the following August.

Mr. Stone has performed a great public service in collecting these papers and publishing them, with additions, in book form, thus seeking a larger audience of the American public. For, with due respect to some other valuable publications on the same subject, the book as it appears represents the most valuable contributions yet appearing on the race problem in the United States.

The author's earnestness and fairness in seeking and presenting the truth without fear or favor is unmistakable. He discusses the question on broad, humanitarian lines without ignoring national and sectional interests. He frankly states, "I am not an extremist, and I long ago made up my mind to keep faith with myself in this, that I would not utter one word upon this perplexing question of which my conscience did not approve as the prompting of a desire to speak the truth for the truth's sake." No one can read the book without being convinced that Mr. Stone has followed his text closely. Neither is he dogmatic in his utterances seeking to impose his opinions upon others, nor does he essay to solve the problem and furnish a formula for future action. General enlightenment of condition and a formal agreement on fundamental propositions must precede any basis for united action.

The chapter on "Mr. Roosevelt, the South, and the Negro" is based on the Booker Washington dinner, the appointment of Crum, and the closing of the Indianola Post-Office. The results of these three events on the negro, on the South, and on the race problem are considered. While this is a remarkable chapter, it is less calculated than others in the book to assist in a settlement of the problem. While Mr. Stone does not impugn President Roosevelt's motives, the chapter amounts to a scathing criticism on the results of his actions and his policy with the South. To make the chapter complete it should have included a discussion of the Brownsville incident.

Mr. Stone asks for the toleration of the North by the South, and the South by the North. He assumes:

Within the sphere of her own peculiar environment any position assumed by the South as a development of her racial difficulties cannot be successfully attacked or criticized from without. On the other hand, the world without is not to be dictated to and should not be indiscriminately criticized by the South in matters which are no proper concern of the southern people. If any man outside the South see fit to do those things which in the South are by public opinion not permitted to be done, he is not to be criticized for his acts, the South cannot arrogate to herself a

censorship of the opinions and tastes which govern the social intercourse of people beyond her jurisdiction. On this ground her criticism of Mr. Roosevelt for violating a social canon which she has enacted for the conduct of the relations of her own people will not be justified by the public opinion of the world or the country at large.

How far this position is justified is not here to be considered, except to say it gives evidence of Mr. Stone's catholic spirit. It is a plea that each locality should have a right to determine its own social status, which it practically does, in fact.

The chapter on "The Negro in Politics" is a careful analysis of the actual political conditions of the negro in the South. The final plea of the author is to leave the political life of the negro with the people of the South, both black and white, where it belongs. "What the negro needs just now is a political 'rest cure.' His daily litany should include a prayer to be let alone."

The whole book impresses the reader of the manifold difficulties of the race problem, and gives a clear statement of the difficulties without giving any formulas for their solution. The inference is that intelligence, study, toleration, and time are the elements of their solution; that economically, socially, and politically the negro is in a bad way, with an unpromising future, judged from the standards set by his optimistic friends, and that owing to his ignorance, superstition, indolence, childish nature, and racial characteristics, he is his own worst enemy, and that justice and patience must be exercised toward him by the North and South. And, moreover, that the people of the South are best situated to understand the negro and his problem, and can and will do more for him in a practical way, than theorists who live at a distance. It is a national burden which the whole nation must sympathetically bear, but the people of the South represent the direct remedial agent.

F. W. BLACKMAR

Russia's Message: The True World Import of the Revolution.

By WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING. Illustrated. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1908. Pp. xviii+476.

In the book before us the author has undertaken to make a plain statement of the present Russian situation, "omitting no feature of first importance and relating all together as a single whole" (Preface, p. ix). He writes not so much with a view to suggesting

what we can do for Russia, but rather from the view of what Russia has for the rest of the world. In this standpoint we may recognize a possibly exaggerated conception of Russia's place in modern history. In his attempt to put himself into "the most immediate contact with the inner ideas and spirit of the great struggle and to present this struggle to the reader as seen through the eyes of its leaders themselves," the author has, I think it may be fairly said, succeeded.

This study of contemporary Russia begins with the great strike which was ended by the Czar's Manifesto of October 17, 1905, convening the first Duma. The method of treatment adopted is pre-eminently literary and expository. After devoting a few pages to an account of Russia as a field of great experiment, the task of drawing a clear picture of oppression by the Czar is undertaken in a most telling series of sketches of the Czar Nicholas himself, of how he governs; and his methods of slow massacre and relentless persecution. The Czar is directly arraigned for his share of responsibility in all the administrative violence which exists in Russia today. The reforms of Stolypin are characterized as "Prussian;" autocracy's last hope is described as resting with the foreign bankers; and the people's enemies are exhibited as the Czar's allies.

In Part III, entitled "Revolt," we have first a general characterization of the Russian people, followed with a vivid description of how the peasants live, how they till the soil, how they are subjected to rack rent and to ruthless taxation, particular attention being given to the effects of the Emancipation Act of 1863 by which the serfs were changed "from slaves of the landlord to slaves of the state."

The preparedness of the peasants for revolution and their belief in the beneficence of the Czar are conspicuous features of the Russian situation at the time of the appearance of the Manifesto in 1905. These stand in sharp contrast to the bitter disappointment following the failure of the Duma, which set the village against the Czar by creating a new psychological atmosphere and new state of social mind; and the subsequent sending of armies of revenge among the peasantry quickly turned the village against the Czar by substituting a state of war for a state of mind.

In Part IV, "The Evolution of a New Nation," a graphic sketch is given of the electric effect of the Czar's Manifesto and the hopes it aroused for an immediate solution of Russia's social prob-

lem. The destruction of the unity so evoked was equally precipitate when the Czar, in response to the address of the first Duma, refused to consent to constitutional government by means of a responsible ministry. The several parties in the first and the second Duma and their subsequent policies are lucidly portrayed. The author takes a decidedly unfavorable view of the policies of the moderate constitutional democrats, headed by Milyoukov.

In the closing chapters the social aspirations of workingman and peasant are again brought into the foreground. The leaders of the Russian social movement are credited with a high order, if not a new order, of altruism. Literary men, Marxian socialists, priests like Father Petrov, and other intellectuals, work side by side for the Revolution.

In the opinion of the writer of this review the title selected by Mr. Walling for his book is not felicitous. There will be ample time to urge the import of Russian ideals upon the attention of the world after they have proven their efficacy for Russia. Meanwhile it remains doubtful whether Mr. Walling has given sufficient weight to the Malthusian doctrine of population and to the importance of private property in land as a motive for economic initiative in his consideration of Russia's elemental agrarian problem, to say nothing of his high aspirations for Russia's message.

As a first-hand study of Russia this book is admirable; the author's acquaintance with the leaders of Russian thought and action is evidently extensive; it is in no sense one-sided. The book deserves a wide circle of readers, both on account of the painstaking thoroughness with which the facts have been collected from first-hand sources and on account of its keen appreciation of Russian aspirations and ideals.

ISAAC A. LOOS

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Taine: historien et sociologue. By PAUL LACOMBE. Paris, 1909. Pp. 274.

This, the thirty-eighth volume of the *Bibliothèque Sociologique Internationale*, is in a sense a sequel to the author's study "*La psychologie des individus et des sociétés selon Taine, historien des littératures*," published in 1906. The later book is based upon an examination of Taine's twelve historical volumes which deal with mediaeval France, the Revolution, and nineteenth-century political

problems. Lacombe is a respectful but unsparing critic of his famous compatriot. Taine was, he insists, a sociologist in that he offered generalizations as to social life and institutions. Taine made much of the social environment, alluded to an age or nation as having a clearly defined spirit or character which was reflected in literature and in government. He was, therefore, consciously or unconsciously a social philosopher. But Lacombe accuses Taine of modifying or selecting his historical material to support his theses, of being misled by analogies and warped in judgment by his personal prejudices. Because of these things Taine is accused of idealizing the "Ancien Régime," of misrepresenting the Revolution in which he could see no redeeming element, and of failing to appreciate the republicanism of contemporary France. As an illustration of Taine's fondness for analogy Lacombe analyzes at some length the assertion that a form of government is like a house which a nation builds for its habitation. Thus, according to Taine, France was out of doors during the Revolution, its house being destroyed, but later the nation moved back into a somewhat tottering structure reared upon the foundations of the mediaeval period. This figure and Taine's conclusions drawn from it are mercilessly dissected. Taine's doubts about republicanism are attributed by Lacombe to the contrast in 1870-71 between the chaos in France and the solidity and order of English institutions. Taine became an admirer of the British parliamentary system and sought to impress its value upon his countrymen. In this attempt he lost sight of the underlying social factors and yielded to the temptation to distort history to fit his purposes. Lacombe writes in a judicial spirit and in excellent temper. His judgments of Taine are most of them convincing. The book as a whole affords an admirable example of the newer sociological spirit in the interpretation of history.

GEORGE E. VINCENT

Problems of City Government. By L. S. ROWE. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1908. Pp. 358.

Professor Rowe's method is historical and comparative, and he regards municipal government as a tool for furthering general welfare, not merely an interesting puzzle for persons fond of the game of party politics. The author, after a historical outline of cities, takes up the problems of urban life, municipal government,

and the ownership of public utilities, and he illustrates his teaching with a wealth of facts drawn from first-hand studies of American and foreign cities.

C. R. HENDERSON

Philanthropy and the State, or Social Politics. By B. KIRKMAN GRAY. London: P. S. King & Son, 1908. Pp. 339.

The English-speaking people begin to distinguish between socialism and social politics, in spite of reactionary phrase-makers. The author of a history of charity discovers the tendency expressed in the words, the philanthropy of today is the justice of tomorrow. At first a little group of charity workers set out to relieve distress of poor families, inebriates, prisoners, neglected children, sick people, widows, aged, and the ignorant; and they mitigate the pain in a small area, making an oasis in the wide desert. But not many years pass before it is discovered that private means cannot cope with the task, and that an association of self-sacrificing enthusiasts cannot perform the duty of a nation. There we enter the stage of taxation and compulsion, although the word compulsion applies only to a besotted or belated minority; for when the national reason is convinced and the national will is fixed little stress of governmental force is required to secure assent and obedience of all. The public-health authorities drill the people in wholesome habits; relief societies pass into poor law, and poor law gives place to social insurance. This volume furnishes ample illustrations of this tendency.

C. R. HENDERSON

Primary Elections. By C. EDWARD MERRIAM. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1908. Pp. xi+308.

This little book is another evidence that the political scientists in our large universities are interesting themselves in the practical questions of government; and none of these questions is more important than the establishment of constitutional government for political parties. The book is a study of the history and tendencies of primary-election legislation. Its author states well its purpose, "to trace the development of the legal regulations of party primaries from 1866 down to 1908, to sum up the general tendencies evident in this movement, to discuss some of the disputed

points in the primary problem, and to state certain conclusions in regard to our nominating machinery." The historical treatment is chronologically arranged, the period being divided into four divisions for as many chapters—1866 to 1880, 1880 to 1890, 1890 to 1899, 1899 to 1908. Another chapter is given to the interpretation of primary laws by the courts, while the last two chapters are devoted to the practical workings of the direct primary and to a summary and conclusions.

The author has done his work well. He traces the history of the nominating process through its several stages—the legislative caucus, the unregulated convention, the slightly regulated convention, the completely regulated convention, and the direct-primary election—first local and later general, first optional and later mandatory. The friends of social and political progress will be encouraged by even a cursory reading of the book. Whether the direct primary is the best and the final form that the nomination process will ultimately take, the author is not able to state with authority. On this point he says that "the direct primary has justified neither the lamentations of its enemies nor the prophecies of its friends." In fact the whole book shows the need of more complete data. In his observations the author is conscious of this fact, as he frequently uses such expressions as, "It seems to be generally conceded," etc. This lack of data is no fault of Dr. Merriam, as the subject-matter of his book shows that he was quite industrious in gathering material. What is meant by the suggestion is that either adequate data on the subject of political parties and primary elections do not exist, or if so, they have never been collected. No better illustration could be offered than this little book affords, of the imperative need of the Carnegie Foundation creating a Department of Political Science, one of whose missions would be the collection of material and data bearing on parties, conventions, and primaries, as was recommended by the American Political Science Association at its meeting at Madison in December, 1907.

The book seems to be almost free of errors. In speaking of the method of framing the platform since the adoption of the direct primary, he says of the South that "the platforms are made by the candidates themselves during the progress of the campaign" (p. 80). As a matter of fact the candidates do not frame the platforms in any southern state of which the reviewer has knowl-

edge. He is certain that the state convention formulates and promulgates the platform in Arkansas, Tennessee, Georgia, Texas, and Mississippi. The convention's authority to do this in the first four states is based on practice; in the case of Mississippi it is based on law.

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Modern Constitutions. A Collection of the Fundamental Laws of Twenty-two of the Most Important Countries of the World, with Historical and Bibliographical Notes. By WALTER FAIRLEIGH DODD. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press; London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1909. Two vols. Pp. xxiii+351; xiv+334. Price \$5.42 postpaid.

The twenty-two countries whose fundamental laws are included in these volumes are the Argentine Nation, Australia, Austria, Hungary, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Russia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United States. When Professor Wilson published his book on *The State* Norway was joined to Sweden in personal union, Russia was still an autocracy, Japan was just taking on western ways, while the commonwealth of Australia was non-existent, and Canada, well, nobody thought of including her in the family of countries whose constitutions were worth studying.

In preparing for the publication of a work of this kind the editor was confronted by two important questions, the documents to be included and the amount of historical and explanatory notes to be given. Considered as a collection of national constitutions there is little to be said in criticism upon Mr. Dodd's selections. Certainly no really important country with an established constitution has been omitted, unless England be considered as such. The reason given by the editor for excluding this country—that her "national are only to a small extent embodied in constitutional documents," which are readily accessible to American readers—must be accepted as sufficient. Portugal and Denmark seem to be rated as insignificant countries, but the editor has seen fit to include their constitutions. One may be pardoned for asking whether the space occupied by these, and perhaps a little in addition, might not more profitably

have been taken up with a few typical constitutions in commonwealths in those states having the dual system of government. In such countries the commonwealth constitutions are a part of the fundamental law of the land. A citizen of one of these states may have a fair conception of the place of the commonwealth in other states similarly organized, but the student in England or France will get very little light on the subject by studying the national constitutions. For example, how is the European ever to learn the law of suffrage in the United States? from the Federal Constitution? Some other countries also lack uniformity in suffrage requirements.

The Gordian knot of explanatory notes was cut by making them very brief. In this most scholars will agree that the editor has chosen the wiser course. However, in some instances just a few words more would have been very helpful. In several cases the reader is told when the constitution was adopted, but is not told how it was drawn up or how it was adopted.

These criticisms, or rather suggestions, are not meant in any way to disparage the work of Mr. Dodd. The collection will prove of inestimable benefit to teachers and students of constitutional law and they owe the editor a debt of gratitude for making it. Especially is he to be commended for giving the documents in translations. Not one scholar in a hundred is acquainted with half the languages represented.

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NOTES AND ABSTRACTS

Marxisme et Sociologie.—The thesis as to the diverse forms of co-operation between men, which was at the basis of Marx's theory of the social nature of production, and which he showed to be true throughout the economic order, has been applied by sociologists to the whole social process. In his theory of circulation and of the genesis of value, Marx struck upon a conception of human relationships, which has been expanded and utilized by the social psychologists. Marx and Engels recognized that all social facts are in the last analysis psychic in their nature; but purposes consciously pursued by individuals are not the sufficient cause of social evolution. Unconscious and environmental influences are of great importance. Most sociologists would recognize this and agree that the reasons by which men explain their conduct rarely indicate the real causes of their institutions. Moral conceptions, principles, and systems of conduct, far from being the directing force in a given society, are seen by the sociologist to be merely the expression of the exigencies of that society. Marxism has put the problem in the same terms as, to specify its position in respect to that of the individual psychology, the objective sociology wishes to occupy today. As to the solution of the problem and the positive programme there is no such agreement between marxists and sociologists. Marxism would interpret the evolution of society and solve the problem of social amelioration from the narrow materialistic standpoint; sociology as a philosophy and as a technique of social amelioration, would assume the broader, more comprehensive "sociological" point of view.—C. Bouqlé, *Rev. Meta. et Morale*, November, 1908.
E. F. C.

The Industrial Training of Women.—The industrial training of women is of equal importance with that of men. An intelligent care of the home is the ideal of citizenship for the girl, but if she is a worker, she must look to industrial education as the means of preparation for the achievement of that ideal. Women must be prepared to take a larger place in the skilled industries. The presence of thousands of young girl workers in unskilled occupations is one of our most difficult industrial and social problems. By raising the standard of health, cleanliness, and morality, by stimulating interest in learning to do something which requires exercise of the mind, by giving sufficient technical skill to insure opportunities of advancement, and by making possible a wage sufficient to maintain self-respect, industrial training for women will have a highly beneficial effect upon the home, as well as upon industrial processes.—Florence M. Marshall, *Annals. Amer. Acad.*, January, 1909.
E. F. C.

Science and the Practical Problems of the Future.—Abundant power is soon to be the factor upon which material advancement will chiefly depend. Upon its attainment depends in the immediate future the welfare of the race, and ultimately its very perpetuity. For success in this we must look to science. Material progress is based upon science. Pure science must produce knowledge before it can be applied by the technologist and inventor. So it is that Europe with the greater productiveness of her pure science has always been ahead of America in technological development. Science has its home in the university; we are deficient in great men of science because we have not, as yet, universities that sufficiently foster and encourage research. Teaching and administration are exalted above investigation. The advancement of knowledge through the promotion of science is the true function of the university; and this can come only through research and investigation.—E. L. Nichols, *Science*, January 1, 1909.
E. F. C.

The Civic Responsibilities of Democracy in an Industrial District.—

The civic responsibilities of democracy in an industrial district are to come abreast of, and improve upon, any community standards reached under any other system of government; and second, to do this in a democratic way, as distinct from a despotic or paternalistic way. There is necessity for increasing our municipal administrative areas, and for relating them to the functions which must be performed through them. Democracy must overhaul the social machinery through which it operates. This social machinery can be tested in at least two ways—its operating efficiency and its promotion of the common well-being. The community may improve the quality and lessen the cost of the food supplies of its working population. It must meet and solve the housing problem, and the question of sanitation in home and factory. It must guard its workers from accident, disease, and death, due to the industrial process.—Paul U. Kellogg, *Charities and Commons*, January 2, 1909. E. F. C.

Le problème pénal au moment présent et la peine de mort.—

Criminal legislation of modern people divides the acts to be dealt with into three groups: crimes and misdemeanors against (1) public order, (2) persons, (3) property. As the basis of penalties intended to secure the public order, men have successively postulated the defense of: (1) religion, (2) the unity of the state, (3) the nation, (4) vested interests and property. Today the view is advanced that before all, and almost to the exclusion of everything else, should be the defense of the laboring classes. This theory contains vicious possibilities. The whole problem of the treatment of the delinquent classes is unsettled. The "individualization of punishment" is much agitated but the practical difficulties involved are very great. The "indeterminate sentence" is favored, but here, too, the administration of the law becomes highly complicated. Capital punishment seems necessary to the suppression of murder. A rational criminal code is yet to be developed.—Henri Joly, *Revue des deux Mondes*, January 1, 1909. E. F. C.

The Future of Parties in America.—

Between Republicans and Democrats today there is no issue. Both Mr. Taft and Mr. Bryan represent themselves as President Roosevelt's heir, and stand pledged to continue his policies. Four years ago both parties were essentially "conservative;" today both are essentially "radical." *Laissez faire* has given place to public control. The public conscience has been awakened and morality in politics has suddenly come to be fashionable. Four years hence there will be a realignment of party lines. Old names may be preserved but nothing more. The radical party may adopt the name Liberal; the conservatives may probably retain the name Republican. There will also be in America a Labor party. Finally, foreign politics will become a party question.—A. Maurice Loer, *Fortnightly Review*, January, 1909. E. F. C.

The Solid South a National Calamity.—

In the last two presidential contests the South has stood practically alone against the rest of the country. The time has arrived to emancipate herself from this deadly one-party system. It is a calamity to the nation as a whole, because it prevents the reincorporation of a section, once in revolt, in such a way as to wipe out the last vestiges of the Civil War. It is a calamity to the South herself, first, because it makes political success on that basis impossible; second, because it prevents the eligibility of her statesmen to office; third, because it dwarfs her political genius, which, prior to 1861, furnished such a large proportion of leading statesmen. The Panama Canal will accelerate her economic activity. She should emancipate herself politically.—Hannis Taylor, *North American Review*, January, 1909. A. E. R.

The Problem before Women is not to learn how to do well what has been denied their sex in the past but to make their training count most for their sex and the race on the whole. The fact that some activities have been denied woman in the past is not a conclusive argument that they are the tasks she should perform. The home is now the most backward and least interesting of

places because women have neglected their own occupation in the past in the endeavor to get into those of the other sex. President Eliot has rightly said that the refusal to recognize child-rearing as an intellectual occupation is one of the greatest mistakes civilized men and women have ever committed. This ought to be more interesting than adding columns of figures or pounding a typewriter.—Annie Nothan Meyer, *Appleton's Magazine*, February, 1909. L. L. B.

La Plébe Orientale is struggling between the inertia of the past and the unrest and diversity of the present. Poverty-stricken and close to nature, he is yet an industrious worker, only too often lost in details. He is often sunk in brutal pleasures of the past, but with the arising order he catches a glimpse of saner and more refined amusements.. It is only at a distance that we find him monstrous and stolid. With the passing of oppression and exploitation he will burst forth into a most adaptive personality, capable of using his new-found liberties.—Louis Bertrand, *Revue des deux mondes*, January 1, 1909. L. L. B.

The Spiritual Unrest: The New Mission of the Doctor.—Two great avenues of new activity are opening to the medical profession; the first from the growing conviction that most, if not all diseases are not merely *individual*, but social. At the root of the great destroyers, tuberculosis, typhoid fever, children's diseases, in no small measure lie malnutrition, hunger, wretched housing conditions, dirty streets, i. e., poverty, and social neglect; the second, from the conviction that man is not only a physical and material animal, but that he is a thinking animal also, that the mind has a vital influence over the body. The Out-Patient Department of the Massachusetts General Hospital, is a social-service department, whose aim is to reach beyond the hospital and carry the work of healing men and women to the limit of thoroughness. Some twenty trained social workers make an effort to get a knowledge of a patient's habits, of his economic, domestic, and social conditions.—Ray Stannard Baker, *American Magazine*, January, 1909. F. F.

Evolution, Economy, and the Child.—A consideration of the bearing of the principles of evolution and economy on the issue of one of the most vexed and important problems of the present day, the treatment of children, makes it appear that the causes, remediable and removable, which kill 150 infants out of 1,000 in their first year, also injure the health and handicap the growth of many of the 850 who survive, all through their lives. They also make the time lost, the pain endured by the experience of motherhood a useless waste in 150 cases out of 1,000 at the least, and the state can ill afford this waste. As evolution tells us that, since these children are born, and it were better for the state to give them, during infancy and childhood, the chance of health, so economy indicates that the cost of exchanging so many weakly adults for useful citizens, would be a good investment for the state.—A. D. Edwards, *Westminster Review*, January, 1909. F. F.

The New Campaign for Civic Betterment: Pittsburgh Survey of Social and Economic Conditions.—Pittsburg has held an exhibit which has presented a vigorous cross-section of the civic standards the community has thus far attained. It showed the worst barracks in the city and hundreds of other shacks and lodgings that must go, silhouettes of those who have died from typhoid fever in one year, a death calendar of the workmen killed in Allegheny county in one industry in one year, and, also, pictures of the huge filtration plant, charts of the reduction in typhoid fever, house-plans of model mill-towns, etc. The result has been a general quickening of the civic-improvement spirit and the appointment of a Pittsburgh Civic Improvement Commission.—Paul U. Kellogg, *American Review of Reviews*, January, 1909. F. F.

The Position of Woman: An Historical Retrospect.—At the time when nomadic life formed itself into groups, with the cementing of family ties, woman's place was supreme. Female influence persists as a matter of habit, then, until the conditions of life change from peaceful to warlike, and, greater

activity being necessary, the male influence becomes preponderant. Not only were women the first social organizers, but the constructive element in the community also, and only when driven out by man's unemployed energy, did they resign their pre-eminence. Among the Hebrews, women as a body achieved the respect and admiration of men, so that laws concerning them were not harsh, . . . their influence was wide, their capacity noteworthy, and their industrious, religious, moral, and home life admirable. In Greek times, women were free and contented, and exerted an influence over man that spurred him to great deeds.—Consuelo Marlborough, *North American Review*, January, 1909.
F. F.

The School and the Family.—Civilization may persist and progress without the family, but human and pre-human societies have been so completely based on it that no man can foresee the results of its destruction. Mankind will last only so long as children are born and cared for; our reasoned efforts should at present be directed to its support and toward adjusting to it, our newer adventures. The disintegration of the family and the decline in the birth-rate are due to many causes, but principally to two—the city and the school. Therefore it is proposed that the teacher should be the family and so far as may be that the scholar should be the family, in homes in the country where parents and children should do what they can for themselves and for the neighborhood. A school of this kind would be supported mainly by the work of those whom it served; with the income derived from some productive concern added thereto. Children would always be the chief charm in a home and school such as this.—J. McK. Cattell, *Popular Science Monthly*, January, 1909.
F. F.

American Democracy and Corporate Reform.—As a principle of government the rule of the majority is merely a right to act within established limits, to control the machinery of government designed to secure the freedom and equality of the individual. This freedom is in danger of destruction by the public attitude toward corporations. Popular rule is an incident, not the whole doctrine of democracy. We must solve our problems within its limitations. Society at large can never acquire the right though it may exercise the power to establish any degree of paternalism, socialism, or communism. There is a demand for more distinctive law, but we must find a way to reform without destroying. Increase of federal power is opposed to the spirit of our institutions. Before increasing that power let us see whether we have not come upon this evil by departing from the true conception of democracy. The corporation itself is government-made. It is an advantage to the incorporated individual, a disadvantage to the unincorporated. Out of this situation the existing evils have arisen. We must return to the conception of a corporation, as a special privilege that must be carefully limited and made subservient to the common good. This should be done by state laws.—Robert R. Reed, *Atlantic*, January, 1909.
J. T. H.

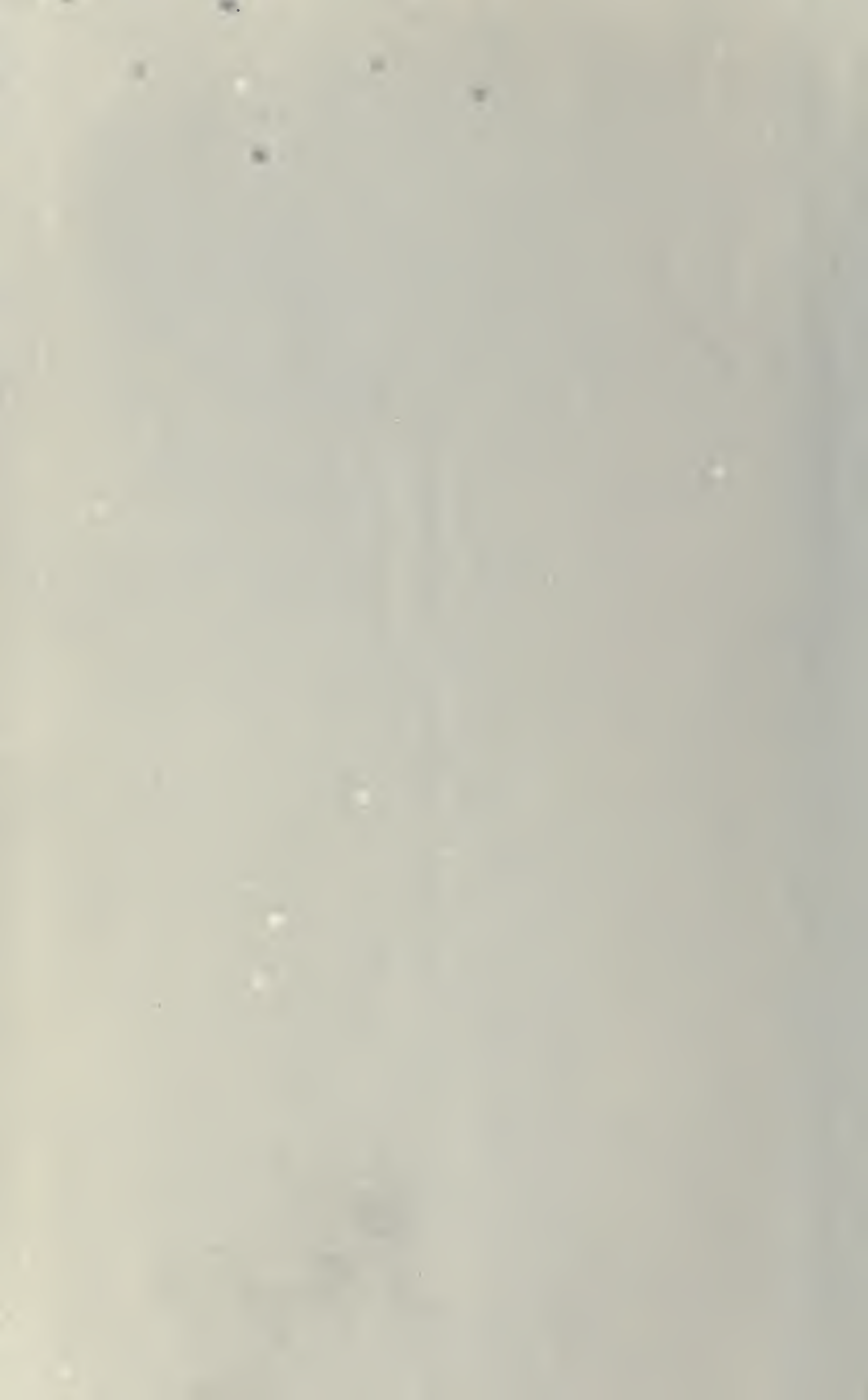
The Value of the Poor Law.—This is socialistic legislation that has stood the test of three centuries. It arose out of the break-down of the power of the nobles and the consequent filling of England with bands of cast-off retainers who became beggars. An act for the relief of the poor was passed in 1597 and the work of providing for dependents was begun, having in view to offer to those who could not support themselves an alternative between starvation and crime. But the treatment of "rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars" was not easy. The workhouse test was used and whippings for the incorrigible. The appeal of the socialists to the poor-laws, as substantiating their teachings, neglects this feature of compulsion. The poor-law serves to render indiscriminate almsgiving inexcusable. By it destitution can be defined and tested. It should be so conducted as to encourage independence.—Harold Cox, *Fortnightly Review*, January, 1909.
J. T. H.

The Causes of Poverty.—"The new view of poverty is that it is not only not desirable and not inevitable, but is actually unnatural and intolerable

and has no legitimate place in our diagram of social conditions." Therefore there is increasing interest in the causes of poverty. The social cost of the graces of generosity and sympathy is too great if they can be had only by maintaining a poverty class. The custom of assigning principal and subsidiary causes of poverty has been proved unscientific. This custom, however, has undergone certain changes and has been the occasion of much valuable discussion. The "causes" now assigned are decreasingly individual, increasingly social. About one-third of all the deaths that leave women with children to support are due to tuberculosis, a disease often left to the family by the dying father. It is a preventable condition. Premature employment results in stunted maturity and poverty in old age. This too is preventable. The normal states of dependence—childhood and old age—are being increased at the expense of the working period. This adverse condition calls for remedy by increased wages or otherwise. Study of the cause of poverty at this stage of our knowledge should consist of investigations into the prevalence of adverse conditions.—Lilian Brandt, *Political Science Quarterly*, January, 1909.

J. T. H.





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